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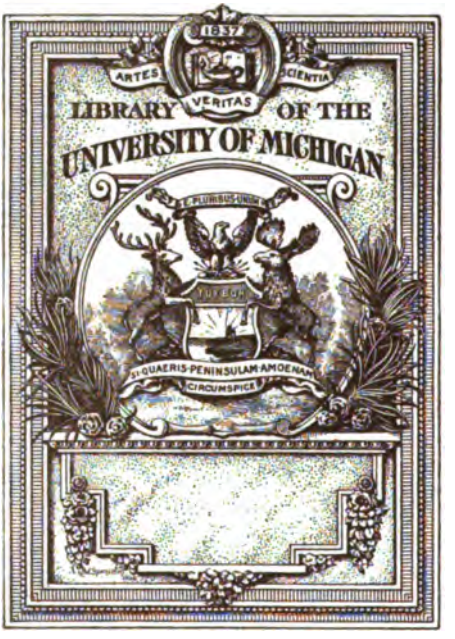
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CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME.

JANUARY NUMBER.

PAGE

BISHOP SIMPSON 9
H. B. RIDGAWAY, D.D., Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. 30
JOSEPH PULLMAN, D.D., Brooklyn, N. Y.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION 56
Rev. E. M'CHESNEY, Ph.D., Troy, N. Y.

CHRIST PREACHING TO THE SPIRITS IN PRISON 69
THE EDITOR.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA 83
RICHARD WHEATLEY, D.D., New York.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY, ... 108

CURRENT TOPICS: Reading the Hymns, 108; Philosophico-Theologising, 110; "The Philosophy of Conversion," 113; Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible, 116; The Political Situation, 118; Private Character and Public Life, 121.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY 125

DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE 131

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE 135

THE MAGAZINES 144

BOOK NOTICES 148

Edersheim's Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, 148; Reuss's History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, 150; Lowrey's Possibilities of Grace, 151; Lacordaire's Jesus Christ, God, God and Man, 153; Potts's Spiritual Life, 153; Smyth's Reality of Faith, 153; M'Tyeire's History of Methodism, 154; Atkinson's Centennial History of American Methodism, 157; Trumbull's Teachers and Teaching, 158; Mitchell's Hebrew Lessons, 158; Hughes's Beloved Physician, 159; Harrison's Life of Robert Paine, 159; Froude's Thomas Carlyle, 160; Ingersoll's Country Cousins, 160; Hurlbut's Manual of Biblical Geography, 160; Bose's Hindu Philosophy Popularly Explained, 161; Dorchester's Liquor Problem in all Ages, 161; MISCELLANEOUS, 163.

MARCH NUMBER.

PAGE

BISHOP THOMSON 169
ISAAC CROOK, D.D., Columbus, Ohio.

THE FRANCO-CHINESE IMBROGLIO 190
ERASTUS WENTWORTH, D.D., Sandy Hill, N. Y.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE GREEK ARTICLE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT 215
HENRY A. BUTTZ, D.D., President of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

REV. SYDNEY SMITH 234
DANIEL WISE, D.D., Englewood, N. J.

"THE DOCTRINE OF THE FATHERS" 250
T. B. NEELY, D.D., Reading, Pa.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY 274

CURRENT TOPICS: Revivals, 274; The Prohibition Movement, 277; An Unsolved Social Problem, 280; About Evolution, 283; Lessons from the Centennial, 285; The Rationale of Belief, 289.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY 291

DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE 297

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE 304

THE MAGAZINES 310

BOOK NOTICES 315

Peters's Theocratic Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, the Christ, 315; Schaff's Religious Encyclopædia, 316; The Faith of Catholics, 317; Hoppin's Pastoral Theology, 318; Crafts's Sabbath for Man, 319; Rifted Clouds, 319; Hasting's Obscure Characters and Minor Lights of Scripture, 319; Dunn's Zschokke's Meditations on Life, Death, and Eternity, 320; Barnes's Hand-Book of Bible Biography, 320; Porter's Elements of Moral Science, 320; Rawlinson's Egypt and Babylon, 321; Eddy's Universalism in America, 321; Sherwood's Memoirs of Rev. David Brainerd, 322; M'Carthy's History of the Four Georges, Vol. I., 322; Nutter's Hymn Studies, 322; The Poetical Works of Lucy Larcom, 324; MISCELLANEOUS, 325.

MAY NUMBER.

PAGE

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT 329
Rev. R. CROOK, LL.D., Mount Vernon, N. Y.

THE GREAT PHYSICIAN'S ANODYNE 353
Rev. D. D. WHEDON, LL.D., Sag Harbor, N. Y.

MIGRATION OF LANGUAGE 361
Prof. A. B. HYDE, Denver University, Colorado.

LUTHER AS BIBLE TRANSLATOR 375
From the German of Dr. BEHM, Halle, by Prof. W. W. DAVIES, Ph.D., Ohio Wesleyan University.

METHODIST CHURCH POLITY 397
Rev. W. S. EDWARDS, D.D., Washington, D. C.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE OF REV. JOHN S. INSKIP—A STUDY 406
EDITOR.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY:

CURRENT TOPICS 423
"A Missionary Bishop for Africa," 423; Sunday-School Hymns and Music, 428; Presbyterian Pedobaptism, 431; Methodistic Views respecting Infant Baptism, 435.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY 441

DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE 449

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE 453

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS 461

BOOK NOTICES 467
M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature, 467; Rabiger's Encyclopædia of Theology, 468; Morris's Ecclesiology, 469; Ewald's Revelation: Its Nature and Record, 470; Meyer's Critical and Exegetical Hand-book of the Gospel of Matthew, 471; Cross's George Eliot's Life, as Related in her Letters and Journals, 471; Drury's Life of Rev. Philip William Otterbein, 474; Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe, 475; Fitzgerald's Dr. Summers, 476; MISCELLANEOUS, 477.

JULY NUMBER.

PAGE

THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO 489
RICHARD WHEATLEY, D.D., New York.

ANTHROPOMORPHISM 510
Prof. ALEXANDER WINCHELL, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

THE FINAL OUTCOME OF SIN 535
A. SUTHERLAND, D.D., Toronto, Canada.

SOUTH-WESTERN CHINA AND PROSPECTIVE TRADE ROUTES 551
Rev. E. B. OTHEMAN, Chelsea, Mass.

THE LAST TESTIMONY TO THE ATONEMENT 571
London Quarterly Review.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY:

CURRENT TOPICS 594
Universities *versus* Colleges, 594; Education for the Ministry, 597; Christian Unity, 602; Bible Study in Our Educational Institutions, 605; The Increase of Crime, 609.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY 613

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE 623

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS 629

BOOK NOTICES 636
Edersheim's Prophecy and History in Relation to the Messiah, 636; Von Orelli's Old Testament Prophecy, 638; Lowrie's Explanation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 639; Sermons by Bishop Matthew Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 640; Autobiography of Henry Taylor, 641; Warriner's Old Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church of Brooklyn, N. Y., 642; Wittenmyer's Women of the Reformation, 643; Davies's Bishop of Africa, 643: MISCELLANEOUS, 644.

SEPTEMBER NUMBER.

PAGE

REV. HENRY BANNISTER, D.D. 649
Prof. G. F. COMFORT, Syracuse, N. Y.

STRUGGLES AND ROMANCE OF A GENIUS—BERLIOZ 656
Rev. ABEL STEVENS, LL.D.

THE HINDU PANTHEON 683
Rev. J. E. SCOTT, Sitapur, Oudh, India.

CHRIST'S EDUCATION OF HIS BODY 692
A. A. LIPSCOMB, LL.D., Athens, Ga.

RECENT CHECKS TO MODERN UNBELIEF 713
Dr. ALEXANDER MAIR, in the Monthly Interpreter.

THE DANGER OF APOSTASY 727
EDITOR.

SOUTH-WESTERN CHINA AND PROSPECTIVE TRADE ROUTES 743
Rev. E. B. OTHEMAN, Chelsea, Mass.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY:

CURRENT TOPICS 758
The Revised Old Testament, 758; Professor Winchell on "Anthropomorphism," 764; The Second Advent and the Millennium, 771.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY 775

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE 784

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS 790

BOOK NOTICES 797
Pfleiderer's Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity, 797; Elliott's Abiding Sabbath, 801; Chambers's Companion to the Revised Old Testament, 801; Curnick's Catechism of Christian Perfection, 802; Wood's Christian Perfection as Taught by John Wesley, 802; Pusey's Minor Prophets, 802; Williams's Lectures on the Lord's Prayer, 803; Jones's Doctrine of Entire Sanctification, 803; Stanley's Congo and the Founding of its Free State, 803; M'Donald and Searles's Life of Rev. John S. Inskip, 805; Thomson's Life of Edward Thomson, 805; Wilkinson's College Latin Course in English, 806; Smith's Student's Ecclesiastical History, Part II, 806; MISCELLANEOUS, 807.

NOVEMBER NUMBER.

PAGE

PHILIP WILLIAM OTTERBEIN..... 809
B. ST. JAMES FRY, St. Louis, Mo.

THE CRITICAL AND THE ETHICAL IN LITERATURE..... 821
DR. J. M. SHERWOOD.

THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.... 846
J. W. MENDENHALL, Ph.D., D.D., Delaware, Ohio.

RAILROADS AND CIVILIZATION..... 871
DR. T. H. PEARNE, Cincinnati, Ohio.

RECENT CHECKS TO MODERN UNBELIEF..... 885
DR. ALEXANDER MAIR, in the Monthly Interpreter.

THE CONGO..... 897
EDITOR.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY:

CURRENT TOPICS..... 917
Death of General Grant, 917; The Labor Problem in America, 924.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY..... 929

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE..... 937

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS..... 945

BOOK NOTICES..... 953
Cheyne's Prophecies of Isaiah, 953; Beet's Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, 954; Deems's Christian Thought, 955; Rust's Isaac W. Wiley, late Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 956; Fitzgerald's Centenary Cameos, 956; Forbes's Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago, 957; Porter's Two Hundredth Birthday of Bishop George Berkeley, 957; Newcomb's Principles of Political Economy, 958; H. B. Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin, 958; Taylor's Elijah the Reformer, 960; Carleton's City Ballads, 962; George Eliot's Poems, 962; MISCELLANEOUS, 962.

Yours truly,
M. Simpson

METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1885.

ART. I.—BISHOP SIMPSON.

The ... ary of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Amer- ... the consecration and episcopal services of Fran- ... typical Methodist Bishop. It closes and crowns ... ful and brilliant career of Matthew Simpson, than ... of his age has more sincerely served God and his ... day honored the great office to which the suf- ... ren had called him. If our episcopacy had ... n ... the sturdy Asbury, sorely in the footprint ... its full flower and fruit. It is doubtful if ... p in dying has left the office more luminous or

... Simpson, D.D., LL.D., was born at Cadiz, the ... Harrison County, Ohio, on June 21, 1811, and ... Philadelphia, Pa., June 18, 1884. He was the son of ... Scrain Tingley Simpson. His father was a native of ... Ireland, and was of Scotch-Irish descent. What ... said for New England, the Scotch-Irish Pres- ... or many sections of our Middle and Southern ... were good stocks for Methodist grafting.

... on arriving in this country, landed first at ... thence emigrated when a young man to ... Here he married Sarah Tingley Co- ... a French-English family of New Jersey, who ... removed to Ohio about the same time. Soon after ... 's birth, Mr. Simpson removed with his family to ... Pa. A year later the father died, and Mrs. Simp- ... her infant son, returned to Cadiz, and thenceforward,

METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1885.

ART. I.—BISHOP SIMPSON.

THE first century of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America began with the consecration and episcopal services of Francis Asbury, the typical Methodist Bishop; it closes and culminates in the useful and brilliant career of Matthew Simpson, than whom no man of his age has more sincerely served God and his race, or more highly honored the great office to which the suffrages of his brethren had called him. If our episcopacy had its root and stock in the sturdy Asbury, surely in the eloquent Simpson it found its full flower and fruit. It is doubtful if any other Bishop in dying has left the office more luminous or fragrant.

Matthew Simpson, D.D., LL.D., was born at Cadiz, the county-seat of Harrison County, Ohio, on June 21, 1811, and died in Philadelphia, Pa., June 18, 1884. He was the son of James and Sarah Tingley Simpson. His father was a native of the north of Ireland, and was of Scotch-Irish descent. What English Puritans did for New England, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians did for many sections of our Middle and Southern States, and both were good stocks for Methodist grafting.

James Simpson, on arriving in this country, landed first at Baltimore, Md., and thence emigrated when a young man to south-eastern Ohio. Here he married Sarah Tingley (descended from a French-English family of New Jersey), who also emigrated to Ohio about the same time. Soon after Matthew's birth, Mr. Simpson removed with his family to Pittsburg, Pa. A year later the father died, and Mrs. Simpson, with her infant son, returned to Cadiz, and thenceforward

the training of young Simpson was under the guidance of his mother and of Mr. Matthew Simpson, the paternal uncle whose name he bore. The mother was a devout Christian woman, of plain dress and affable manners. She possessed strong native sense, associated with a vivacious temperament, and much of the *naïveté* peculiar to the French. Mr. Matthew Simpson was well qualified, as an educated Christian gentleman, to be the instructor and guardian of the boy. A close biblical student, reading the Scriptures in the original Greek and Hebrew, a school teacher, a representative man in his county, a constant and active member of the Methodist Church from his early youth, he was in all respects fitted to give bent to the mind of the future Bishop; and so the lad grew, under the fostering nurture of the mother's love and the uncle's wisdom. After receiving such academical training as Cadiz could afford, he was sent to Madison College, Pa., which had recently come under the patronage of the Pittsburg Annual Conference, and of which the Rev. H. B. Bascom, D.D., then in the height of his fame as a pulpit orator, was the president (1827–1829). The good uncle meant, no doubt, to be loyal to the new Methodist College; but likely he was equally drawn by the eloquent Bascom, who was now the pride and joy of all Methodists. Young Simpson's mind was fit tinder for the sparks which flashed from Bascom's blazing intellect.

Such was young Simpson's proficiency in his studies, that at the early age of eighteen years he was made tutor in the college. Having determined to become a physician, he returned to Ohio. There—it is not sure just where—he studied medicine, and had entered upon its practice when, under a powerful conviction of duty, he was led to change his course, and to accept license to preach as a Methodist local preacher. He was "received on trial" by the Pittsburg Conference in 1833, and appointed to the circuit where he lived. He was rapidly advanced to charges in Pittsburg and Monongahela cities. In 1837 Madison College was absorbed by Allegheny College, located at Meadville, Pa., in which he was elected vice-president and professor of natural philosophy and chemistry. In 1839 he was elected president of the new Indiana Asbury University (now De Pauw) at Greencastle, Ind. After remaining here nine years, laying deep and broad foundations for the

institution, he was elected by the General Conference of 1848 editor of the "Western Christian Advocate," and removed to Cincinnati. He was a delegate to the General Conference of 1844 at New York, and also to that of 1848 at Pittsburg, and was again returned as a delegate to the General Conference of 1852 at Boston, by which body, on the twenty-fifth day of its session, he was elected to the office of Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was then within a few weeks of the completion of his forty-first year; being, with the exception of Bishop Janes, the youngest man ever elected to that office.

His subsequent residences were successively at Pittsburg, Pa., Evanston, Ill., and Philadelphia, Pa.; but according to Methodist law and usage he was a General Superintendent, a Bishop equally wherever the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church extended. He presided over the Annual and General Conferences in rotation with his associate Bishops, fixing the appointments of the preachers to their several charges of ministerial work, and also traveling abroad, as he was designated by his colleagues, into foreign countries, wherever the Church had established missions. In addition to his strictly official routine work must be reckoned his well-nigh countless sermons and addresses on ordinary and special occasions, his private conversations and counsels, his social and political interchanges of thought and courtesy. The record would fill many large volumes; and the least which we may expect, at a convenient opportunity, is one good volume, or more, which will embody in fair and just proportions his life-work.

The most that can be required in an article so brief as this is an attempt at determining somewhat the historical position of our great and good Bishop. But only an attempt; for it is yet too early to do more. We are still in the shadow of that moving, vital, well-nigh overpowering personality from which we cannot easily emerge, so as to be able to look at him calmly and clearly. A man at the foot of a great mountain must get away from its base far out upon the plain if he would measure its proportions. Should this Review notice fall into eulogy, it will be of a piece with every thing and every body who came into close contact with the man—his spell is upon the writer. Bishop Simpson was the most truly representative man and minister of American Methodism in the last half century. As

such he has not only impressed himself more strongly upon his times than any of his contemporaries, but his influence is destined to be more distinctive and controlling for succeeding generations than that of any one of them. And if the most truly representative minister of American Methodism, why not of the American Church? Modesty may, perhaps, forbid us to press this question: it is therefore only suggested. If, in the providence of God, our Methodist Bishop was brought to the front of the hosts of American Christians, and did more deeply impress their mind and shape their action than any other living minister, to God only be the glory. He was the common property of all believers in Christ. Certainly, as the foremost preacher and officer of the numerically largest Protestant denomination of the land—as a theologian of sound and evangelical belief—as a Christian of the most catholic spirit—as a citizen of the truest patriotism—as a philanthropist in warm and wide sympathy with all that concerns the welfare of his fellow-creatures—as a man of affairs always just and prudent—as one of the people touching them every-where by the magnetism of his presence—and as a preacher illumining, stirring, and charming all alike by the force of his ideas and his eloquence, to none did he stand second. What other man of all the Churches has so completely embodied all these attributes? Some may have been more profound and accurate theologians; others more varied and riper scholars; others, again, better informed and more active humanitarians; and still others of more original and pronounced ideas and better judges of law; and there may have been even those whose eloquence at times was more incisive and searching; yet who among them all united in such harmony all these qualities, any one of which is enough to make a man distinguished? If it is asked, Wherein lay his greatness? after possibly the mention of his oratory, first of all, one would be as liable to point to any one thing for which he was remarkable as to another.

But dismissing the question of his relative position in the Church at large, as Methodist Episcopalians probably there will be no dispute among us in conceding to him the highest niche in our ecclesiastical temple. We have known other men and ministers who excelled him in some one thing, and who may have had, owing to certain favoring conditions, more direct

influence personally in molding the opinions and shaping the conduct of men. It would be hard for the old students of Bascom, Olin, Durbin, M'Clintock, Thomson, and a few more who might be mentioned, to acknowledge the superior power of any man to these men, especially in the particular relations in which they were so intimately known; but when all is granted which is claimed for these, at some point they fall short of Simpson's influence. Either their gifts were less universal or their spheres were more limited. They may at some time have moved with equal brightness in their orbits, but not always so uniformly, and their rounds were more circumscribed.

The office of a Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church affords grand opportunities for commanding moral and religious power. It cannot make a small man great, though even here men of comparatively moderate talents, who have been invested with its functions, have been raised, at least temporarily, to an influence incalculably beyond what they could have attained without it. There are men, highly influential before being elected Bishops, whose real power is not thereby enhanced, simply because they were better adapted to their former sphere than to this. All men cannot be equally successful, and cannot equal their former successes in altered circumstances. A man whose success as an educator, a book agent, a secretary, an editor, a pastor, or a presiding elder, is unquestioned, and even brilliant, may comparatively fail as a Bishop. He may make a good and acceptable Bishop, but fall short of the same standing in his new vocation which he had in his old. There may be a want of adaptation, or he may lack the magnitude to fill the office to the utmost. Bishop Ames once asked a presiding elder how he was getting on. When answered, "Very well," he rejoined, "Ah! a presiding elder's district is about the right size, but the episcopacy is too big." When a statue is to be placed high, as on a portico or a tower, it must be of such size as to compensate for distance and relations, otherwise it will appear diminutive and incongruous. It had better be down on the ground and near the beholder, for its own sake as well as for the general architectural effect.

I recollect that some years ago Dr. Abel Stevens, in one of his live discussions on men and measures in the Church, with characteristic freedom mildly expressed regret for the election

of Drs. Ames and Simpson to the episcopacy. He claimed that they were so tied up by ecclesiastical laws and usages that their influence would be correspondingly curtailed. They could not participate, as before, in the debates of the General Conferences, or be outspoken on public questions, or any more be leaders of reforms. This was the drift of his argument. But has the sequel approved his judgment in Bishop Simpson's case? It was not possible that Matthew Simpson could be wholly repressed in any position. His individuality would have asserted itself in making things move wherever he might be placed, and he must have been a leader and at the front under any circumstances. But he had the instinct, the training, and the magnitude for a Bishop. When he was consecrated a Bishop, as Sumner said of Chase when Chase was sworn in as Chief-Justice, "A shapely block of granite was hoisted to its place."

The episcopal office is not to be judged simply by its disciplinary functions, although these, as showing the lowest view of its capacity for good, present unusual opportunities. If a Bishop should accomplish no more than the giving of correct decisions on points of law, and adjusting the preachers and charges to each other, a very important trust would be discharged, and the results might be sufficiently far-reaching to render the agent in so vast a work mighty for God. But if, in addition to these, he possesses capabilities not defined by the Discipline, and which may be regarded as incidents of the office, such as the ability in the charmed circles of society both by private talks and public addresses to inspire men with a resistless energy, and lift them upon a higher plane, and set them a-going on new and world-wide enterprises, it must be admitted that he magnifies the office almost indefinitely.

Bishop Simpson, all will allow, entered into and discharged all the essential and accidental functions of the episcopacy with entire success. He found much in the office, and he gave to it as much as he found. It offered him full scope for all his powers, and his powers magnified it. This gem of first water found its proper setting. No one who knew him, or who will hereafter know the truth of him, can ever speak slightingly of the Methodist episcopacy. Such a one must acknowledge its consummate grace when occupied by a man whose many-sidedness measured up to its capacity.

No amount of work Bishop Simpson could have rendered the Church, however excellent in quality, would have compensated for a failure in the legal requirements of his office. There is not the least evidence that his eminent services as an orator, or as a man of affairs, ever led him to slight the official duties of his position as General Superintendent. Nothing that he did was done more satisfactorily than his work in what has come to be known as the *cabinet*. In making the appointments of the preachers, no Bishop was more patient and painstaking, more thoughtful of the welfare of both pastors and people, or more judicious in his allotments. He was accessible to the least church or the least preacher. Indeed, far from repelling, he ever invited all freely to approach him, and to say what was in their hearts. He desired to do the best for all parties, and he needed all possible light to direct him. And somehow, there was that utter self-abandonment and frankness which awakened confidence in the most timid preacher who might go to him with any personal burden or perplexity about his appointment. No doubt he sometimes made mistakes (and no one was more ready to acknowledge them than he), yet evidently his disciplinary work at the close of each Annual Conference over which he presided bore the impress of the soundest judgment. If he did not excel some others in this delicate and difficult department, he was unquestionably the equal of any. Only a very few of his law-decisions or rulings have ever been reversed. Sometimes a question has been raised as to the strict legality of some of his appointments, as in the case of the People's Church in Boston; but here it is admitted that he acted according to the equity of the case, and under the shield of high necessity he took responsibility, at the risk of creating a precedent. If he ever swerved from the letter of the law, it was not because he did not know differently, but because knowing, he would, under the behests of the extremity, press the law to the utmost verge of allowableness. The garment was more important than a few of its fringes, the temple than some of its pinnacles or griffins.

Touching the lowest round of the official ladder, he was an example of punctuality, of promptness and attention to details in the dispatch of business, and in meeting the requirements of devotional exercises, both private and public. In all these

things there was no evidence of undue haste, nothing erratic or bordering on eccentricity—all was calm, deliberate, equable, and firm. When his humblest engagements were fulfilled, no apology had to be offered that any thing was improperly done or omitted under the plea that genius is impulsive, and necessarily forgetful of, or indifferent to, little things. Undoubtedly these little things were sometimes irksome—for his great soul must have been most of the time occupied with high thoughts—but they were regarded as indispensable parts of life's work, and as a thoughtful, good man he had schooled himself to do what was fitting and wholesome.

While Bishop Simpson thus performed, with the utmost fidelity, the plainest work of his office, he rose with the occasion, as this office opened its broader opportunities. A Methodist Bishop is the accredited head of his denomination where he resides, and wherever he goes; and as the representative of his people he becomes, tacitly at least, an important person, not only in his own denomination, but also in general society and in the State. Leadership is conceded to him, and he is looked to as a guide, a quickener, as well as a conservator, in all laudable enterprises. Bishop Simpson was born to lead. With a profound insight into human nature, a clear perception of the principles and motives governing men, an accurate discrimination in all questions affecting human destiny, and with convictions as strong as his discriminations were just, with a sincere love for progress arising from a yearning for personal improvement and corresponding advancement in those about him, he could not be still—he must go forward, and see others go forward. From a young man he had the courage of his convictions, and after he became Bishop, the man was not lost in the office; he still had thoughts and dared to express them. Repression of opinion or discussion was never his policy for himself or for his brethren. There was no seal upon his lips, simply because his heart was hot within him, responding in quick pulsations to the claims of humanity. He never seemed to think that he had any need to nurse either his dignity or his consistency. He would converse freely with the laymen, and with the youngest ministers of the Church about the most delicate and perplexing matters, after which his determinations were usually cheerfully accepted.

His caution was also equal to his courage; perhaps each contributed largely to the other. Where did he ever speak a rash word or do a rash act? He was no agitator for agitation's sake. His mind was rather constructive than destructive. He would build up rather than pull down. If he saw a vicious principle in a system he would do as the skillful workman would do by a faulty stone or plank—prop and brace the sound materials about it, and then cut it loose and draw it out, rather than ruthlessly knock down the whole building. And yet when the case required it he could deal weighty blows against wickedness, spiritual or otherwise, though enthroned in high places.

His brave spirit and consummate tact as a leader were never more highly displayed than in the lay representation movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Convinced that the principles of lay participation in the highest councils of the Church was a correct one, and also that the men who were advocating it were sincere and loyal Methodists, instead of standing aloof from them, under the plea that the functions of his office were wholly executive, and that by favoring them he might offend more than he would please, he joined them. With no ambition but the glory of God and the prosperity of the Church, he at once gained the intelligent confidence of the gentlemen who were determined upon the reform; and such was his ascendency over them that by a tacit consent he received from them the assurance that under no circumstances of provocation or delay would they secede from the Church. "Another secession!" That charge was nailed to the counter. Under his inspiration the lay delegations were the most loyal of the loyal, shouted more vociferously for the fathers and old-fashioned Methodism than all their brethren. He earnestly deprecated the possibility of violence and rashness. These brethren were, he believed, equally lovers of the Church with those who differed from them in judgment, and sought only its good. Hence he urged kindness, consideration, patience; old and honest prejudices were not to be instantly overcome. Thus while the advocates of lay representation appreciated the kind utterances of the Bishops in their successive quadrennial addresses, and while they respected the studied silence which some maintained as individuals during the controversy, they

were not slow to admit that they owed the early triumph of their cause largely to the advocacy of Bishop Simpson.

He was one of the first to pronounce in favor of higher ministerial education; to lead off in the improvement of church architecture among us; to countenance such arrangements as would tend to foster the social life of the young, and to bind them more closely to the Church. It was a grief to him to see so many of the children of our oldest and best families drifting away from Methodism as though there was not enough in the Church of their parents to satisfy them. Hence while he ceased not to emphasize whatever is peculiar to Methodist doctrine, experience, and polity, he also sought to harmonize these with the highest intellectual and social culture. He took great pains to cultivate the friendship of the young people of our leading families, as the destined social forces of the Church. He argued that if Methodist teaching and usage lifted men upon a higher plane, there ought to be nothing antagonistic in this usage and teaching to the religious life upon this plane. The prosperous and educated classes could as well be Methodists, if they correctly understood Methodism, as members of any other Christian Church. Methodism was to him the best realization of the kingdom of Christ on earth, and hence he thought it best suited to embody his highest ideas of redeemed humanity. It was strong enough and wide enough to sustain and comprehend all the varied fruits which were the product of its inherent vitality. It had made him all he was; under its wholesome care every generous aspiration of his nature had been nurtured; consequently it grieved him deeply to see the children of earnest Methodists turn away from the Church which had nourished their fathers and mothers, and so given them respectability.

While Bishop Simpson was a sincere patriot, and would undoubtedly have gone into public life had he not been a minister of the Gospel, and while much that he did for his country in the way of counsel and advocacy was from pure love for the nation and humanity, yet he was not indifferent to the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church as an important factor in public affairs. He not only wished that the influence of this great denomination, in the action of its individual members as citizens and in its position as an organization, should uphold

the country, but he was also jealous of the honor of the people of whom he was a constituted leader. Though by nature timid, and the last to push himself, yet conscious of the underlying support of a great denomination he did not hesitate, when called upon by the General Administration, to offer advice in the hour of peril, and to accept for Methodism appropriate honors in the time of triumph. It is well known that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton admitted him to their counsels in the conduct of the war, particularly in its civil aspects; and that not alone because they understood his power with the people, but because also they found him to be a disinterested and judicious friend. He could be trusted equally to calm the tumult or fire the hearts of the masses, and to speak wisdom in the councils of princes. The steadfast and intimate friend of the great and good martyr President while he lived, the personal relation as well as the national reputation of the Bishop was recognized in that he was called upon to deliver the funeral sermon at Mr. Lincoln's burial. All who knew Bishop Simpson will remember how sincerely in this regard, as well as in his speeches on great occasions and his public and private efforts for the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, he served his country; but at the same time he was truly glad to have the Church which he loved as the apple of his eye, brought to the front, and recognized in the loyalty which it felt and the sacrifices it made.

But after all that may be said of the excellence of Bishop Simpson as a man and an administrator, the one real and immediate cause of his ascendency was, *his power as a preacher of the Gospel.* Burning with the love of Christ and the love of man, he preached as but few men of this age or any other have done. Though admitted to be a good average scholar and a sensible, devout Christian, it was his preaching which first brought him into prominence among his brethren, and sustained him in that prominence almost to the close of his life. Many years ago a certain professor of a Western college said to a distinguished teacher in the East, as they were discussing the great preachers of Methodism, "We have out in Indiana a man named Simpson who can outpreach them all." It would be difficult to overstate his popularity with the Hoosiers in those earlier days, when he was president of the Indiana

Asbury University. The anecdotes of his pulpit and platform triumphs would make a volume in the annals of sacred oratory. Wherever he appeared crowds gathered about him, and he would preach with such wondrous influence that it was not uncommon for the great multitudes to be wrought up to the highest pitch of ecstasy or anguish. His name became a household word throughout the State. He moved eastward to Ohio, and in Cincinnati, as well as in all the regions round about, the same remarkable effects followed. Called farther east, by his election to the episcopacy, and going up and down the Atlantic States from Maine to Maryland, whether he stood before the cold and philosophical New Englanders, the versatile descendants of the Knickerbockers of New York and New Jersey, the plain and quiet Friends of Pennsylvania, or the thoughtful and emotional Baltimoreans, it was all the same; every-where triumphs awaited him. All classes heard him gladly, and he was by common consent ranked with the first preachers of the nation. The rank then assigned him was never afterward disputed. Such success must have been based on solid merits. Many western meteors have flashed across the eastern horizon only as quickly to disappear in darkness; but this man, a star of the first magnitude, when he had once risen steadily, shone on in his place till the final setting in death. There may be, here and there, a few who never felt, and consequently never admitted, his transcendent power, but they must be regarded as exceptions to the rule. As common sense is the best sense, so the common judgment of mankind is the best test of excellence in preaching.

In attempting to account for Bishop Simpson's pre-eminence as a preacher, it must be considered, first of all, that he recognized preaching as the great business of his life. He was called of God to be a preacher long before he was called of the Church to be a Bishop. This call was, like his conversion, radical and abiding. It so possessed him that it left nothing in him unappropriated. Hence preaching could never be treated as secondary, or accessory to something else, much less as an accident of his vocation. It was the one thing of all others to be done with his might. This was the grand absorbent which drew in, dissolved, and assimilated all the resources of his affluent mind. God converted his soul and said to him, "Go,

tell it;" and he began to tell it, and he went on telling it. There was to him no fact, with its correlations, so important as this; not alone was it fresh when it first took place, but the freshest of all truths to his latest day; and to proclaim it was the necessity and joy begotten of its irresistible impulse. Though he grew in intelligence, station, fortune, and fame, he never grew away from his early conviction of the supreme dignity and importance of preaching. When, therefore, he stood before the people "to speak the words of this life," whether in the backwoods or the metropolis of the land, he did the best of which he was capable. His estimate of the pulpit he has himself indicated in the Yale lectures: "It seems to me that the possibilities connected with preaching have been only partially realized, and that a bright and more glorious day will dawn upon the Church." This thorough absorption not only led him to bring all his acquirements to the pulpit, but it impressed his audience with such a sense of his moral and professional earnestness as predisposed them to a favorable hearing.

This view of the work of preaching as the one grand engagement of his life led him uniformly to preach for the highest results. "If you would be eloquent," said the venerable Dr. Tyng, "preach always as if you were in a revival." Thus, by both a spiritual and artistic instinct, Bishop Simpson, brushing aside all trivialities, seized upon, as the staple of his discourses, the great fundamental truths of the Gospel. Such themes as sin, atonement, salvation, the harmony of natural and revealed law, the final triumph of Christianity, and kindred topics, were those he usually discussed with all his energy of mind and heart. This sort of selection as to his subjects guaranteed an order of discussion which could not fail to be worthy the attention of the most cultivated among his hearers. He never failed to impress an audience by the quality of his thought as well as by the sincerity of his purpose.

The subject-matter of his discourses owed much of its impressiveness to the mode of its expression. It might possibly be affirmed that no one can be an original thinker who has not imagination, for imagination is the faculty by which old truths are seen in new lights, by which relations between a well-understood order and an order not so well understood, or hitherto

not at all, are brought to view. It is the creative faculty that clothes dead things with life, and makes the tame and commonplace facts of existence fresh, realistic. This faculty Bishop Simpson possessed to a wondrous degree. Fancy, too, he had. He could describe a scene or a thing with great accuracy and with the delicate touches of a landscape painter. But his *forte* was original perceptions—that all-seeing imagination before whose blaze hidden things fall open as the quartz dissolves into its elements before the blow-pipe. The mind of the hearer likes this mode of putting thought. It excites wonder and secures assent; it entertains while it instructs. There was in all his sermons marks of a great intellect. The effect produced by them was not that which results merely from exciting the emotions, but rather that which comes of a thorough conviction of the understanding. Beginning with a statement of truths held in common by the natural and spiritual man, upon these as a foundation he builded the superstructure, carrying the judgment of the hearer with him in every step of the ascent until he reached the conclusion; a culmination in which not only the harmony of natural and revealed religion was seen, but the infinite superiority of the latter was triumphantly vindicated. Thus in every sermon, whether by design or instinct, there was unity, movement, cumulation. One leading idea gathered about it all subordinate ones, and grew by their contributions until it expanded into one magnificent whole of evangelical truth. And usually when this grand *finale* was reached his hearers were captured—the spiritual man rejoiced and the natural man assented.

And yet with all these qualities—his devout piety, honesty as a man, logical precision, affluence of imagination, and his single purpose to save men—the core of his preaching is not quite touched, nor the hidden springs of his power detected. To understand what it was that gave his preaching its charm you must go back of its subject-matter, and its merely intellectual and religious character, to the genius of the man. He was by nature an orator. Heaven had endued him with the gift of thinking, feeling, and speaking *eloquently*. What this means who can define? If asked what is beauty, one may reply that it is unity in variety, fitness, the evolution of forces, etc., but none of these will fully answer; and yet we all *feel* beauty when

we see it in an object or a thought. It is alike difficult to tell what poetry is, though we say many things helpful to a correct understanding of it. So eloquence has never been satisfactorily explained. One man gets up before us with a physique as perfect as that of Apollo Belvidere, his head and face of classic mold, his voice attuned like that of an organ, his ideas original and grand, and his action faultless—and we feel his power, we are entranced as by the spell of a magician. We say this is eloquence. So it is. But another comes without a single feature in his bodily appearance to recommend him, and claims a hearing. He is under size, or tall and ungainly, his head defiant of the acknowledged rules of phrenology, his eye rather expressionless than otherwise, his voice squeaky or harsh, his ideas at first are commonplace and his action violates all grace, and yet, as the man speaks, he gradually gains your attention, disarms your prejudices, wins your favor, until he penetrates you as with a flame of fire, and you melt before him, or he sweeps you away as with a whirlwind, and, regardless of the question as to whether he is logical or graceful, you are borne down. Here, too, is eloquence; you feel it. Sharp as is the contrast between the two men, there is one thing in which they are the same. They possess the strange power of transfusing their hearers with their own personality, so that the hearers think and feel as they do. It is something—a spark—which inheres in the original structure of the mind. It is born in a man, and not acquired.

Such was the endowment of Bishop Simpson. This spark lightened with its flame the whole man, soul and body. Every thing he did, he did eloquently. He thought, wrote, spoke, moved as an orator. In scanning the files of the "Western Christian Advocate" for the four years he was editor, one will find the same essential features in his editorials which all along distinguished his spoken discourses. They are suffused with a warmth which puts the soul aglow with the vitality of the man who is behind the pen. In all his words, looks, and actions, whether he talked familiarly with a friend or two, or looked calmly upon an audience before rising to speak, or stooped to kiss a child or to grasp a brother's hand in passing, there was a gleam of the inward light. Men will say it was sympathy with mankind, earnestness, a losing of

himself in his subject and for others. All true; it was all this, and something besides. To Bishop Simpson's oratory may be felicitously applied the language which Mr. Curtis uses in his oration on Wendell Phillips: "Unconsciously and surely the ear and heart were charmed. How was it done? Ah, how did Mozart do it, how Raphael? The secret of the rose's sweetness, of the bird's ecstasy, of the sunset's glory—that is the secret of genius and of eloquence. . . . Like an illuminating vase of odors, he glowed with concentrated and perfumed fire. The divine energy of his conviction utterly possessed him and his.

> "'Pure and eloquent blood
> Spoke in *his* cheeks, and so distinctly wrought,
> That one might almost say *his* body thought.'"

Thousands who have listened to Bishop Simpson will recall many illustrations of this singular power. A leading educator of our Church heard him soon after his election to the episcopacy on his first visit to New England. The theme was "The Victory of Faith." He says: "I stood in the aisle of the church during the entire time, from one hour and a half to two hours, wholly insensible of the flight of time." On another occasion, this gentleman himself had preached on Sunday morning at one of the Bishop's Conferences, the Bishop being unable to preach. After the ordination, the Bishop began to exhort, and in a few minutes the whole audience was convulsed with emotion; preachers and people laughed and wept as though beside themselves. Those who attended the reunion of the Ohio and Cincinnati Conferences at Chillicothe, O., during the war (1864, perhaps) will never forget the scene. Bishop Simpson had been addressing the joint bodies upon the issues before the country, and in his peroration he turned to the "Stars and Stripes" above him, and, taking hold of its folds, he burst into a thrilling apostrophe to the old flag. The effect was electrical; the ministers shouted, wept, stamped, embraced each other, and, it was afterward reported, some even rolled over on the floor. The scene was simply indescribable.

It was our privilege to hear Charles Sumner and Bishop Simpson in New York about the same week, during the exciting presidential campaign of 1864. Mr. Sumner spoke in

Cooper Union. The audience was select. The oration was masterly. Beginning with a description of two ships which steered for the American coast, one from a port of England freighted with the Puritans seeking freedom in the New World, the other from the coast of Africa freighted with negroes doomed to servitude; he went on to trace the rise and progress of the great controversy between freedom and slavery up to that hour, and the issue that was then upon us. Throughout, the sentences were compact, the argument conclusive, and the rhetoric perfect. Every body was convinced, but there was little or no emotion. Bishop Simpson spoke to a vast concourse in the Academy of Music on the value of the Union. The argument was an aggregation of facts, grouped in such order and so luminously and forcibly put that men bit their lips, clenched their fists, or stamped, shouted, and wept, as if to say, 'It is so, the Union never shall be sundered." For logical precision and classical finish his oration was not the equal of Sumner's; and yet in effect it far excelled it, and that, too, with many thoughtful people.

Another recollection: it was our good fortune to hear the Bishop when he preached as our representative before the British Wesleyan Conference at Burslem, England, in 1870. Bishop Foster, then Dr. Foster, his co-delegate, said to me, "Let us go up into the gallery, and take seats where we can see the effect of the sermon on the Conference." And so we took seats in one end of the deep gallery of the old chapel, whence we could overlook the platform on which sat the "one hundred," and have a general view of the audience. The preacher's text was: "But none of these things move me," etc. Acts xx, 24. I do not remember the order of the sermon. He discussed a call to the ministry—gave a graphic picture of Paul's career—his trials and successes—pausing as the apostle was confronted by each successive conflict, and hearing him cry, "But none of these things move me." We followed with the rest, and were glad to see that our great Bishop was carrying the British with him. When his explanations and arguments were well through, the antitheses and climaxes made, suddenly he adverted to his own call to preach. He depicted his youth, his orphanage, his long struggles. Finally the Spirit of God fastened the conviction upon him, and now the difficulty was

to break it to his mother. How would she be affected by it? Could she give him up? Could he ever leave her? He was her only son and child. Approaching her one day, he said, "Mother, I think I shall have to preach." Without hesitation she said, "Why, Matthew, I have been expecting this since you were a child. Your father and I dedicated you to God when you were born." At this recital my heart went to my throat, my eyes overflowed. I tried to hide my emotions from Dr. Foster, but as I did so I glanced at him; and he, if possible, was more overcome than I was. We both wept, forgetful of others. We also, like the rest, had fallen under the spell of the great preacher; this, too, when we had meant to study in cold blood the secret of his power over an audience.

After such experiences it were easy to concede him to be a modern Chrysostom. Of that great ancient preacher, Suidas observes that "he had a tongue which exceeded the cataracts of the Nile in fluency, so that he delivered many of his panegyrics on the martyrs extempore without the least hesitation. His hearers were sometimes rapt in such profound attention that pickpockets took advantage of it; sometimes they were melted to tears, or beat their breasts and faces, and uttered groans and cries to heaven for mercy; at other times they clapped their hands or shouted." *

In concluding this rapid sketch, a few points in summing up seem to be worthy of special note:

He is an example of the high achievements possible to a well-endowed, industrious, painstaking, and devout youth. He began life an orphan boy, with no rich and influential friends, and advanced to the most commanding position. There were no abrupt breaks in his career; so far as we can see, no serious mistakes. He moved steadily and serenely forward and upward, gathering strength and increasing in influence until the hour of his death. If he possessed natural gifts above the average youths, he did not seem to know it, and certainly he never trusted to mere genius for success. His application to all work was incessant. He was thoroughly honest in the use of time and means. When he first began to preach he was so simple and guileless that he conscientiously abstained from special preparation for preaching. He did not

* "Life of St. Chrysostom," by W. R. W. Stephens, M. A., London.

select his text or premeditate his subject before entering the pulpit, deeming it necessary that he should absolutely trust the Lord both for his text and his sermon. "Open thy mouth and I will fill it." But he learned better as he grew older, and when a more excellent way opened to him, he was equally honest in following it. In those earlier years he was not as uniformly effective in his ministrations as afterward. Judging from a comment in the unpublished journal of the late Bishop Waugh, he made comparative failures in the pulpit even after he was a professor at Meadville. "Wheeling, Va.—Heard Prof. Simpson preach in the evening—it was only a tolerable performance." But he studied and triumphed. No young man can fully know what stuff he is made of until he has studied with all his might, and studied *persistently*.

In the matter of physical advantages he has also illustrated the efficiency of an intelligent, straightforward courage. Instead of yielding to an early tendency to pulmonary disease, and desisting from preaching, he persevered and cured it. "Open-air exercise, continuous and *judicious* speaking, saved me, as I believe, from a premature death," he has more than once been heard to say. Nor was there any thing in his person, until it expanded and glowed with the inspiration of an audience, which impressed one with his power. He would never have been picked out of an assembly, by those who knew him not, as a great man. His form was tall, but slight and stooped; his head was small for the size of his body, with a low forehead, projecting shaggy eyebrows, and there was not the dome-like cranium which is popularly associated with the highest intellects. His eyes, when he was in repose, were bright enough, but not at all piercing, and were rather quiet, and indicative of kindly, benevolent feeling, than of incisive thought and great will-power. It was not until he was fully aroused and on fire with some mighty subject that you had "the warrior's eye beneath the philosopher's brow." Then the whole form and features, like some ancient classic urn, shone resplendent from the brightness within. Who can ever forget his looks as, thus transfigured, he spoke to us of Christ and heaven, until the gates of paradise seemed to open above him, and we with him gazed in at the celestial glory and saw the King in his beauty.

Bishop Simpson was a remarkable example of the union of the highest mental qualities in the most perfect harmony. He was both a philosopher and an orator. His brilliant eloquence was associated with profound and far-reaching thought. His career is a standing refutation of the baseless assumption that a man cannot be a popular preacher and a deep, close thinker. "Genius," says Guizot, "is bound to follow human nature in all its developments. Its strength consists in finding within itself the means of satisfying the whole of the public. It should exist for all, and should suffice at once for the wants of the masses and for the requirements of the most exalted minds." There were those who were ready to say of Dr. Durbin, before his profound practical wisdom was wrought into the immortal Methodist missionary scheme, that he was simply an "inspired declaimer." And I presume there are some persons sufficiently narrow to deny to the most eloquent orator of England that he is at the same time the most sagacious, comprehensive statesman. Mr. Gladstone could not to-day be the mightiest factor in British and continental politics without his popular oratory; nor would his eloquence avail unless sustained by the deepest and clearest insight into the principles which underlie both divine and human governments. Bishop Simpson was capable of the keenest analysis and the most abstruse discussions, as his articles on conscience and kindred topics, written when he was an editor, abundantly show. He could have excelled as a metaphysician, if metaphysics had been his chosen field; and had he devoted himself to the natural sciences in which he began as a college professor, he might have become a Henry, a Silliman, or possibly an Agassiz. He had an EYE for *principles* whichever way he turned. It was this power of discernment and penetration that so stamped with common sense all he did that some, in characterizing his intellectual make-up, have been attracted more by his *judiciousness* than by all else.

Another fact which is well worthy of note is, that there is not, and need not be in this age or any age, a decline in the power and influence of the pulpit. The sustained popularity of Bishop Simpson and Mr. Spurgeon for so many years, not to name others, shows that when the human heart is rightly addressed it will respond. To say nothing of the great truths—pardon,

holiness, providence, and heaven, which form the substance of preaching and which are so indispensable to the soul—preaching, when really eloquent, appeals to the æsthetic nature of man. As an art it has its foundation in the higher susceptibilities of human nature, precisely as music or painting or any other fine art has. Indeed, there is no power like the power of the tongue. There is nothing in the whole range of nature which gives such satisfaction as talking. The faculty of speech is man's noblest endowment.

People love to talk and to be talked to, and hence conversation is the most agreeable relaxation, and that which usually caps all other exercises. Where preaching, rising upon the conversational tone and manner as a basis, keeps true to nature, it never can cease to be attractive. The vice of the pulpit has been an artificial, stilted, professional style of delivery. The same may apply too well to the rhetorical structure of sermons. But average people will listen to almost any thing which is spoken in a natural manner. The soul will always kindle to eloquent thoughts, eloquently spoken. And if preachers ignore this vantage ground which the God of nature has given them, in the love which is implanted in all men for the beautiful, and shall fail to meet its requirements, then surely must the pulpit decay. It is not enough for men called of God to skulk under the cover that the Gospel is indispensable to mankind, and that men must be damned if they do not listen to it. No honest preacher wants to shield his neglect of study and culture under the sacredness and importance of his message; on the contrary, the more he is impressed with its holy and stupendous character the more he yearns so to present it as that, in his manner at least, there shall be nothing to repel, but every thing to attract, those to whom his message is to be either a savor of life unto life or a savor of death unto death. God's great method of saving the world by preaching is so grounded in supernatural and natural reasons as that there need never be a decadence of the pulpit. Such examples as that of Bishop Simpson in our own times strikingly illustrate the position. Nothing but lack of moral convictions, spiritual earnestness, and professional enthusiasm can bring about a falling away from the eloquence of the fathers in the Gospel.

Art II.—CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

[First Paper.]

Churches are spiritual empires, and in these realms, as in the state, prosperity and liberty are safe only in the guardianship of law. It is true that the aim of the Christian Church is holy, and its principles are professedly drawn from the word of God, but its subjects and rulers are erring men, and its prizes have a fascination for human ambition hardly surpassed by those of secular empires. Nowhere else has man been so degraded and his natural rights trodden upon as in religious organizations.

Our aim in these articles is to throw light on the somewhat obscure and confused question of the constitutional law of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to define that law, trace the history of its development, and bring together some of the principles that have been established during the first century of our history. There are many difficulties in such an inquiry. The field is a comparatively new one; the literature of the subject is fragmentary and scattered, and the data are uncertain and frequently contradictory. We have no Supreme Court to whose records we may appeal for final judgments. It is one of the defects of our system that the General Conference, which is our legislative body, is also our ultimate Court of Appeals. "The General Conference," says Dr. L. L. Hamline in his famous speech in 1844 (General Conference Journal, Debates, p. 130), "is a Court of Appeals beyond which no parties can travel for the cure of errors. It is the *dernier ressort*, not only of appellants, but of original complainants. If it err, which is not a legal presumption, its unwholesome error is incurable except by the *vis medicatrix*—the medicinal virtue—of its own judicial energies."

The Methodist Episcopal Church is a Church of constitutional and statute law. From the earliest days of its history the functions and responsibilities of its officers were clearly defined in the yearly Minutes and Discipline, as were also the duties and privileges of its members.

Our judicial system dates from the organization of the Church. There have, however, been conflicting opinions in

the Church and in the General Conference on constitutional questions, especially as to the prerogatives of the episcopacy and the powers of the General Conference. Upon these vexed questions we hope to throw some light, and to put the entire subject in such form as to lead to settled results. It is a subject that needs careful and painstaking inquiry. It would not be difficult to prove that the gravity of constitutional obligations has not always been sufficiently felt in our past history.

Let the reader recall, as examples, the action of the General Conference of 1844, in connection with the separation of the Church South, the action of the Conference of 1868 in admitting representatives from Mission Conferences, and the action of 1872 in relegating Conference boundaries to a committee with power.

Another fact which commends this question to the careful study of the ministers and people of the Church is, that there is probably no Church in Christendom where there is so much discretionary power committed to its officers as in the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has been our boast that we have an efficient executive and a strong government. Our economy demands this, inasmuch as it is indispensable to the continuance of that fundamental institution of Methodism, the itinerancy—the institution which, next to the grace of God, is the fount and origin of our prosperity. But a powerful executive is also a dangerous one; and in exact proportion to the power of the center should be the explicitness of the laws that define and protect the rights and privileges of the individual members of the Church and of the ministry.

The constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church is both written and unwritten. As written, it includes the organic statutes that were enacted for the government of the Church by the General Conference of 1808, or that have since been legally adopted. The Conference of 1808 may be called the Constitutional Convention of the Church, for the reason that it was the last General Conference composed of all the traveling preachers, and that it provided for the future government of the Church by a delegated Conference acting under constitutional restraints. It is usual to say that the written constitution is the six Restrictive Rules with the famous grant of power which precedes them, to wit:

The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church, under the following limitations and restrictions, namely.

"The written constitution, according to my conception,* is found in what are called, in our Discipline, the Restrictive Rules." But this is a mistake. On several occasions in the history of the Church, especially in the great constitutional debates of 1868, it was found that this was not only a partial view of the matter, but also a thoroughly false view. The opinion presented by Dr. S. M. Merrill (now Bishop Merrill), and ably argued by him and others in the debates on Lay Delegation in 1868, and supported at that time by the final action of that General Conference, is the best law on this subject. Dr. Merrill held, that the written constitution of the Church included those sections of the Discipline (Part II, Chapter I) which relate to the several styles of Conferences and define their functions. The constitution of the General Conference is that portion of that chapter which refers to the General Conference, and under which the first delegated General Conference was organized; the constitution of the Annual Conference is that portion of the same chapter which relates to the Annual Conference, and so on. Dr. Merrill said:

The Quarterly Conference cannot change its own constitution; the Annual Conference cannot change its own constitution; and no more can the General Conference change its own constitution. The General Conference may change the constitution of the Annual Conference because it is subordinate, and likewise of the Quarterly Conference because it is subordinate; and likewise *the same power that made the General Conference* may change the constitution of that body.

As this is a matter of great importance we make some quotations from Dr. Merrill's speech:

It is wonderful that, in this second century of American Methodism, there should be disagreement among us as to what part of our Discipline contains the constitution of the Church. But it is so. I have been no little surprised, here and elsewhere, to hear men of learning and ability advance the opinion, as though it were settled and established beyond question, that the only constitutional provisions in the Discipline are found in the six articles known as the Restrictive Rules. This I regard as

* Speech of John M'Clintock in General Conference of 1868.

a grand mistake, and one that is so fundamentally wrong that it ought at once to be corrected.

His argument to show that the entire section relating to the General Conference had constitutional authority was as follows:

If we have authority by a majority vote to alter this first answer, relating to membership in the General Conference, we have equal right to change the second answer—and we have been asked to do that thing—the one which tells us when the General Conference shall meet; and having this right we may stereotype the action of this Conference by refusing to have another session for fifty or a hundred years. We may, by a simple majority vote, ordain that the next session of the General Conference shall be held in 1972 instead of 1872. Does any one pretend that we have a right to do this in the face of the express provision of the constitution, which says: "The General Conference shall meet in the city of New York on the first day of May, in the year of our Lord 1812, and thenceforward on the first day of May once in four years perpetually?" But according to the assumption under consideration we may do this, and by a mere majority vote.

Again, if we can change the first and second answers to this question, we can also change the third, which provides that it shall at all times require two thirds of all the members elected to form a quorum. Is it possible that any legislative body working under a written constitution given to it by a superior authority can claim any such right as this—right to change its quorum, which has been established for it by a power above itself? Was ever such a thing heard of before?

But this is not all. If this body has the power to make the changes mentioned, it may also change the fourth answer, which tells us that a Bishop shall preside over the General Conference. If this assumption is true, we may at any time by a mere majority vote displace you, sir, Mr. President, and displace any and all these Bishops, so far as the presidency of the General Conference is concerned, and put a man from our own body into the chair to preside. Now, are we prepared to claim any such power as this? I trust not, sir; but it is clearly our right to do so if the assumption is correct that we may change any part of this section except the restrictions.

But still further, I call your attention to another fact of no little importance in this connection. It is that this provision for altering the Restrictive Rules is itself outside of the Restrictive Rules. It is not of the nature of a restriction. It is connected with the restrictions, I grant, and its provisions relate to them, and only to them, but it is outside of them; and if we have the power to change by a majority vote all outside of the Restrictive Rules, then we have the power to change this provision for change. And if we have the right to do this, these restrictions are not worth the paper on which they are written. The moment

we claim the right to change the provision for change we put the whole list of restrictions under the power of the majority, and they may do what they please.*

In harmony with the principles of Bishop Merrill's speech, lay delegation was incorporated in our Church system by the constitutional two thirds and three fourths votes. It may be claimed, therefore, that this question of what constitutes the written constitution of the Church was settled in the General Conference of 1868.

The unwritten constitution, *lex non scripta*, embraces those facts, obligations, and customs which are implied in the written law, and have been recognized in the history of the Church as involved in the original compact, and essential to the integrity of the system. That our episcopacy, for example, is not a third order in the ministry, *jure divino*, is a part of this unwritten law, for this is implied in its history and in its dependence upon the Church; but, on the other hand, it is equally a part of the unwritten constitution that the General Conference shall, by sufficiently frequent elections, maintain an efficient episcopacy in the Church, though this duty is not specifically enjoined upon them in the organic law.

We quote, on this point, from the speech of Dr. D. Curry on the occasion referred to above, when Bishop Merrill addressed the General Conference:

I agree with Brother Merrill's interpretation of the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But there is more in this matter that has yet been brought before us. Behind the words and between the lines of a constitution there is always a deeper meaning and a broader reach of sense than is found in the letter itself. The written constitution is broader, deeper, and more solid than that which is expressed, and that is precisely the point which I wish to press in this case. There is nowhere found in the Book of Discipline the declaration that you shall not change the name of our Church, and I do not believe that you will hold that this body has power to do so. There is nothing in that constitution which forbids our striking out our name and taking any other name we please, but I do not suppose, therefore, we have power to do it. There are certain things that lie back of our corporate life, and those things are the very power which gave us our existence. The constituency of the General Conference existed before the General Conference had any being, which constituency exists yet, and that is the presbytery or body of

* Daily Christian Advocate, 1868, p. 98.

elders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which, according to our theory of government, inheres all our governmental powers.*

We now proceed to another part of our subject, namely, the interpretation of the constitution. And here we meet the two parties of strict and liberal constructionists that are found in all governments: the party that leans to centralization and the increase of executive prerogative, and the party that leans to diffused power and local self-government. These two parties have manifested themselves throughout the entire history of the Church. They were face to face in 1820 when Joshua Soule declined the episcopacy because of the vote of the Conference for an elective presiding eldership; again in 1844 when the Southern preachers supported Bishop Andrew against the vote of suspension; again in 1868, though in a somewhat different form, over the lay delegation question; and again in 1876 on an elective eldership. The last conflict of these two tendencies, and in some respects the most significant in the history of the Church, was in the General Conference of 1884 at Philadelphia.

There are five fundamental features in every Church organization, (*a*) the polity, (*b*) the creed, (*c*) the conditions of membership, (*d*) the rights and privileges of the ministry and members, and (*e*) the governing authority. In the Methodist Episcopal Church these are all defined in the section of the Discipline on "The General Conference," but chiefly in the Restrictive Rules of that section. The government of the Church is committed to the General Conference, subject to the limitations of its constitution. The composition and constituency of the General Conference are prescribed in the second Restrictive Rule. The polity of the Church is the episcopal polity, which fact, together with our peculiar style of episcopacy, is set forth in the third Restrictive Rule. The first Rule prescribes the creed; the fourth Rule protects "the General Rules," which define the moral discipline and conditions of membership in the Church; the fifth and sixth Rules protect the rights and privileges of the ministry and laity.

Before attempting the interpretation of these Rules, we must consider the question of the powers of the General Conference in its relations to the Church, under the terms of the

* Daily Christian Advocate, 1868, p. 102.

constitution. Over this question the battle was fought in the Conferences of 1844 and 1848.

In obedience to the demands of the Southern preachers for a separation from the Church the General Conference of 1844 adopted the famous "Plan of Separation," by which they consented to the removal from the Methodist Episcopal Church of

> all the societies, stations, and Conferences adhering to the Church in the South by a vote of a majority of the members of said societies, stations, and Conferences, . . . provided also, that this rule shall apply only to societies, stations, and Conferences bordering on the line of division, and not to interior charges, which shall in all cases be left to the care of that Church within whose territory they are situated.*

The ministers, local and traveling, were at liberty to make choice between the two Churches, and the consent of the Annual Conferences was asked for a division of the property. By this high-handed procedure the General Conference rent the Church in sunder, in flagrant violation of that broad principle of law that a delegated body, established to promote the prosperity of the Church, has no authority to destroy it, and also of that part of the constitution which guarantees the privileges of the Church, with the right of trial and appeal, to all its members. The General Conference of 1848 reversed, so far as was practicable, the action of its predecessor in this matter, and declared the Plan of Separation "null and void." After a long and very able debate the Conference adopted the following resolutions:

> 1. There exists no power in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to pass any act which, either directly or indirectly, effectuates, authorizes, or sanctions a division in said Church.
>
> 2. It is the right of every member of the Methodist Episcopal Church to remain in said Church unless guilty of a violation of its rules; and there exists no power in the ministry, either individually or collectively, to deprive any member of said right.†

The remaining resolutions declared the action of the Conference of 1844, in separating members from the Church without trial and without their consent, to be unconstitutional and therefore void.

The following extract from the speech of Dr. D. Curry,

* General Conference Journal, p. 135. † *Ibid.*, p. 73.

while the above resolutions were in debate, elaborates the principles of our law which were established by the final action of the General Conference of 1848:

I contend that the "Plan of Separation" violates the inherent and constitutional rights of our ministers and members. I do not refer exclusively to the fifth Restrictive Rule of our Discipline, though to me it seems as plainly to override that Rule and to contradict its provisions as *yes* and *no* are contradictions. For while the "Plan" placed hundreds of thousands of our people beyond our pale, without the shadow of a trial, the Rule declares that the General Conference "shall not do away the privileges of our ministers and preachers of trial by a committee, and of an appeal; neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society, and of an appeal." What, I pray, is the privilege of a trial, here so sacredly guarded, but the means of securing one's standing and membership in the Church? and if that membership is taken away otherwise than by a trial, then is this rule violated.

But I go back to the fundamental compact of the Church with its individual members, by which are guaranteed to them the privileges of the Church so long as they conform to its rules of Discipline. There is in all social compacts a *lex non scripta*—an unwritten law, lying back of written constitutions and laws, of which the written law is a more or less perfect transcript. The obligation between the Church in its intangible individuality and its members is mutual, and while they remain faithful to their duties it has no right to deprive them of their privileges.

We add a paragraph from Dr. F. G. Hibbard's "Life of Bishop Hamline" (p. 141):

The powers of the General Conference, be they more or less, being delegated, not primal, the object and intention of the act of investiture must become the gauge and limit of the power invested. To transcend this limit is a fraud and a usurpation. This is not less a principle of law than of ethics. In the intentions of the constituency lay the ethics and legal limitations of the delegating act, beyond which the acts of General Conference had no *jure humano* ground or validity. That the power to divide the Church was not specifically mentioned in the Restrictive Rules is no evidence that it is specifically vested in the General Conference. . . . Nor had the constituency of 1808 itself the moral right thus to divide, without at least the concurrent voice of the entire body of the membership. To have assumed it would have been a usurpation and a violation of the tacit but real compact of Church fellowship. The ministry were not the total Church.

But while it is clear that the Conference of 1844 overstepped its legal powers, and thereby caused much evil to the Church,

yet it is not easy to define the exact boundaries of constitutional restraint. The grant of power to the General Conference is as follows:

> The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church, under the following limitations and restrictions, namely.

What are the powers given to the General Conference by the terms of this grant? In answer to this pivotal question we quote, first, from the able and elaborate argument of Bishop Harris in his treatise on "The Constitutional Powers of the General Conference:"

> The constitution gives to the General Conference *full powers* to make rules and regulations under defined limitations—power to make *all* rules and regulations pertinent to Church government under *specified* restrictions, and under no other restrictions.
>
> There is not here a delegation of enumerated powers accompanied by a general reservation, as in the case of the Federal Government, but a delegation of general and sweeping powers under enumerated and well-defined restrictions. The whole power to rule and regulate the Church is given to the General Conference by the plain terms of the grant, and it is to be held as restricted only in those particulars in which it was designed not to delegate the power. In what particulars it was designed not to delegate the power must be determined by the terms of the constitution. No limitations can be implied other than those assigned in the instrument itself.—Page 22.
>
> To ascertain, therefore, the powers of the General Conference in a given case, no search need be made for a specific warrant for the particular rule which it is proposed to enact. It is enough that the constitution does not forbid the rule; for the terms of the grant devolving legislative power upon the General Conference are sufficiently comprehensive to authorize the passage of any rule not clearly excepted by the enumerated restrictions.—Page 24.

This puts the authority of the General Conference in a very strong way, and one can only subscribe to it by insisting clearly that the constitution includes more than the grant and its limitations in the Restrictive Rules. The constitution must be understood as we have defined it above. The speech of Dr. Hamline in the Conference of 1844 is of such high authority that it may be regarded as one of the standards on this subject. We quote:

> Here, Mr. President, let me say a word concerning our Church constitution. It is a remarkable instrument. It differs cardinally

from most or all civil constitutions. These generally proceed to demark the several departments of government—the legislative, judicial, and executive—and by positive grant, assign each department its duties. Our constitution is different. It does not divide the powers of our government into legislative, executive, and judicial. It provides for a General Conference, and for an episcopacy and general superintendency. It leaves all the powers of the three great departments of government, except what is essential to an episcopacy, etc., in this General Conference. It restricts us slightly in all our powers, but not in one department more than in another. Under this constitution the Conference is as much a judicatory as a legislature; and it is as much an executive body as either.

Dr. Hamline's speech attempts to prove that the General Conference "has legislative, judicial, and executive supremacy." "Beyond these slender restrictions, its legislation is legitimate and conclusive; and within them it is so, if the members of the Annual Conferences are consenting." *

Concerning the first Restrictive Rule, which treats of the Articles of Religion, two questions are asked—whether there is any power that can change the Articles? and whether it is competent for the General Conference to add to their number? In answer to the first, it may be said that the power that made the Rule can unmake it. Back of all jurisdictions in the Church is the Church itself. The Rule was left in this way in 1832 by the concurrent vote of all the Annual Conferences and two thirds of the General Conference.†

The answer to the second inquiry was made in the able report of the Bishops on this specific subject to the General Conference of 1876. It was there declared, and ably argued, that any additions to the Articles of Religion would be a virtual "change" of the Articles, and therefore an infraction of the Rule, and, of course, unlawful. ‡

We now come to the consideration of the third Restrictive Rule, which defines the limitations of the General Conference touching the episcopacy. The Rule declares that the General Conference "shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." Here we are on an

* Hamline's speech, Journal, General Conference, 1844.

† Sherman's "History of the Discipline," p. 134.

‡ Journal of General Conference, 1876, pp. 206–208.

ancient battle-field, where we must move with careful and reverent steps. Ours is an Episcopal Church, with the most vigorous episcopacy of any Church in Christendom. The episcopacy is an integral and indispensable part of our economy, as at present organized, for to it is committed not only the supervision of the entire Church, but also the power of propelling the itinerant ministry. And while it is responsible for its administration, under the law, to the General Conference, yet as an institution it is not dependent on the General Conference, but is co-ordinate with it in our governing system. It is therefore both co-ordinate and subordinate. The power that instituted the General Conference, namely, the entire body of the elders, also instituted the episcopacy, so that the General Conference can neither abolish it nor change its character as an "itinerant general superintendency." The circulating ministry is guaranteed a circulating episcopacy.

But in its relation to the Church as a whole, "our episcopacy" (we quote from a lecture of Bishop Harris) "is derived, dependent, and responsible. Its authority is a delegated authority only, and may be modified just as the body of the eldership, from which it was derived, shall see proper, and that, too, without any infringement on the rights of the Bishops themselves."

In searching for the interpretation which the Church has put upon the third Restrictive Rule, we meet with two theories of our episcopacy and two interpretations of the statute. One of these exalts the episcopacy in its relations to the General Conference and takes high ground for prerogative; the other magnifies the relative authority of the Conference.

The former party hold that this Restrictive Rule was designed by the Conference of 1808 to maintain not only an "itinerant general superintendency," but also that peculiar style of episcopacy which the Church then possessed, including all the powers and functions thereof, and all the rites and usages connected therewith. That episcopacy, which the fathers knew and approved, and which they had created, it was their wish to perpetuate.

The episcopacy as it was in 1808, with every form of authorization and recognition, with every attribute of authority and responsibility, must remain unchanged and unchangeable, except

by the consenting action of the preachers in the Annual Conferences.

In harmony with this construction, it is claimed that the tenure of office in the episcopacy is a life tenure; that the right to fix the appointments of the preachers, and to choose the presiding elders, inheres in the Bishops; that to the Bishops belongs the exclusive authority to ordain; that a service of consecration to the office is inseparable from it; and that the General Conference is the only body competent to elect Bishops. All this, it is claimed, is guaranteed by the third Restrictive Rule, inasmuch as this was the status of the episcopacy in 1808. This was the intention of the Rule, and its language justifies this interpretation.

On the other hand, it is argued by those who take a different view of the matter, that the General Conference of 1808 intended to give large discretional powers to the delegated Conference; that this new body was made the successor of the old imperial Conference, and that it was endowed with all the authority exercised formerly, barring certain specified restrictions. Those restrictions must be interpreted strictly, and in consonance with the commanding place which the General Conference had always held in the Church. The new Conference, says Bishop Harris ("Powers," etc., page 24), "was the legitimate successor of the one of 1808, and it succeeded to all the powers of its predecessors except in so far as those powers were pared down by the limiting terms of the constitution."

In reading the Restrictive Rule the emphasis belongs, not to the word "plan," but to the phrase "itinerant general superintendency." The word "plan" must be related to what follows it, and derives all its significance therefrom, as illustrated in the following sentence quoted from the Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1844 (Journal of General Conference, 1844, page 156):

"Having noticed in what the superintendency chiefly consists, it is proper to observe that the plan of its operation is *general, embracing the whole work in connectional order, and not diocesan, or sectional.*" The italics are copied from the Journal. Additional light as to the intended significance of this word "plan" comes from the fact that an earnest attempt was made at the Conference of 1808 to establish a

diocesan episcopacy. A measure was proposed by M'Claskey and Cooper

to elect a Bishop for each Annual Conference, as a substitute for the presiding elderships, with Asbury as general superintendent. "It was largely and ably discussed," says Dr. Bangs, "by some of the leading members of the Conference on each side." There must have been a considerable party in favor of it, for when M'Claskey and Cooper proposed to withdraw their motion for it, a majority refused their request. But after much discussion it was defeated.*

Here, then, we have the two views and the two interpretations. They are both intelligible and lawful, and the loyalty of one who takes either side must not be questioned; and yet the history of the Church, and the opinions of the great leaders of the Church in its critical epochs, seem to favor the view which concedes considerable authority to the General Conference in its relations to the episcopacy.

In the first place, the argument that the Rule maintains inviolable whatever existed in our episcopacy in 1808 proves too much; for if it be valid, it enjoins not only that nothing be taken from, but also that nothing be added to, the functions of the Bishops by action of General Conference. But the Church has frequently witnessed the increase of episcopal functions by action of the General Conference, and always with satisfaction. For example, in 1816 the General Conference committed to the Bishops the great responsibility of preparing "a course of study" for candidates for the ministry; in 1844 they were ordered to prepare a course for candidates for orders, which should extend over four years. By this act of the Conference the Bishops are enabled to keep their hand on the theology of the Church, and to shape the opinions of its ministry. Are there any among us prepared to say that during seventy years our Bishops have been acting in violation of the constitution? And yet no such office as this is assigned to them in the organic law, nor did they ever exercise it prior to 1816.

Again, in 1840 the General Conference authorized the Bishops "to decide all questions of law in an Annual Conference, subject to an appeal to the General Conference." In 1872 the Conference limited this duty to "law questions pending in an

*Stevens's Life of Dr. Bangs, p. 172.

Annual Conference." But the Bishops had no such prerogative in 1808, for then they voted, spoke, and made motions on the floor of the Conference as members.

The constitution found the Bishops among the law-makers, it deprived them of those functions, and in 1840 the General Conference conferred upon them the judicial function of making law-decisions in an Annual Conference.

It is plain, therefore, that the *status quo* of the episcopacy since 1808 has been changed again and again. Besides, while the supremacy of the General Conference prior to 1808 was always recognized, it is a notable fact that during the same years the functions of the episcopacy were frequently changed. For example, Bishop Hedding declares that "the power with which the Bishops are invested was formerly much greater than it is now; it being thought best, by the General Conference, to transfer part of it from time to time either to the elders or to the laity." The Bishop goes on to show that they had "power to negative any election of superintendent, elder, or deacon, and to prevent any preacher from printing any thing which they did not approve; that they also could decide the cases of preachers and people who should appeal to them, and were judge whether they should be expelled from, or retained in, the Church." *

In view of this "logic of facts" it must be looked upon as hardihood to affirm that the Church is bound to maintain the episcopacy just as it existed when the delegated Conference was instituted. The General Conference has always exercised a regulative authority over the Bishops, and doubtless it will continue to do so in the future. The following, from the Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1840, adds light to the question now before us:

> The government of the Methodist Episcopal Church is peculiarly constructed. It is widely different from our civil organization. The General Conference is the only legislative body recognized in our ecclesiastical system, and *from it originates the authority of the entire executive administration.* †

At the same Conference, on the occasion of a tie vote,

Bishop Hedding was in the chair, and was called upon to give the casting vote. He knew this had been done in several instances

* Hedding's "Discourse on Discipline," p. 9.

† Journal General Conference, 1840, p. 139.

when there was a tie in the General Conference, but it was the first time he had ever been called upon to exercise this function.

Hedding refused to give the vote, being, as he held, precluded by the constitution.*

The great speech of L. L. Hamline in 1844 made him Bishop, and expressed the sentiments of the loyal majority that thereafter constituted the Church. For mastery of the economy of Methodism and for logical conclusiveness that speech has never been surpassed in the great debates of the Church. We make but a single quotation:

That the Conference has executive authority is indisputable. For the Bishop derives his authority from the Conference. Are not answers *first*, ["to preside in our Conferences,"] *second*, ["to form the districts according to his judgment,"] *third*, ["to fix the appointments of the preachers,"] and *eighth*, ["to decide all questions of law, etc.,"] to question third, in section fourth, statutory provisions? Do they not convey authority to the Bishops? If those answers were blotted out by a resolution of this Conference, would the Bishops proceed to execute the duties therein prescribed? This General Conference clothes them with these powers; and can the Conference convey what it does not possess? Can it impart to Bishops what was not inherent in itself up to the time of conveying it? The Conference has these powers. Every thing conveyed as a prerogative to Bishops, presiding elders, preachers, etc., by statutory provision, and not by the constitution or in the Restrictive Rules, was in the General Conference, or it was mockery thus to grant it, and the tenure of these officers is void, and their *seizin* tortuous.†

But a more authoritative utterance than Hamline's speech was the "Reply to the Protest" of the Southern preachers, prepared by order of the Conference by a committee of which Dr. John P. Durbin was chairman. We quote a single paragraph:

Bishop Emory—a man of whom it is no injustice to the living or the dead to say, that he was a chief ornament and light of our episcopacy; that he brought to the investigation of all ecclesiastical subjects a cool, sagacious, powerful, practical intellect—fully sustains the positions we have assumed in behalf of the powers of the General Conference over the Bishops of our Church. He gives an unqualified assent to the following passages from the notes to the Discipline, prepared by Bishops Asbury and Coke at the request of the General Conference: "They (our Bishops) are entirely dependent on the General Conference;" "their *power*,

* Clark's Life of Hedding, p. 556. † General Conference Journal, 1844.

their usefulness, themselves, are entirely at the mercy of the General Conference."*

Let us consider the office of stationing the preachers, and inquire whether the Church has recognized this office as inhering exclusively, under the constitution, in the episcopacy. As a matter of fact the Bishops always "fixed the appointments" of the preachers. This they did from the organization of the Church; and their predecessors, Wesley's "assistants," did it before them. But it is to be noted that authority was committed to them by statute for this work, and also that the General Conference has always made rules to regulate the pastoral term, thus putting restrictions on the Bishop's authority in the matter. In 1804 the Bishops were ordered to remove a preacher who had been two years on a charge. In 1864 the pastoral term was lengthened to three years. In 1792 the General Conference ordered the Bishops to change presiding elders after four years. These regulations were a limitation of the authority of the Bishops, and it has never been questioned that the General Conference has authority to make them. But if the Conference is competent to say that the Bishop shall move a preacher after two years, it is also competent to say that he shall not move him inside two years, or four years, or ten years; or that he shall not move him at all. And this was Hamline's view when he declared that if the General Conference "blotted out by a resolution" the "statutory provision" which enjoins the Bishops to fix the appointments, the office of making the appointments would cease from the episcopacy.

Similar reasoning may be applied to the presiding eldership. In 1792 an elder was limited to four years on a district; in 1844 the qualification was added, "after which he shall not be appointed to the same district for six years"; in 1872 the Conference authorized the Bishop to appoint presiding elders in Mission Conferences for more than four years.

The power to make these regulations implies a power to control the eldership; for it will not be claimed that this is "clearly excepted by the enumerated restrictions" of the constitution. As a question of fact, the General Conference has always prescribed the duties of presiding elders. This the

* Journal of General Conference, 1844, pp. 235, 236.

Conference has done by passing what Hamline calls "statutory provisions;" but this is a fact which logically carries with it complete control of the office, even to its existence. They may eliminate it from our system if they choose, and secure the needed supervision by an increase of the number of Bishops.

We proceed to another question, and inquire where the power resides for choosing presiding elders. It is claimed, that the history of the enactment of the third Restrictive Rule proves that the framers of the constitution committed the appointment of presiding elders to the Bishops as a prerogative of the episcopacy. Let us carefully consider this question. The argument for the case is as follows: In the General Conference of 1808, on May 16, the Committee of Fourteen presented their report on a constitution for a delegated General Conference. On the same day (we copy from the Journal, p. 83):

Moved by Ezekiel Cooper, and seconded by Joshua Wells, to postpone the present question to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine on the present subject. Carried.

Moved by Ezekiel Cooper, and seconded by Joshua Wells, the following restriction, namely:

Resolved, That in the fifth section of Discipline, after the question, By whom shall the presiding elders be chosen? the answer shall be: "Ans. 1st. Each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own presiding elders."

Two days later, after much debate, Cooper's resolution was rejected by a vote *taken by ballot:* ayes, 52; nays, 73. On the same day John M'Claskey, who favored an elective eldership, moved that the vote on the committee's report be taken by ballot. This was ordered. Then the first resolution of the report was put to vote and it was rejected: ayes, 57; nays, 64.

Cooper wanted an elective eldership, and it is quite probable that his influence caused the defeat of the committee's report. This result caused great dissatisfaction among those who were desiring a delegated Conference.

Asbury and the other chief advocates of the measure* were profoundly afflicted by this result. The New England and most of the Western members, who had been sent by election, as representatives of their distant Conferences, which could not generally attend, retired, and threatened to return home. Consulta-

*Stevens's History, vol. iv, p. 440.

tions ensued, and four days later the question was again resumed by motions of George, Roszel, Soule, Pickering, and Lee. On the 24th the report of the committee was substantially adopted, "*almost unanimously.*"

The words "almost unanimously" are taken from Bangs's History. The report of the Committee did not come before the Conference again, but in a fragmentary way most of its provisions were adopted. The third Restrictive Rule was adopted as presented in the report (Journal, p. 88).

From these facts it is concluded that the Conference, in adopting the third Rule after the defeat of Cooper's resolution, purposed to commit, and did actually commit, the office of choosing presiding elders inalienably and exclusively to the Bishops under the constitution. This is the *pièce de résistance* of those who take that view of the case, and that there is force in the reasoning no candid person will doubt. But the argument is not as conclusive as at first blush it seems to be. There are other facts to be considered. That Cooper, when on May 16 he made his motion to elect elders by the Annual Conferences, understood this to be the force of the third Rule may be conceded, and that others in the Conference agreed with him is quite probable, but it is by no means certain that all who finally, on May 24, voted for that rule, put Cooper's construction on it.

During those eight days great excitement and much controversy had reigned. It is a significant fact that the man who brought forward and moved the Rule on May 24, Jesse Lee, was one of the stanchest supporters of an elective eldership—"the advocate of an elective presiding eldership from first to last, and all the time." It is also a significant fact that Ezekiel Cooper, one of the foremost men of Methodism, from whose action this argument is drawn, was not deterred by the Rule from subsequent efforts to carry an elective eldership, for we find him in the Conference of 1820 in the leadership of the movement. And it is equally significant that the rule was adopted "almost unanimously," as Bangs informs us. Are we bound to conclude that the large minority who favored an elective eldership, including such men as Bangs, Ostrander, Lee, and Hedding, had concluded to surrender their judgments and hopes, and had consented to bury them under the third

Restrictive Rule, or may we believe that they put a different construction on the Rule from the one which lay in the mind of Soule and M'Kendree? They were not only clear-minded but very conscientious men; and if we find them, after the adoption of the Rule, still persisting in their efforts to establish an elective eldership by authority of the delegated Conference, we are bound to come to the conclusion that they did not understand the Rule in that way. And this is precisely what we find to have been the case. They did not relinquish their efforts for an elective eldership, but continued them with unrelenting energy, and came within *three votes* of being successful in the next General Conference.

In the Conference of 1812 Laban Clark, who favored an elective eldership, brought the question up under a resolution. On the second day of the debate Nicholas Snethen "moved the following amendment:"

Provided, always, that the Bishops shall have the power to nominate them; and if the first nomination is not ratified by a majority of the Annual Conference, the Bishop shall proceed to nominate till a choice is made; and in all cases each nomination shall be determined separately, by ballot, without debate.

The amendment was lost: ayes, 39; nays, 43. On the afternoon of the same day the vote was taken on the original motion of Laban Clark; this also was lost: ayes, 42; nays, 45. A change of two votes would have carried the measure. Of the 90 men who composed that Conference of 1812, at least 44 of them had been members of the Conference of 1808, and among those 44 were the following eminent men, all of whom believed that an elective eldership was not forbidden by the third Restrictive Rule: Enoch George, Elijah Hedding, Freeborn Garrettson, Jesse Lee, Nathan Bangs, Asa Shinn, Daniel Ostrander, Laban Clark, and Stephen G. Roszel. Those men had voted on the constitution, and they were as competent to comprehend the force of the Restrictive Rules as were Joshua Soule and William M'Kendree. It is impossible to believe that such men as these would have persisted in an attempt to carry a measure which was unconstitutional, or which was even of doubtful constitutionality. Every one of the thirty-three delegates from the New York, Philadelphia, and Genesee Conferences favored the measure; and to the above list of eminent men must be added

the names of other distinguished leaders of the early Church who not only believed that an elective eldership was constitutional, but who also labored to secure it to the Church. Among these was that "chief ornament and light of our episcopacy," John Emory, who must be judged competent to handle a constitutional question; also Nicholas Snethen, who according to good authority (M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, Snethen) was the author of the plan of the delegated Conference, and may therefore be supposed to understand it; also Beverly Waugh, Timothy Merritt, George Peck, Samuel Merwin, Joshua Wells, William Capers, George Pickering, Thomas Ware, William Phœbus, and Aaron Hunt. Against the united testimony of those distinguished fathers of our Church no amount of technical reasoning will avail, while dissertations on the significance of the word "plan" in the Rule must be equally inconclusive. All that is really proved by the defeat of Cooper's resolution in the Conference of 1808 is, that the Conference was not prepared to transfer the power of choosing elders from the Bishops to the Annual Conferences; for if we go beyond this, and affirm that all who voted for the third Restrictive Rule purposed to commit, and did deliberately vote to commit, by organic law, the appointment of presiding elders to the Bishops, we reflect upon the honor and slander the memory of many of the brightest names of Methodism. It will not do to say that Joshua Soule drew up the third Rule, and knew his own purpose in framing it. Those other men were his peers, and as original actors in adopting the constitution they were not bound to take their law from a fellow member. And if it be urged that M'Kendree and Soule were on the Committee of Fourteen in 1808, who drafted the Constitution, the reply is, that Cooper, Lee, and Roszel, were also on that committee.

Besides, if it be said that the defeat of Cooper's resolution, on 16th May, compels us to construe the third Restrictive Rule so as to protect the right of the Bishops to choose the elders, it is sufficient to reply that the adverse vote on adopting the constitution, taken immediately after, showed that the Conference would not accept such a construction, and that the friends of an elective eldership were able to defeat its adoption if that were the only interpretation which could be given to the Rule. But during the eight days that intervened between the

adverse vote and the enacting vote they saw that their cause was in no way forestalled by the Rule, and that the question would lie with the Conference as it had always done. This view of the case is demanded by the fact that the friends of an elective eldership led in the adoption of the Rule, and also that they advocated their cause in later Conferences.

Dr. Bangs tells us that

> after it was decided that the presiding elders should continue to be appointed as heretofore by the Bishops, on Wednesday, 18th, the consideration of the report was resumed, and after debate the entire report was rejected by a majority of seven votes.*

We have already quoted Bangs to the effect that the report on May 24th was adopted "almost unanimously;" on page 233 he employs the word "unanimity," in describing the vote. These terms compel the belief that but few votes were cast against the resolutions when they were adopted. We are specific and particular on this point, for the nucleus of this whole controversy of constitutionality lies just here, namely, in the construction which the men who voted for the third Rule put upon their own act. The intention of the men who voted for the Rule is the intention of the Rule. And we find, as matter of fact, that a friend of an elective eldership moved its adoption; and in a Conference where 52 out of 125 were pronounced friends of an elective eldership only a few votes were cast against it; and, indeed, there is no proof that any friend of the proposed change voted against it.

But the matter did not end with the defeat of 1812. The friends of an elective eldership resumed their efforts in 1816, and during six days, through eight sittings, the battle was fought. The aggressive leaders in this Conference were S. Merwin, N. Bangs, D. Ostrander, and J. Emory.

Surely these were not men to prosecute an unconstitutional measure. Two of them were members of the Conference of 1808, and all of them were masters in the history and law of the Church. At this Conference Enoch George, a friend of the measure, was chosen Bishop. For the resolutions proposed, see Journal, pages 135, 140. The votes were 42 for, 60 against; and 38 for, 63 against.

The battle which was lost in 1816 was resumed and won in

* History, vol. ii, p. 231.

1820. On the 15th of May, T. Merritt and B. Waugh introduced the following:

Moved, that the answer "by the Bishops" in the fifth section of the Discipline be stricken out, and the following answer substituted: "By the Annual Conferences."

This was the identical resolution which Cooper proposed in 1808. It is plain that Bishop Waugh did not think that the matter had been settled. On the 17th Cooper and Emory submitted the following:

Resolved, That the Bishop, or the president of each Annual Conference, shall ascertain the number of presiding elders wanted, and shall nominate three times the number, out of which nominations the Conference shall, without debate, elect by ballot the presiding elders.

Two days later a committee was appointed, on motion of N. Bangs and Wm. Capers, to prepare a plan "that would conciliate the wishes of the brethren upon the subject." The committee was ordered, as follows: Cooper, Roszel Bangs, J. Wells, Emory, and Capers. The Journal gives the following history of the case (page 221):

Leave was asked by the chairman of the committee, Brother Cooper, appointed yesterday *to confer with the Bishops* on the subject relating to the election of presiding elders, to report. Leave being given, he made the following:

The committee appointed to confer with the Bishops on a plan to conciliate the wishes of the brethren on the subject of choosing presiding elders, recommend to the Conference the adoption of the following resolutions, to be inserted in their proper place in our Discipline:

Resolved, 1, That whenever, in any Annual Conference, there shall be a vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder, in consequence of his period of service of four years having expired, or the Bishop wishing to remove any presiding elder, or by death, resignation, or otherwise, the Bishop or president of the Conference, having ascertained the number wanted from any of these causes, shall nominate three times the number, out of which the Conference shall elect by ballot, without debate, the number wanted: *provided*, when there is more than one wanted not more than three at a time shall be nominated, nor more than one at a time elected: *provided*, also, that in case of any vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder in the interval of any Annual Conference, the Bishop shall have authority to fill the said vacancy or vacancies until the ensuing Annual Conference.

Resolved, 2, That the presiding elders be, and hereby are, made

the advisory counsel of the Bishop or president of the Conference in stationing the preachers.

Signed by all the Committee.

The first resolution being read, the question was taken on it and carried—61 to 25. The question was taken on the second resolution as amended, with the consent of the committee. Carried. The question was taken on their final passage, and carried.

The committee was then ordered to incorporate the resolutions in "the section of the Discipline relating to presiding elders." The vote was more than a two thirds majority. These resolutions, called in the history of the controversy "the compromise resolutions," gave great offense to M'Kendree and Soule.

Bishop Roberts seems not to have been opposed to them, and Bishop George defended them. Bishop M'Kendree wrote in his journal: "The senior Bishop (that is, himself) disapproved of the proposed change; the other two were favorable to some change, the extent not pointed out." Before taking the final vote Soule had been elected Bishop, but so great was his opposition to the resolutions that he sent in his resignation, which was with reluctance accepted by the Conference.

Joshua Soule was one of the great men of the Church, and his unselfish devotion and great service had won for him the affection and confidence of his brethren. They had just elected him Bishop. His refusal to accept the office created deep concern. Many fancied they saw the beginning of the dissolution of the Church, for the presiding elder war had been growing fiercer through a period of a score of years. In view of these things an effort was made to reconsider the resolutions on the eldership, but the friends of the measure would not yield. Then a motion was made and carried to suspend their execution for four years. The intense excitement of the occasion is detailed in Bishop Paine's "Life of M'Kendree."

The attitude assumed toward the General Conference by the senior Bishop, and also by the Bishop-elect, is a most extraordinary one, and prefigured the attitude of Bishops Andrew and Soule and the Southern preachers in the rebellion of 1844. The position of M'Kendree in his "Address to the Annual

Conferences," * that he "could not submit or give up the powers he possessed as General Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the disposal of your representatives" (the General Conference), is the attitude of Bishop Andrew in 1844.

The Bishop boldly declared that he would not execute the resolutions on the eldership, and also that he was not bound by any acts of the General Conference which he judged unconstitutional. In such a case he would appeal to the Annual Conferences, which, he said, "were the proper judges of constitutional questions."

The Bishop-elect took the same attitude of insubordination to the Conference. He wrote to the Bishops who were about to consecrate him, "I solemnly declare that I cannot act as Superintendent under the rules this day made and established." And yet he consented to be consecrated, and the Bishops were agreed to perform the service, two of them hoping that after his ordination he would obey the laws of the Church, but M'Kendree hoping that he "would resist," and aid him in opposing the execution of the resolutions.

When these things were brought out in the Conference, so great was the opposition to the position taken by the Bishop-elect that he presented his resignation.

But the resolutions had been suspended for four years. Afterward Bishop M'Kendree prepared a formidable Address to the Annual Conferences,† in which he argued that the suspended resolutions were unconstitutional, and, instead of taking the rest from labor which the Conference had granted him, he appeared at the Annual Conferences and defended the cause of his Address. The issue was drawn; the Church must submit or impeach the venerable Bishop. And yet his course in thus attempting to control the legislation of the Church and resist the General Conference finds no warrant in the Discipline. It belongs to an epoch of administration that ended with the secession in 1844. But the great influence of the Bishop, whose conscientious devotion to the Church all admired, finally prevailed, and seven of the twelve Annual Conferences declared the resolutions unconstitutional. The other five, being the leading Conferences of the Church, laid the Bishop's Address on the table, and refused to consider it.

* Life, vol. i, p. 456. † *Ibid.*, p. 444.

This action of M'Kendree in appealing from the General Conference to the Annual Conferences is in striking contrast to the administration of the Bishops some years later on the slavery question. Bishop Hedding, in the New England and New Hampshire Conferences in 1836, refused to put motions which seemed to conflict with the Pastoral Address of the General Conference of the same year. In explaining his course Bishop Hedding said: "I have uniformly acknowledged my responsibility to the General Conference, *whose agent I am.*" * "We (the Bishops) have always practiced setting aside such motions or resolutions (in Annual Conferences) as we supposed unconstitutional."† In the New Hampshire Conference, in 1838, Bishop Morris refused to put a motion because in his judgment "it approved what the General Conference had condemned." That the general judgment and administration of the Church in this matter has been with Hedding and against M'Kendree there can be no question.

In the Conference of 1824 the suspended resolutions were permitted to remain still suspended, and were passed on as "unfinished business" to the Conference of 1828. A resolution in the Conference of 1824, that the resolutions "are not of authority" because "a majority of the Annual Conferences have judged them unconstitutional," was passed to its third reading, but as it failed to secure a third vote (which was a regulation of that Conference) it went over to the next General Conference. In 1828 a motion to declare the resolutions unconstitutional was set aside by the following "substitute offered by William Winans and William Capers:"

Resolved, That the resolutions commonly called the Suspended Resolutions, rendering the presiding elders elective, and which were referred to this Conference by the last General Conference as unfinished business, and reported to us at this Conference, be, and the same are hereby, rescinded and made void.

This ended the war. It is to be noted that no General Conference ever declared an elective presiding eldership unconstitutional, while the Conference of 1820 proclaimed the opposite doctrine by more than a two thirds majority, and all the most eminent leaders of the early Church, and authorities in Methodist law, with the exceptions of M'Kendree

* Life of Hedding, p. 511. † *Ibid.*, p. 498.

and Soule, were on the popular side in this controversy. That some of those leaders, from considerations of expediency, subsequently changed their minds as to the wisdom of an elective eldership has not the slightest significance or bearing on the question here examined. We are not arguing a question of expediency, but a question of law.

It is well worth observing that in all these constitutional wars the southern portion of the Church were the "high-church" party, and stanch defenders of episcopal prerogative. This fact was conspicuous in the Conference of 1844, where those views were elaborated and afterwards crystallized in the "Protest" of the Southern delegates.

The answer of the Church to these pretensions was the speech of Hamline and the "Reply to the Protest," from which we have already made quotations. So in the eldership controversy Bishops M'Kendree and Soule, backed by the South, were the champions of high prerogative, while the strength of the reform movement was chiefly in the North. The Southern interpretation of the Church's constitution is succinctly stated by Bishop Paine, of the Church South, in his Life of M'Kendree (p. 416):

> Originally the itinerant preachers exercised unrestrained powers; but they saw proper in their wisdom to constitute a delegated General Conference, invested with such powers as the preachers collectively deemed necessary to perform the duties assigned it. *Their powers were expressed. What is not expressed is consequently withheld.*

But a view diametrically opposite to this has ruled in the Church North, and is correctly given by Bishop Harris, in his work on "The Powers of the General Conference" (p. 22):

> There is not here (in the grant of powers) a delegation of enumerated powers accompanied by a general reservation, as in the Federal Government, but a delegation of general and sweeping powers under enumerated and well-defined restrictions.

[Further views on the general subject will be presented in another paper.]

Art. III. — CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.

Our endeavor, in this paper, is to emphasize the distinction between Christian and secular education, to exhibit the failure to recognize adequately this distinction, and to suggest some measures for improvement. We use the word education solely in its technical sense, referring to the training of the schools. A conflict which has, probably, only begun in this country, is over the question of Christian and secular schools. The struggle between Christianity and secularism presents no phase more important than this. Additional interest comes from the fact that Christian people are not precisely a unit with regard to the issue.

Between the two styles of training in question there is large superficial resemblance—and misleading resemblance. Both aim at culture in certain special directions. These directions are largely the same. The same studies, in the main, are pursued at Ithaca or Ann Arbor as at Middletown or Princeton. This fact is liable to mislead, and doubtless does mislead, many in reaching their practical conclusions. But these external similarities are not of chief interest. Other points we may find, upon examination, exhibiting the strongest and most vital contrasts.

The distinction is fundamental. It relates, first of all, to the ultimate end of education. What is education for? That is a most pertinent and essential question certainly, and one that ought not to be lost sight of at any point in educational processes. To this question Christianity gives a definite answer; an answer not formal, nevertheless weighty and exact. Secularism gives a variety of conflicting answers. The confusion which reigns over the human mind when it separates itself from God appears in the chaos of secular educational theories. For the purpose of easy inspection we may name and arrange these theories as follows: 1. The Popular, "the bread and butter," theory. 2. The theory of Secular Statesmanship. 3. That of Intellectualism. 4. That of Philosophic Utilitarianism. The first is the crude theory floating in the popular mind: education is to help in getting a living; to make living easy, comfortable, and possibly luxurious. The second theory holds

that education is for the public good. It is not a mere private advantage, but a public necessity. The third rings the changes upon the word "culture." Knowledge and intellectual development form the supreme end. The fourth theory, that of Philosophic Utilitarianism, is the best that secular thought has ever given. Herbert Spencer stands as its representative. He says, "How to live? that is the essential question for us. Not how to live in the mere material sense only, but in the widest sense, . . . how to live completely. And this being the great thing needful for us to learn, is by consequence the great thing which education has to teach. To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge." This general statement is exceedingly beautiful. We may be inclined to pronounce it faultless. But it is general. Under this beautiful mask is agnosticism of the most unqualified type. Mr. Spencer tells us later what "complete living" is, as he regards it. He enters formally and methodically into the work. He gives a detailed list of "the leading activities which constitute human life." But nowhere do we find the slightest hint that man has a religious nature. Not even among those "activities" which he regards as least in importance, "those making up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of tastes and feelings," does he find any place for an act of worship, or for any endeavor to satisfy the great "hunger and thirst" of the human heart. His "complete living" appears, in the light of all history, exceedingly incomplete. His theory as to the purpose of education, then, foots up in this: to prepare us for "complete living" with the supreme fact of life left out.

These theories are, of course, in some measure correct. But they have the vicious quality of half-truths, or less than half truths. And that makes their consideration somewhat difficult, especially when we undertake to compare them with the Christian theory. One is almost compelled to indulge in truisms or to run the risk of seeming to deny what every body should be ready to admit.

> "A lie that is all a lie
> May be met and fought with outright;
> But a lie that is half a lie
> Is a harder matter to fight."

The Christian theory of education is necessarily implied in the Christian conception of human life. We may accept Mr.

Spencer's statement, that education is to prepare us for "complete living;" but we must learn from Christ what "complete living" is. "Man shall not live by bread alone." He must have bread, but he needs even more the "word which proceedeth from the mouth of God." He has intellect and taste, but also conscience. His highest attainment is goodness. He is a citizen of an earthly state, but also a subject of the kingdom of God. His "activities" upon the earth are largely preliminary and preparatory. He is to live forever in the world to come.

Education should therefore be in the largest sense liberal. It should make the man self-supporting, acquainting him with practical measures for comfortable and beautiful living. It should prepare him for citizenship. It should make him, it may be, a man of letters, or a scientist, or an artist. But it should go further. It should strengthen and broaden his faith in God. It should sharpen his appreciation for spiritual realities. It should furnish him with a just conception of human life; its needs, possibilities, and obligations. It should deepen in his mind the distinction between right and wrong. It should strengthen his conviction of those truths which surround right with its most impressive sanctions.

Any system of general education that does not accomplish this, Christianity must pronounce a failure. Any system that puts obstacles in the way of this, is a perversion. The Christian conception of life is so unlike the secular, so far above and beyond it, that it justly claims recognition in every measure that has to do with the shaping of life; and, therefore, recognition as far as possible at every step in educational processes.

But how far is education actually Christian? To what extent do the schools recognize "complete living" as the end they should help to serve? To go no further than our own country, we have an immense and most interesting field for investigation. We have systems of public instruction. We have schools and academies in large numbers, supported by private enterprise, or by the various religious denominations. We have, according to the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1881, 362 colleges and universities, regularly chartered and authorized to confer degrees. (And it might be added, that their power to confer degrees is operated pretty effectively.) We have on an average throughout the United States one

college or university to every piece of territory one hundred miles square. Many of these institutions, it is true, have names ridiculously out of proportion with their real character. And yet they are doing a valuable work, and are destined to increase in influence. At all events, the educational enterprises of our country deserve the most careful study, and especially from those who have the progress of Christianity at heart.

Such a study will reveal, no doubt, in all, or nearly all, these institutions the existence of features of noteworthy excellence. In many instances, however, there will be discovered a conspicuous lack of harmony between the end proposed and the means employed; a lack of coherent, well-applied educational theory. And still further, and this is for us now the main point, there must appear a failure quite general to recognize properly the place that belongs to distinctively Christian teaching. For proof and illustration we may look, first, to our public schools. They have undeniable merits. They have, at least, the virtue of a good intention, the elevation, in some sense, of the multitudes. They have been sources of good to millions of our population. Still, it may be fairly questioned whether their defects are not nearly as great as their merits. The root-evil is a lack of correct, well-applied educational theory. The theory that underlies them is narrow and incomplete; and even this is poorly applied. Are our public schools to be regarded as means employed by the State for its own protection? Is the end "to prepare youth for citizenship?" That theory is commendable as far as it goes. Here is the all-sufficient warrant for public education, perhaps its only warrant. But if that is the end sought, then the means are certainly inadequate to the end; they often lose sight of the end. Ignorance is not the only enemy of the State, nor the greatest. And in styles of ignorance as well as of knowledge there is room for choice. One of the first requisites of citizenship is self-support. This being the case, it is plain that industrial training, especially in our large cities, should receive public attention. It would receive attention if public instruction paid half the heed to the evils of loaferism that it pays to those of illiteracy. With respect to a certain class of embryo citizens the State confronts two alternatives: either to teach

them some sort of productive labor in schools or to teach them in prison. Our public schools are defective, also, with respect to moral training; and strangely, illogically defective with respect to certain features of morality most obviously essential to safe citizenship. For example, public instruction should raise a barrier against drunkenness. Compulsory temperance-education laws have been enacted in three of the States, namely, Vermont, Michigan, and New Hampshire. It may safely be assumed that other States need them. The difficulty will be to make other States see the need. There is not the slightest occasion, in teaching this item of morality, for raising the bugaboo of sectarianism. But for this morsel of improvement temperance advocates are obliged to plead, and probably will be obliged to plead for time to come. There are also certain items of political morality that would seem most proper to be put into the minds of American youths, such as the sacredness of official trust and of the ballot. If the end of public instruction is "to prepare for citizenship," the impression should be made as early and as deeply as possible that to give or to take bribes is as detestable as theft or arson. The only explanation that can be given for such omissions is, that such instruction comes under the head of morals, and from moral instruction our public school systems have in the main held themselves aloof. And the reason of this? Is it presumed that other agencies will supply the lack? We will look to the home. But from what kind of homes do many of our embryo citizens come? Shall we depend upon the Sunday-school and the Church? With many the Church and Sunday-school have no opportunity whatever. It is said to be impracticable to teach morality in the public schools because of its relation to religion. But here is the question. It may be delicate and difficult and yet practicable. We submit the question, Would it be impracticable to prepare and use a text-book especially adapted to this purpose? Quite likely such a work would be incomplete. No doubt it would be impossible to please all sects and parties. Still, possibly a work might be arranged that would be acceptable and useful to the great body of the people.

But this is "not American;" not "in accordance with the genius of American institutions." That is often said with an

air that implies finality. But that settles nothing. The words "American" and "right" are not synonyms. In the "Contemporary Review" for November, 1882, an article appeared from Jules Simon, upon "Public Education in France." He says:

> But now we must secularize; it is the will of a few deputies who are declaiming in Paris against religious faith. Quick! Drive away the monks, call in the new master! And liberty of conscience, what about that? They tell us, when we are all reduced, by the absence of any free schools at all, to send our children to the communal schools, we need not be alarmed, for they have with the most minute and zealous care eliminated all that could wound the most delicate conscience. The child will see there neither priest nor rabbi, neither Bible nor crucifix. He will not be allowed to utter a prayer nor to make the sign of the cross. From his carefully chosen school-books religious dogma and legend will be alike excluded. In the old time we used to have in the schools those little books of sacred history which opened with the words, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." We have done away with these little books now. The children will hear no more talk of the creation or God, or even of a beginning. In one word, the school they will have to learn in will be strictly neutral. This is what they tell us by way of consolation. *They forget that it is not God we are afraid of, it is Nihilism.*

On this side of the Atlantic we have need to take the hint. It would be well if we were less afraid of God, less afraid of Romanism, and more afraid of Nihilism. We have been so much afraid of being too religious, so much afraid that Rome will do something terrible, that we have largely lost sight of the danger of educating a generation without faith and respect for righteousness.

Leaving now our public schools, we find some things especially worthy of note in our institutions for higher education upon a purely secular basis. In the "North American Review" of June, 1883, in an article upon "Present Aspects of College Training," President Gilman speaks of such institutions as "a reaction against innumerable denominational colleges," and says: "They are usually governed by good men, so that a student in any one of them perceives very little difference, if any, in the ethical and religious influences by which he is surrounded from those which encompass his friend in a denominational college." He says this is "usually" the case.

This may be true, but if so, it implies no very high compliment to our denominational colleges.

But it may not be difficult to find exceptions. Is there not more than one institution the managers and friends of which boast its freedom from all "tradition," from "sectarianism," from religion? "There are unhappy times in the world's history," says Carlyle, "when he that is least educated will chiefly have it to say, he is least perverted." Says St. James, "This wisdom cometh not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish."

The attempt to manage colleges upon a purely secular basis is perilous while it exists, but in the end will be quite likely to defeat itself. It is a fact of no small significance that college preaching has recently been established at Cornell. Plainly it was felt that undiluted secularism could not be borne, and therefore various eminent clergymen are invited in, from time to time, to help them out of their dilemma. It is not at all surprising that the one-sided character of the education furnished by secular colleges has aroused anxious inquiry on the part of thinking men. President Gilman, while giving the commendation above quoted to the ethical and religious atmosphere which he says usually pervades these institutions, still recognizes a great need which, from some source, must be supplied. He says most impressively, "Never was there a time when it was more important to uphold the essentials of religion, and to encourage the formation of right moral habits, for the temptation to forget the things which are unseen is very strong."

This is very true, and the need of surrounding college life with religious influences, and of making part of the instruction distinctively religious, is correspondingly great. Let us see what is proposed to meet this great necessity. Says the same writer:

> Doubtless churches in the neighborhood of colleges will be more and more called upon, each in its own way, to undertake the religious guidance of such young men as may be brought within their influence, while college faculties will be held responsible by the public for the influence they exert upon the moral lives of those whose intellectual training they have undertaken to direct. Already, enlightened men in different parts of the country have independently come to the conclusion that in the

neighborhood of a State university, or any other non-sectarian institution, halls of residence may be founded by religious bodies, and instruction may there be given in positive religious doctrines to those who resort to the central establishment for secular learning. The Bishop of Michigan, Dr. Harris, having seen the vigor and prospects of the great foundation at Ann Arbor, has wisely directed his zeal to the building up of a collegiate hall, which shall not be in rivalry with the State University, but in cordial though informal co-operation with it, supplementing its instructions by positive religious teachings among those who are admitted to the privileges of the church home. Years ago, a similar project for surrounding the University of California with halls of residence to be provided by different churches was very nearly perfected. By some such method the new unsectarian colleges may be well supplied with positive religious instruction, while the non-denominational character of the foundation remains unimpaired.

This plan for halls of residence is remarkable for several things. And first, because it recognizes the great defect of secular colleges in their failure to provide "positive religious instruction." Second, because it is only a plan. It is not altogether new. "Years ago," it is said, in California such a "project was nearly brought to perfection." But so far as known the first brick is not laid for such a hall of residence anywhere upon the earth. Besides, it is a plan that quite likely never will be realized. And if it were put into operation, the beneficial results would be very meager. What likelihood, we may ask, is there that the Churches, with their present educational enterprises in hand, will abandon them, or divide their support between them and such a new enterprise? And how large an opportunity would this plan, if realized, actually provide for religious instruction? With a full college curriculum purely secular taxing their energies and time, students would be but poor subjects for "positive religious instruction" in halls of residence. Nothing would be possible but certain devotional exercises and sundry pious exhortations. And lastly, such an arrangement would scarcely tend to exalt, but rather to degrade, religious knowledge. Knowledge confessedly of the highest importance would be thrust into the background, and have only such opportunity as might be left after all other kinds had received attention.

Our reason for dwelling upon this to such an extent, is to show how great the defect of purely secular education is, and

how impracticable it must be to suppy the defect by external devices.

We now turn our attention to the institutions for higher education under Christian control. We omit discussion of the academies and preparatory schools under the care of the Church, for the reason that the larger part of what will be said concerning the colleges will obviously apply to the schools of lower grade. It should be said, however, that the amount of required religious study is often relatively less in the academies than in the colleges. And aside from the chapel exercises, and a few things of like sort, it might be difficult in some instances to draw the distinction between these schools and others purely and professedly secular. Upward of seventy-five per cent. of the colleges in this country are nominally Christian. To be more exact, 271 of the 362 colleges and universities are directly under the control of the religious denominations.

It is a pleasure to observe here the contrasts to secularism. These institutions are Christian in being the fruits of Christian benevolence. Within the last ten years, in this country, $61,475,000 have been given by private individuals for education. Most of this has been given by Christian men and from Christian motives. These colleges are Christian, also, in the character of the men to whom, in other respects, they owe their origin. They are the outgrowth of Christian thought and toil as well as of benevolence. How pure, how powerful, are the memories that gather around some of them! They are Christian, also, because of the earnest faith and lives of most of the instructors. With comparatively rare exceptions the professors are men of true faith and piety. They are Christian, also, in the general tinge of the instruction. Also in the fact that the college life is marked by certain religious observances, implying and nourishing the Christian faith. And lastly, in the fact that a certain measure of formal instruction is given upon subjects distinctively moral and Christian.

There is certainly a great advantage in all this; an advantage that should be preserved against the general drift toward secularity. But does not this very enumeration of Christian characteristics suggest that something more is to be desired and sought? We recur to our ideal. We ask again, "What is education for?" Again we have the answer, "To prepare us

for complete living." And again we remember what Christ tells us complete living is. Once more we are reminded that man's highest attainment is goodness, and among all kinds of knowledge, that has the highest value which ministers most directly to the spiritual part of life. Only when the Christian conception of human life is clearly and strongly before us are we prepared to ask, "Are our Christian colleges sufficiently Christian?" Is the broad distinction between Christian and secular education sufficiently recognized in the actual character and work of these institutions?

To be more specific we may ask, By what rule of right or propriety should an instructor ever be tolerated in a Christian college whose attitude is not that of reverent acceptance of the Gospel—whose faith in the great verities of Christianity is not beyond all question? One of the most remarkable utterances of the Boston Monday Lectureship was a warning sounded in the ear of college students. With mighty eloquence students were bidden to be on their guard against the influence of skeptical or unbelieving college professors. The warning was not without occasion. It is true, that by far the larger number of professors in Christian colleges are men of faith as well as of learning. But why should there ever be an exception? It is difficult to see why our professorships, in all departments, should not be as sacredly guarded against unbelief as our pulpits.

Another inquiry is suggested. Is not one of the chief requisites of college education at the present time a more thorough and systematic training in the science of Christianity? The phrase may sound strangely. But we believe it is fitting. Christianity is a proper object for scientific study. It is itself a phenomenon at least as interesting as the civilization of ancient Greece. It has performed a more important part in shaping the destinies of the world than the empire of Rome. It is at least as closely allied to human development and happiness as astronomy or geology. Christianity has a literature to which students in Christian colleges should be required to give some measure of study. Scholarship in a Christian land is shamefully deficient if it does not embrace a knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, a knowledge such as the Sunday-school and even the pulpit cannot impart. Scholarship must surely

attend to the great specimens of Greek, Latin, and English literature. There should be no occasion to ask whether the Bible should not also be studied in our colleges. The inspection of our college catalogues with reference to the amount of Bible study necessary to graduation would furnish much material for reflection. The ignorance often exhibited by college graduates concerning the Bible would be ludicrous, if it were not lamentable.

Christianity has also a history—its record of achievements. It has made its definite impress upon the opinions, the convictions, the customs of civilized society. The knowledge of what Christianity has done for civilization, as well as the knowledge of its phenomenal extension, should be possessed in some considerable measure by every student before he receives his diploma.

Christianity has also its credentials. It holds a commanding attitude and position with respect to doubts and objections. If it be true, as is sometimes asserted, that the struggle with doubt which so many experience often begins in college days, it is of the largest importance that the college should give the student all possible help in the struggle.

Christianity has, moreover, its life-rules and principles—its ethics. It has also its facts of psychological significance—its inner experiences. In these various directions we have a vast range of facts to be critically weighed and scientifically treated. It is true that in most of our colleges something of this kind is done. But it is only a fraction of what is really needed.

Perhaps it is assumed that other agencies may be relied upon for conducting this part of education. But what warrant is there for such an assumption? Why might not the colleges with equal propriety leave to some outside agency instruction in political economy or history? Quite likely the Sunday-school and the pulpit are expected to be efficient in this particular direction. But with the very limited opportunity, and the exceedingly lax method of most Sunday-school work, few results beyond a popular, superficial, nevertheless useful, knowledge may be expected; and even this expectation is doomed sometimes to disappointment.

The pulpit has also, on the whole, a popular as well as varied work. It may be that more of system, more of continuity,

more of painstaking instruction, would be useful in pulpit ministrations. But it is not to be forgotten that the preacher is called upon to minister to a great diversity of minds and hearts on every public occasion; and these occasions should be in a large degree for worship and spiritual culture. The precise style and extent of teaching that is needed by young men seeking Christian scholarship is not within the function of the ministry. Providentially, the Church has not only her pulpits but her colleges; and the methodical and comprehensive treatment of religious themes required by leading minds, not possible through the more popular agencies of the Church, may be furnished through the institutions for higher education.

Of course, it is understood that the highest Christian knowledge is not to be gained from the study of books or the professor's instruction. The strongest apprehension of Christian realities can be reached only by Christian living. But it is also true that Christian learning may be a help to Christian living, just as the lack of it may be a hinderance.

It should also be understood that we do not advocate the conversion of our colleges into theological seminaries. If it were not for what Professor Bowne calls the "great power of the misunderstanding," this statement would be unnecessary. We distinctly hold that the training required by a Christian minister is one thing, and that required by a Christian scholar is another. We also hold that the training furnished by our colleges at present is not of such a sort as to furnish one of the prime essentials of Christian scholarship; that in the scheme of general instruction Christianity does not find the place which properly belongs to it.

We would add, therefore, with becoming modesty, but also with becoming emphasis, that no Christian college is thoroughly equipped that does not contain a professorship well endowed and ably manned for instruction in the science of Christianity. Such instruction should have the dignity and advantage of a distinct department. Perhaps in no way could funds be more worthily bestowed than for the founding of such professorships.

We need also a large outpouring of Christian offerings to make our educational institutions as powerful and complete and attractive as possible. Christian education should be in every sense the best. And this can be reached only by a larger

benevolence than the Church has as yet practiced, or even conceived. We need endowments for our academies as well as for our colleges. We need great universities, not merely in name but in reality, sheltering special technical schools, all under the care of the Church, to promote a learning at once thorough, symmetrical, and Christian.

The last need to be mentioned, perhaps not the last in importance, is the common need of Christendom—a deepening of spiritual life. Our institutions of learning should be, in the largest degree possible, living centers of religious power.

By no single measure, but by several—by larger attention to distinctively Christian subjects, by larger benevolence that broader schemes may be realized, by deeper piety that all may be crowned with the blessing of God—our Christian colleges may be brought to such a condition as to illustrate better than they do at present the distinction between Christian and secular education.

Whoever has found young men fresh from college, with minds awake upon a large variety of secular themes, but dull and empty and dubious with respect to subjects most vital, and has seen their ignorance rapidly ripening into unbelief; whoever has looked over society and seen the need, not merely of a learned ministry and an earnest evangelism, but of men of broad and splendid culture in heartiest sympathy with all the legitimate enterprises of the Church; and whoever has reflected upon the part that scholars hold, or should hold, in the affairs of the Church, the nation, and the world, must feel that few subjects are more worthy of attention than the one with which we have attempted to deal.

Art. IV.—CHRIST PREACHING TO THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.

Ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπέθανεν, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσάγαγῃ τῷ θεῷ, θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, ἀπειθήσασίν ποτε ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὀκτὼ ψυχαί, διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος. 1 Peter iii, 18–20.

Because also Christ once for sins suffered, the just for the unjust, that us he might bring to God; being put to death as to the flesh (fleshwise), but made alive as to the spirit (spiritwise); in which also to the in prison spirits going, he preached (proclaimed) the disobedient at one time, when the forbearance of God waited, in the days of Noah, the ark being a preparing, through (by means of) which a few, that is, eight, were saved, by (through the agency of) water.—*Literal Rendering.*

"Because Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit; in which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, who aforetime were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved through water."—*Revised Version.*

Scarcely any other passage in the New Testament presents so many and so great difficulties as that given above. It is not chiefly that it is *obscure*, so that no sense can be made of it (as are some other passages), for that is not the case; but while it plainly declares very much, it also leaves so much undetermined that it is difficult to affirm positively what is its real meaning. It is introduced somewhat parenthetically into the general course of the thought of the context. If we read directly on to the middle of the eighteenth verse, closing with the statement of Christ's death, "the righteous for the unrighteous," we find the apostle exhorting his brethren to the patient endurance of afflictions and persecutions after the example of Christ; and if then we leap forward to the twenty-second verse, the course of the thought will seem to be continuous and consecutive. That which occurs between these two points seems to be introduced as make-weights and illustrations, designed to enforce the foregoing exhortations to patient endurance. It thus has the appearance of an episode—a turning away from the direct line of thought to pursue a side line—setting forth and explaining some things somehow connected with those exemplary sufferings, or, perhaps, simply their historical

sequents, and not immediately bearing upon the matter of the preceding exhortations. Viewed in this aspect, it becomes separated in its sense from the leading thought of the discourse, and so standing by itself to be interpreted according to the natural import of the language; and if so considered, the passage, in its direct grammatical construction, presents no special difficulties.

The latter part of verse eighteen declares that Christ, having suffered physical death (*σαρκί*, fleshwise), was made (or found) alive (*πνεύματι*, spiritwise), and in that state (*ἐν ᾧ*) "he went and preached (proclaimed) to the spirits in prison." The record of these things appears to be made in the order of historical sequence. He died as to the flesh, in which state he had been living, and was alive in another state, that is, as to the spirit, or in a *pneumatical*, as contradistinction from a *physical*, state; and then he is spoken of as, in that state, "going,"—*πορευθείς*, signifying a change of place, a *proceeding*—apparently for the purpose of performing the act next designated, "preached," (*ἐκήρυξεν*), "to the spirits in prison"—*τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν*. Thus far the only question requiring to be settled is, "Who were these spirits in prison?" But out of that arises the whole difficulty of the case.

Before proceeding further, it may be well to examine more closely the language of the latter part of the eighteenth verse and the nineteenth verse. The interpretation of *σαρκί* (in the flesh) and *πνεύματι* (in the spirit), given by Alford, appears altogether satisfactory, and indeed felicitous. "It was thus, in this region, under these conditions, that the death on the cross was inflicted. His flesh, which was *living* flesh before, became *dead* flesh; Christ Jesus, the entire complex Person, consisting of body, soul, and spirit, was put to death, *σαρκί* (fleshwise), but made alive again (*ζωοποιηθείς*, quickened, raised to life), *πνεύματι* (spirit-wise).... *Quoad carnem* (as in respect to the flesh), our Lord was put to death; *quoad spiritum* (as to the [his] spirit), he was brought to life; not that the flesh *died*, and the spirit was *made alive*, but that *quoad* (as to) the flesh the Lord died, and *quoad* (as to) the spirit (his rational soul, his essential self) he was made alive (did not die). He, the God-man Christ Jesus (body and soul), ceased to live a fleshly, mortal (physiological and psychical) life, and began to live a

spiritual resurrection life. His own (human) spirit never died, as the next verse shows us." Here, too, we may introduce the language of Luther, as especially pertinent to the point in hand: "Christ by his sufferings was taken from the life which is flesh and blood, . . . and he is now placed in another life, and made alive according to the spirit (πνεύματι), has passed into a spiritual and supernatural life, which includes in itself the whole life which Christ now has, . . . so that he has no longer a *fleshly* but a *spiritual* body."

In what is here given it will be seen that we depart from the rendering of our "Authorized Version," but agree with the Revised Version, in not construing πνεύματι (verse eighteen) "by the spirit," of the Holy Ghost, which is clearly contrary to the proper grammatical sense of the word in this place. That construction is also both exegetically and theologically objectionable, for only the *mode* of the designated quickening is meant to be indicated, without any reference to the agent by whom the work was effected. Nor was that quickening the same with our Lord's resurrection from the dead, which was historically an after-affair.

This construction also gives a better significance to the first words of the next (the nineteenth) verse, ἐν ᾧ, rendered *by which* in the Authorized Version, but in the Revised Version *in which*—that is, in which form or condition of being. Nothing is here said about the agency of the Holy Spirit in the work of quickening, predicated subjectively of our Lord after his death on the cross. It is simply indicated that after the crucifixion the human soul, still living, and as an inseparable part of the God-man, in its disembodied state "went and preached," of which transaction more will be said in the sequel.

The nineteenth verse ascribes to our Lord two distinct but closely related actions, *going* and *preaching*. The former of these is the equivalent to the well-known language of the *Apostles' Creed*, "He descended *into hades*." The human soul of Christ, which departed from the body at the awful moment when "he dismissed his spirit," was at once, and by that act, brought into other conditions and environments, the passage into which sufficiently answers to the sense of the word "going" (πορευθείς), though change of *place* as well as of *condi-*

tion is not excluded, nor, indeed, improbable. The belief in the continued existence of souls after death in the disembodied state, is so nearly universally accepted by Christians that we need not stop to either assert or defend it; and the scarcely less commonly accepted opinion, that the full awards of the future state are not given immediately after death, renders necessary some idea or theory of an intermediate state; and into that state—the *hades* of the New Testament, whatever that may be—the spirit of the man Christ Jesus, he having been put to death in the flesh, must have entered; and there it was that "he preached to the spirits in prison:" and these, it would seem, were also disembodied spirits—human souls—of those who, in past ages, had died as to the flesh, and were then abiding in *hades*, "the intermediate state."

These "spirits" are spoken of as "in prison"—*ἐν φυλακῇ*, *in custody*—not necessarily in a place or condition of suffering, either temporal or eternal, punitive or purgatorial, but rather in a state of temporary waiting. Of this St. Peter spoke in his memorable discourse on the day of Pentecost as the place in which Christ had been, and out of which he came at his resurrection; a view of which state is also given in the parable of the rich man and the beggar. In itself, therefore, the phrase "in prison," *ἐν φυλακῇ*, is here simply equivalent to the "in hades" (*ἐν τῷ ἅιδῃ*, Luke xvi, 23), of which the resting-place of Abraham and Lazarus was a department, a portion of the great whole; the "paradise" into which Christ and the penitent thief entered on the day of the crucifixion.

His work among these "spirits in prison" is indicated by the word "preached," *ἐκήρυξεν*, a word which in classical Greek signifies simply proclaiming publicly, without respect to the nature of the thing set forth. In the New Testament, however, it is more commonly used in reference to the preaching of the Gospel, and therefore it has been claimed that the obvious sense of the language here used is, that our Lord, then and there, preached the Gospel with its gracious offers of salvation to "the spirits in prison," showing them what he had accomplished for them, and its purposed results—that his Messianic commission reached down to them, and that its purpose would be realized in their glorification with him; of which his resurrection, then about to be effectuated in their sight, was to

be at once the victorious achievement and the pledge of its consummation.

If we could stop at this point, there would be no special difficulty in the case. Accepting the doctrine of the ancient Church, which seems to be both scriptural and rational, that while the material body of the God-man was in the sepulcher his human soul was in *hades*, the abode of disembodied spirits, we must also suppose that he was in that particular portion of "the under world" in which the *righteous* dead repose, the "paradise" of which he spake to the penitent thief. And although he came thither in the character of a *captive*, as had all that had gone before him, his captivity was only apparent, because it was voluntary, and his accepting it was an important part of his work as the Redeemer of men. Coming thus to the faithful of the past ages who had lived and died without the sight of their Redeemer, or the knowledge of the way of their deliverance, he proclaimed to them *himself* as their Redeemer, and told them what he had done for them in this world, and what he was about to do further in their behalf. This was, indeed, and eminently, *preaching the Gospel* "to the spirits in prison." And his subsequent going forth from them, which was essentially his *resurrection*, of which the revivification of his body was only a successional incident — important, indeed, but not "*the* resurrection" itself, which was accomplished *in hades*—gave to them the assurance of their own resurrection, their deliverance from the power of death, and from their imprisonment in "the under world." In his *rising* they saw their great enemy conquered; saw humanity, as embodied and represented in the person of the Conqueror, pass triumphantly outward and upward, leaving with them the assured promise that he would come again and receive them to himself, as he had before said, "that where I am there ye may be also." This rendering of the text, therefore, if allowable, would not only meet all the demands of an intelligent exegesis, and harmonize its teachings with the traditional faith of the Church, but also place in a clear and strong light a highly interesting point in Christian eschatology; but the words of the sacred text next following precipitate us into new, and indeed formidable, difficulties.

That which comes next is, as a form of words, entirely plain.

Indeed, the clearness and directness of the passage, as to its grammatical import, only enhances the difficulties of the case; for the apostle seems to say *that our Lord*, after his death on the cross, in his disembodied state proceeded to the place where were held "in prison" those who had heard Noah preach, and who, having rejected his exhortations and warnings, were ἀπειθείς, *unpersuaded, unbelieving;* and to them, there and then, he "preached." What was the *substance* of that preaching is not indicated, except as it may seem to be determined by the language used. It has been seen that the word ἐκήρυξεν, properly translated "preached," according to the New Testament *usus loquendi* has a good rather than a bad or even an indifferent meaning—the bringing *good tidings* rather than denouncing a *curse*. Some, for dogmatic reasons, insist strongly on this sense of the word as here used as alone allowable, while others, who hesitate in respect to the conclusions that are sought to be thus established, claim for it a wider meaning, according to its classical use: and in this case, perhaps, a sense quite the opposite of "glad tidings." It is obviously true that the Gospel of Christ, as proclaimed among men, is not—was not intended to be—invariably a message of joy. Isaiah, in a prophecy which Christ appropriated to himself and his work, describes the mission of the Messiah as not only "to preach the acceptable year of the Lord," but also, and with equal emphasis, "*the day of vengeance of our God.*" In the same spirit Malachi speaks of the rising of "the Sun of righteousness" "with healing in his wings;" and yet he shows that this revelation of God's favor to his people will be accompanied with the *trampling down* of his enemies. This double aspect of the Gospel in its initial proclamation, and still more so in its last results, may be detected all through the course of the divine revelation, and most clearly of all in the final book of the New Testament. The claim, therefore, that is made, that our Lord's preaching to the disobedient hearers of Noah's preaching was a proffer of salvation, may not be accepted without further examination.

Upon this passage the learning of the Church has been exercised since the days of the early Fathers, and through all that period it has been a kind of gordian knot among exegetes and theologians which no sword of authority has been able to cut.

Groups of consenting interpreters have gathered about various theories, and over against each have stood other and opposing groups; and quite evidently, in nearly every case, what has been accepted has not been entirely satisfactory, but was accepted as the most probable, or least difficult, and in most cases because best adapted to serve some preconceived opinion or method of exegesis. Many of the Greek Fathers, Clement, Irenæus, Justin, Origen, Hippolytus, and Gregory, who would seem to be those most likely to understand the language of the apostle, and to know in what sense the words were at first received, agree that Peter is here speaking of Christ's descent into *hades;* but in respect to the errand upon which he went thither, and what he actually did, they are not agreed. Augustine, at a later date, says that a few had believed that he had offered salvation to any that would receive him, which shows that the notion of a *post-mortem* probation is not a modern invention; and this opinion he states at length, and discusses carefully, and without explicit dissent, and yet he confesses his own uncertainty as to the apostle's meaning. At that age, however, there was entire unanimity in the Church in respect to our Lord's personal appearance in *hades*, but not so as to the persons to whom he preached, nor as to the character of the announcements made, except that it was agreed on all hands that it was a message of good tidings to the righteous dead.

In his remarks on this subject Augustine threw out a theory of the case which was taken up and defended by some of the later Latin Fathers, and by the great lights of the Middle Ages, and since the Reformation by some eminent Protestant writers. As stated by Athanasius, from whom Augustine received it, this theory—for it is only a theory—stands about in this wise. The "spirits in prison" are the unbelieving ones who lived in the time of Noah, whose souls were (at the time of Noah's preaching) shut up in the flesh and in the darkness of unbelief and ignorance; that to these Christ preached (while they were yet living) in his divine nature. To this scheme for getting rid of the difficulty there are two formidable objections: first, that it is wholly unsupported by the language of the text; and, second, that if accepted, it does not remove the difficulties in hand. It is altogether forced and arbitrary, and also barren of results. Its weakness is briefly but aptly stated by a recent

commentator: "The preaching of Noah certainly cannot mean a personal act of the spirit of Christ, even supposing that the word *spirit* here refers to the divine Word, which is, to say the least, wholly improbable. The expression, *ἐν φυλακῇ*, *in prison*, certainly does not mean 'in the prison of ignorance,' but a state of *durance*. The Greek *ἀπειθήσασι*, *disobedient*, *unpersuaded*, necessarily refers to a period antecedent to the announcement; and *ἐκήρυξε*, *he preached*, indicates a single act, not a series of admonitions." This theory, therefore, does violence to the grammatical sense of the text, and of course cannot be accepted.

Respecting the subject-matter of the preaching beyond what is conveyed by the word itself, and also as to its effects, the apostle gives no intimation; but he leaves the subject open to whatever implications may be found in the statement that having been waited upon by God's long-suffering in the days of Noah, when they were "disobedient," or *unbelieving*, they are now *in durance*. But having been brought to this point by the plain and unmistakable language of the text, the question is forced upon our attention, and demands an answer: Why did Christ go to these, and what was the message that he delivered to them? And as to this no general, satisfactory answer has been rendered, it is usually found that each interpreter has one at hand, dictated by his antecedent dogmatic conceptions—a basis of argument beyond all others the most unreliable.

The Church of Rome, and all who hold the doctrine of purgatory, find in this text both a confirmation and an elucidation of that article of their creed. They hold that it speaks of Christ's going to hell (the bad side of *hades*) to preach the Gospel to the damned, or, perhaps, to the place where the souls of the patriarchs were detained—the *limbus patrum*—to whom he preached, and whom he delivered from that place and took with him to paradise. But Calmet—a not inconsiderable authority, though, as a good Catholic, he conceded the doctrine of purgatory—expresses a doubt whether there is in this passage any reference to that subject. But we who discard the whole doctrine of purgatory may dismiss that interpretation of the text, as not affording any help toward a solution of its difficulties.

The intimation before given that the Greek word rendered "preached" does not necessarily imply simply the offer of grace, but also the denunciation of curses, and that in this particular case it may be taken in the latter sense, has been defended by a respectable array of authorities, chiefly Protestants, among them Flaccæus, Buddæus, Wolf, Aretius, and others among the Germans, and also by some of the most respectable English and American authorities. Dr. Whedon, with characteristic acuteness and discrimination, remarks: "This (the word here used) is not *εὐαγγελίζω*, the ordinary word for preaching the Gospel, but *κηρύσσω*, *to proclaim as a herald*, to *publish*, to *announce*, to *preach*. It is used sixty times in the New Testament, and in every instance what is preached or published must be sought in the context. *It never in itself means to preach the Gospel.*" Dr. Hodge, without deciding what the word *must* mean in this place, concedes that it *may* signify that the proclamation was either "the Gospel" (saving or otherwise) "or his (Christ's) own triumph; or deliverance from sheol; or the coming judgment." "It is certain," he adds, "that Christ, after his death upon the cross, entered the invisible world, and there, in some way, made proclamation of what he had done on earth." Dr. Pope, referring to this text only incidentally, remarks: "The words will allow no other interpretation than that, in the interval between his death and resurrection, the Redeemer asserted his authority and lordship in the vast region *where the congregation of the dead* is the great aggregate of mankind;" and this would leave the character of that authority in its operation upon its subjects to be determined by the relations of those subjects to that authority. To understand the word in the wider and more general sense is certainly not openly in opposition to its New Testament usage, and it is strictly according to its classical use; and certainly the rendering last given violates no fixed law of interpretation, and it, better than any other, gives to the passage a sense in harmony with Protestant orthodoxy.

The Church Fathers before referred to, who maintained the doctrine of Christ's descent into *hades*, explained *ἐκήρυξεν*, *preached*, in its more usual New Testament sense of proclaiming grace and salvation; but by "spirits in prison" they understood

only *the spirits of the righteous dead*, and especially the Old Testament saints who were then and there waiting for Christ and his salvation; but Marcion held that the message was to the virtuous of the heathen world, who were, till then, imprisoned under idolatry. Calvin accepted the former interpretation, confessing, however, that it was not agreeable to the requirements of the original text; but he supposed that as Peter was not expert in the Greek language he had failed to properly express what he intended to write; all of which is better calculated to provoke a smile than to produce conviction: and this violent method of dealing with the text is to be either explained or excused on the confession that no other or more satisfactory method of dealing with the subject could be devised. The suggestion of Dr. Clarke, in his note on verse 19, that "the spirits in prison" to whom Christ preached were those who, though they were "disobedient" in respect to Noah's personal warnings, yet when they saw the flood actually coming *repented*, is also favored by Estius, Luther, and Bellarmine, and also by Bengel, who says: "Probably some of so great a multitude, as the flood was coming, *repented*, and all such he supposes God had permitted until that time to remain in the same prison with those who persisted in their unbelief, quite unaware of the results of their repentance, of which they were now informed. Perhaps Joseph Cook has seen this scheme of the exegetes. Were it not that the subject is both very grave and very difficult, and that the names of those who have favored this scheme are of great weight, one might be tempted to characterize it as puerile, far-fetched, and fanciful.

Some of our later and ablest theologians and exegetes favor the opinion that Christ's preaching in *hades* was simply a manifestation of the Gospel alike in saving grace and in judgment, the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of vengeance of our God to the "spirits"—good and bad—there "in prison" (ἐν φυλακῇ). This would be to the righteous the assurance of eternal glorification with Christ, and to the "disobedient" the revelation of God's righteous judgment to be more fully revealed in due time—which fuller and complete manifestation shall be made when there shall be a resurrection both of the *just* and of the *unjust*, and when every man shall be judged according to the deeds done in the *body*. This double aspect

of the divine dispensations toward the saved and the unsaved is often seen in the word of God, as it was illustrated in the guiding pillar of the Exodus, which to the Israelites was light and assurance, and to the Egyptians darkness and dismay; and in respect to this St. Paul speaks of the Gospel which he preached as, to different kinds of persons, "a savor of life unto life, or of death unto death." So it may be understood that Christ's coming among earth's dead *in hades*—the *just* and the *unjust*—making manifest among them the divine scheme of the Gospel of which he was the apostle and high-priest, was in fact a proclamation, not, indeed, of terms and conditions of salvation, but of the nature and intent of the divine economy under which they had lived and died—some in the obedience of faith, and some, faithlessly and in unbelief—the results of which in respect to each was then clearly made known. This interpretation and application of the passage under consideration is not against the plain language of the text, and at the same time it gives to its utterance an awful significance, altogether worthy of the occasion, and also in agreement with all the requirements of the accepted faith of evangelical Christendom.

It is well known that very strong efforts have recently been made to so interpret this text as to make it do service in favor of the doctrine of a *post-mortem* probation, for at least some of those who die unrepentant. The attempt, however, has been only indifferently successful, since in order to reach that conclusion the meaning of the ambiguous or general word "preached" must be assumed to be ascertained and settled, beyond reasonable doubts, in one exclusive and specific sense; and after being thus shut up to a definite and limited application in order to fit it for the desired purpose, the word still needs to have not a little read into it that does not naturally belong to it. This drift of thought—which in his case seems to amount to conviction—is thus stated by Dean Alford, whose general reputation for conservative orthodoxy, together with his extensive biblical and theological learning, entitles his opinions to great respect. His words are:

> With the great majority of commentators, ancient and modern, I understand these words to say, that our Lord in his disembodied state did go to the place of detention of departed spirits, and did there announce his work of redemption—preach salva-

tion, in fact, to the disembodied spirits of those who had refused to obey the voice of God when the judgment of the flood was hanging over them. Why these, rather than others, are mentioned—whether merely as a sample of the like gracious work on others, or for some special reason unimaginable by us—we cannot say. It is ours to deal with the plain words of Scripture, and to accept its revelations as far as vouchsafed to us. And they are vouchsafed to us to the utmost limit of legitimate inference from revealed facts. That inference every intelligent reader will draw from the fact here announced. (?) It is not purgatory; it is not universal restoration; but it is one that throws blessed light on one of the darkest enigmas of the divine justice—the cases where the final doom seems infinitely out of proportion to the lapse which has incurred it; and as we cannot say to what other cases this κήρυγμα (preaching) may have applied, so it would be presumption in us to limit its occurrence or its efficacy.

These are remarkable words; and especially so when presented as the language of the learned and eminently conservative exegete and theologian from whom they proceed. But in a case of this kind authority avails nothing against rational criticism, and at that tribunal these words must be tested. And here it is objected, first of all (as has been already shown), that in determining the sense of the word ἐκήρυξεν (preached) we are not inevitably shut up to the single meaning of proclaiming the *grace of salvation.* Of the sixty times that the word in some one or other of its forms occurs in the New Testament, a not inconsiderable proportion cannot be made to bear that sense. The passage in Isaiah already referred to (chapter lxi, 2), applied to Christ and his work in the New Testament, speaks not only of *preaching* "the acceptable year of the Lord"—εὐαγγελίσασθαι—but it has coupled with it, in the language of the prophet, as a part of the same proclamation, "the day of vengeance of our God." The "strong triumphant traveler" who comes "from Edom, with dyed garments," stained with the blood of his enemies, and in whose heart was the "day of vengeance," synchronizing with "the year of his redeemed," is the same ONE who "went and preached to the spirits in prison." If, then, Christ is set forth in prophecy as a *Destroyer*, as well as a *Redeemer*, why should not his own proclamation of himself and his Messianic work in the spirit world contain the announcement of his wrath—a certain fearful expectation of judgment — against those who

had filled up the measure of their lives in unbelief and disobedience? The future manifestations of Christ of which we read in the New Testament are certainly as strongly marked with punitive and destructive elements as the opposite; and yet these are parts of his Messianic work; and by analogy we might expect that his manifestation of himself to the *dead* would show forth the same characteristics. The first approaches of the Gospel are uniformly with offers of mercy, and therefore the proclamation of the Gospel as something *new* is uniformly an *evangel;* but to the unbelieving and disobedient it becomes a *malediction.* Is it not, then, the more rational to understand the preaching of our Lord to "the spirits in prison," who were in their life-time disobedient rejecters of God's messages of mercy, as revelations of wrath rather than offers of grace?

The passage in chapter iv, 6, which reads, "For unto this end was the Gospel preached even to the dead," has been referred to as in its sense parallel with that first considered, but, as it seems to us, evidently without any good reason. In that place the word used (*εὐηγγελίσθη*) uniformly implies the good tidings of the Gospel, and it relates to something that had certainly occurred in human history; and the word *νεκροῖς, the dead,* can scarcely be made to bear any other meaning than that of *persons now deceased,* to whom, during their life-time, the Gospel was preached with the intent indicated. This, and the still more remote and far-fetched passage about "those who are baptized for the dead" (1 Cor. xv, 29), are all the Scriptures that are claimed to support Dean Alford's interpretation.

And here it may be well to suggest, that, in interpreting obscure texts of Holy Scripture, if they are to be explained at all—and there are those that defy all attempts in that direction—it should be done in the light of passages and doctrinal statements that are clearly intelligible, and of certain and well-determined import. That the text under consideration is obscure and of doubtful meaning has been confessed ever since the early ages of the Church; it seems, therefore, scarcely allowable to give precedence to such a text, and to accept it as teaching an article of faith that is not learned from the not obscure statements of the New Testament, an interpretation the manifest drift of which, indeed, seems to be opposed to its

uniform teachings, and to the "analogy of faith." Nor are we at liberty to accept any man's determination as to what are the *due proportions* between this or that form of sinning, and the *final doom incurred* by it. To do that belongs to God alone; and we can learn nothing respecting the demerits of sin, or the relative punishableness of different forms and degrees of sin, except as we receive our instruction from the word of God. If there is one prerogative of the divine SOVEREIGN that is sacred above every other, it is that of *judgment*—the vindication of his righteousness and his *throne*. It is for us to confess that "the Judge of the whole earth will do right;" and it is great *presumption*, not to say *impiety*, making fearful approaches to *blasphemy*, for any creature to attempt to say what God may or may not do, or to mark out a proportion between the "final doom" of the divine judgment and the "lapse" by which that doom is incurred. Who will measure "the exceeding sinfulness of sin," and determine with mathematical exactness the due proportions between any of its concrete forms and the divine judgment against it?

We end as we began, confessing the very great difficulty of reaching an altogether satisfactory understanding of some things in the passage that we have been considering, though much that it teaches is very evident. It presents the this-world side of the history of Christ's death as an indisputable reality; and over against this is presented the spirit-world side as equally real. It assumes, and so virtually asserts, the continuous living of human souls after physical death—that to die *fleshwise* is to be *made* or *found* alive, spiritwise. It opens a scene in the world of spirits, and so opens to us a revelation in eschatology, perhaps the fullest and clearest in all the Scriptures. It enables us to follow Christ in his "descent into *hades;*" his personal subjection to death for a little while, as a man with men, and his coming from under that subjection by the power of the Father, and according to the word of prophecy (Psa. xvi, 10), which was a Messianic act, performed in our nature, and in behalf of all who shall be found in Christ, who is "the resurrection and the life." With so much clearly taught in the passage, it must always be esteemed invaluable, even though some of its parenthetical parts defy all our attempts to expound them.

Art. V.—ETHNOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

Ethnographers, who describe the different races of men, with their characteristics, circumstances, manners, and habits; and ethnologists, who treat of the origin, relations, and marked differentiations of those races, find among the peoples who inhabit Northern and Central Africa an ample field for their researches, and abundant material for the exercise of their skill in classification. And as, according to Elisée Reclus, ethnology is related to ethnography as the juice is to the grape, so do the relations of language and the similitude of appearance aud habit help to trace the oneness of origin of all related types of man.

The Bible is the only volume that pretends to impart authentic information about the primitive settlement of Africa. The "Toldoth Beni-Noah," remarks a writer in the "Asiatic Society's Journal," vol. iv, p. 230, "is the most authentic record we possess for the affiliation of races." The biblical genealogies are of great historical importance,

> as marking strongly the vital truth, that the entire framework and narrative of Scripture is in every case real, not ideal; plain and simple matter of fact, not fanciful allegory evolved out of the author's consciousness; and often these passages of Scripture, dry and forbidding as is their first aspect, will well repay a careful and scholarly study. They are like an arid range of bare and stony mountains, which, when minutely examined, reveals to the investigator mines of emerald or diamond.*

What is dark in them now may hereafter receive floods of light from the researches of judicious explorers. The history of antiquarian science fully justifies this expectation.

The earliest of the post-diluvian genealogies is that in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis. Under its surface is concealed "a very considerable amount of important historical and ethnological truth." The majority of the names there given occur elsewhere in the Bible in an ethnic, or else in a geographical, sense. Cush, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Mizraim, Caphtorim, Pathrusim, Ludim, Phut, Seba, etc., indicate either countries or nations—sometimes both. The object of the author is

* Rawlinson's "Origin of Nations," p. 106.

evidently to give a sketch of the interconnection of races. All the names he mentions, with the exception of those of Noah and his three sons, are probably ethnic. This document is, in fact, the earliest ethnographic essay in existence. It relates chiefly to the nations with whom the Jews, at the time of its composition, had some acquaintance. It indicates the principle of ethnic subdivision. It exhibits the fact that races, as they increase, subdivide; and that "as mankind spread over the earth there was a constant breaking up into a larger, and still larger, number of nations," distinct politically, also linguistically, and so ethnically. This fact, as G. Rawlinson observes, furnishes "the only theory of ethnology which at once harmonizes with, and accounts for, the facts of language as comparative philology reveals them to us."

Four principal races are alleged to have descended from Ham, the second son of Noah. These are designated, respectively, Cush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan. (Gen. x, 6.) Cush is usually synonymous with Ethiopia, the modern *Habesh*, or Abyssinia. But there was also an Asiatic Cush, which Ezekiel coupled with Persia (Ezek. xxxvii, 5), and Isaiah with Elam (Isa. xi, 11), and which included a portion of the Arabians, the primitive Babylonians, and the Cissians. Between Arabia and Abyssinia there has been much of intercourse that has modified the physical type of both nations, and especially of the latter. The Mizrim, or Egyptians, descended from the same source as the Ethiopian inhabitants of the upper Nile valley, with whom they were frequently and intimately associated. Phut, or "the Phut," are probably identical with the people called *Pet* by the Egyptians — a people whose emblem was the unstrung bow, and who dwelt in Nubia, the tract of country between Egypt and Ethiopia. Canaan was the district on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. Some of its inhabitants, it is conjectured, migrated to Africa after their expulsion from their native seats by the Israelites under Joshua.

The Cushites of Ethiopia, settled in the south and southeast of Egypt, between the main stream of the Nile and the sea-coast, sent out colonies to new localities. Of these, Seba, situated between the Nile and the Atbara, was thus occupied. Meroe (*Saba*), its capital, became famous for its eminence, and for the physical superiority of its citizens. From

Seba emigrants appear to have crossed the Red Sea into the Havilah district, which the learned identify with Khâwlan, in the north-west of the modern Yemen. Thence they spread, under the name of Sabtah, into Hadramaut; and from thence, under the appellation of Raamah, and subsequently of Sheba and Dedan, to the shores of the Persian Gulf. There they seem to have amalgamated with the Semites. (Gen. x, 28, 29.) The enterprising and commercial character of this mixed race—the Sabæans—is celebrated alike by biblical and classical writers.

That this was the line of dissemination is very probable in view of the fact that "M. Antoine d'Abbadie, Dr. Beke, M. Fresnel, and others, have proved that there are to this day races in Southern Arabia, especially the Mahras, whose language is decidedly non-Semitic; and that between this language and that of the Abyssinian tribes of the Galla, Agau, and their congeners, there is very considerable affinity." * The Mahra, moreover, is proven by analysis to be the modern representative of the ancient Himyaritic speech. These facts, and many others of similar character, establish our confidence in the wise and accurate guidance of the Mosaic genealogist while studying the ethnography of Africa.

The descendants of Mizraim, the second son of Ham, were the principal settlers of Africa to the west of the ancient *Khem*, or Egypt. The genealogist divides them into eight tribes or nations: "The Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim (out of whom came Philistim), and Caphtorim." (Gen. x, 13, 14.) G. Rawlinson supposes the Ludim, who are commonly united with either Phut or Cush, or both, by the major prophets, and who were closely allied with Egypt, to have settled in the Nile valley, north of Phut; and that the Anamim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, and Casluhim were East African tribes, who were probably soon absorbed by the Egyptians. The Lehabim, identical with the Lubim, with the Rebu, or Lebu, of the Egyptian monuments, and with the Libyans (*Λίβυες, Libyi*) of the Greeks and Romans, occupied the country west of Egypt, and on the southern shores of the Mediterranean. When the Greeks seized the Cyrenaica, they named the entire southern continent Libya, after the aboriginal inhabitants.

* Rawlinson's "Origin of Nations," p. 209.

Gliddon differs from Rawlinson with respect to the geographical distribution of most of the Mizraitic tribes. The Casluhim, he maintains, dwelt in Barbary, and became the progenitors of "the Shillouhs, one of the grand duplex divisions of Gætulian families." * The "Ludim probably occupied Mauritania." "We rejoice to learn from Gräberg de Hemso that the Ludaya tribe still furnishes the Sultan's body-guard in Morocco, and that their river Tagassa is yet called Luad and Thaluda." † The Anamim are Numidians.‡ The Lehabim were "a nomadic people of Gætulian race, and of Berberesque habitats." § The Naphtuhim lived "around Mareotic provinces, on the confines of the M Ts R I M, or Egyptians. They spoke Berber dialects, like the rest of their Berberesque brethren, and may be safely assumed as ranking among the easternmost representatives of the great Gætulian race." ‖ The Pathrusim were the Pharusii of ancient Barbary.¶ Gliddon, as he himself with gleeful malignity conjectures, is doubtless as much or more in harmony with the Mosaic genealogy on this point than Rawlinson.

All ethnographers agree that the descendants of the Libyans, whose different Mizraitic tribes constituted what Bodichon termed the "one veritably indigenous race in Barbary, namely, the Gætulian," are to be found in the modern Tuariks and Berbers of Northern Africa, west of the Nile system. These not only inhabit the Sahara and the chain of the Atlas, but extend to the shores of the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and into the fertile regions contiguous to the Great Desert.

The Libyan tribe of the Marmaridæ is represented by the modern Berbers; and that of the Cabales by the Cabyles. Numerous customs recorded by the ancients as obtaining among the ancient Libyans are found still to exist among the Berbers and Tuariks. On these grounds the best modern ethnologists regard the identity of the two races as established; and speak of the Berbers, Tuariks, Shuluhs, and Cabyles, etc., as the aboriginal descendants of Northern Africa.**

Says De Slane:

The Berbers, autochthonous people of Northern Africa, are the same race that is now designated by the name of Kabiles. The

* Nott and Gliddon, "Types of Mankind," pp. 517, 521.
† *Ibid.*, p. 514. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 514. § *Ibid.*, p. 516.
‖ *Ibid.*, p. 518. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. 520.
** Prichard, "Physical History of Mankind," vol. ii, p. 25, *et seq.*

different names under which this [the Kabile] idiom presents itself are recognized in a common appellative, as if forming branches of one and the same trunk. The word Berber comprises equally the Kabàïl of the littoral, the Chawéeya of the south-east, the Shilhéeya of Morocco, the Beni-M'zab, and the Tuariks, and, in the same manner that all these dialects offer but slight differences among themselves, leaving no doubt whatever as to their community of origin, so the peoples that make use of them must be regarded as the scattered members of one and the same family.

On the Jurjura plateaus there is a tribe still called (*beni*, Arabic for "sons") Beni-Kébîla; another on the Aures is (*owlàd* = children) Oued-Shelih, or Shilhéeya; and a third, *Beni-Berber;* and thus, without break in the chain of nomenclature, we can now ascend, in the same language, race, and country, from the T-*Amazirg*, or *Amazirg*-T, or "freemen," name given by this people to themselves through the *Mazée-eh* of Arab authors, to the *Gentes Mazicæ* of the Romans, and thence, finally, to the Μαξυες of Herodotus, in whose day they were Βαρβαροι; that is to say, not *barbarians* etymologically, but these same old *Berberoi*, our "Berbers." *

Ebn Khaledoon, the Berber historiographer, as quoted by Nott and Gliddon,† is right as to the Hamitic origin of the Berbers, but wrong as to the special line of descent. "Now the real fact," he affirms, "which dispenses with all hypotheses is this: The Berbers are the children of Canaan, son of Ham, son of Noah. Their grandfather was named Mazyh (the *Masici* of the Latins, the *Mazues* of the Greeks)."

The Kabyles inhabit the northern region of Africa; the Shillouhs, the southern portion of Morocco; the Berbers, the south part of Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and the Saharan desert. The Chawéeya inhabit the ocean coast of Central Morocco, the northerly section of the triple Atlas chain, the Algerian *landes*, and the mountainous interior. The tribes of Libyan blood have also originated other and different communities by intermarriage with Negroes. The Hamitic character of the Berber tribes is further manifested by the resemblance of their languages to those spoken on the banks of the Nile.

A very considerable analogy has been traced between the native languages of North Africa and the Egyptian and Coptic;

* Nott and Gliddon, "Indigenous Races," p. 535.

† "Indigenous Races," p. 540.

an analogy which is more striking in the structure than in the roots, but which extends to some of the simplest and earliest words. In Berber one is "*ouan*," in Coptic "*ouot*," in Egyptian "*oua*;" in Shuluh two is "*seen*," in Coptic "*snaü*;" in Coptic to drink is "*so*," it is "*soo*" in Berber and Tuarik. *Ouas*, Berber for "day," resembles Coptic, or rather Sahidic, "*hu*;" *ikhf*, Berber for "head," may be traced in Egyptian *ape*, and Coptic *aphe*, which in the oasis of Ammon is *akhfe*. Tuarik *mar* for "man" is perhaps identical with Coptic and Egyptian *ronu*. These and other similar resemblances are regarded as sufficient to constitute the Berber, Tuarik, etc., "cognate" dialects to the Egyptian; and "cognate dialects" are an indication of "cognate races."

Similar considerations suggest race relations between the communities of eastern Africa, the Berbers, and the Egyptians, and afford strong presumption of common Hamitic origin. Peschel remarks:

> Of the Hamites of East Africa, the inhabitants of the Nubian Nile districts, who call themselves Barbâra, or Berbers, most resemble the ancient Egyptians. They were formerly Christians, until the fall of the Berber Nilitic empire of Dongola, in 1320. Between the Nubian Nile and the Red Sea live tribes called Blemmyer by old geographers, Bedsha by the Axumitic inscriptions, and also by Arab geographers. Their purest representatives are the Bishareen, Haddendoa, and some of the Beni-Amer, who, in addition to a corrupt Arabic, speak Tobedauie, a more ancient Hamite language with three genders. Between the Blue Nile and the Atbara rove the nomadic tribes of the Awlâd Abu, Simbil, and Shukurieh, which latter are not descended from the Arabs, although they speak a corrupt Arabic. The Kababish live as shepherds between the Nile and Kordofan; and on both banks of the White River, above the mouth of the Blue Nile, live the Hassanieh. Both are pronounced to be Arabs, although in type they are East African Hamites.*

C. L. Brace, in his "Races of the Old World," calls the Berbers Semites, apparently for the reason that there are some linguistic resemblances between their speech and that of the Semitic peoples. For the same reason they might be termed *Sub-Semites*. Dr. Robert Brown observes that "the Amazirgh languages are allied to the Hebrew and Arabic, and have been called sub-Semitic."† The real fact seems to be that these

* Peschel, "The Races of Man," pp. 482, 483.

† "Races of Mankind," vol. ii, p. 208.

resemblances point to a common origin of the Hamitic and Semitic families, and go far to establish the scriptural doctrine of the unity of mankind.

The language of the ancient Egyptians, though it cannot be classed in the Semitic family with the Hebrew, has important points of correspondence—whether due to the long intercourse between the two races in Egypt, or to some deeper ancestral connection—and such analogies also appear in the Berber languages of North Africa.*

Not less certainly than language do the physical peculiarities of different types of the human race point to community of origin. Says Topinard:

By human type must be understood the average of characters which the human race, supposed to be pure, presents. . . . Let us take an example: The Berber people is formed, 1. Of a brown autochthonous groundwork, that is to say, of the most ancient of which we can find any trace; 2. Of blondes from the North, Arabs from the East, and Negroes from the South. The Berber type is *ensemble* of the characters which must have belonged exclusively to the autochthonous stock; its sub-types are the Tuarik, the Kabyl, etc. It is the offspring of some other more general type of which we are still ignorant.†

The area over which the Berber formerly spread was much larger than that over which he now ranges. The movements of population, which modified his physical character, restricted him within more limited confines. The Berber type is found not only in Africa, but, according to Topinard, "there is every reason to believe that it intrenched upon southern Europe, and that the oldest stock of the Iberian peninsula, the basin of the Garonne, and the islands of the Mediterranean is Berber."‡ The same stock also furnished the primitive (Guancho) population to the Canary Islands.

It is in the level country of the Sahara that "the Berber strain was every-where able to maintain itself in full purity." In North Africa it has been modified by the influx of many nations, mostly Semitic, and also by North European conquerors.

In Eastern Africa, the Abyssinians have become better known to Christians by the labors of missionaries, and by the British expedition under Lord Napier, sent thither to effect the forcible release of the persons detained in captivity by the Em-

* Tylor, "Anthropology," p. 160. † *Ibid.*, p. 447. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 461, 462.

peror Theodore. In the Abyssinians is an admixture of Semitic blood from Arabia, and possibly a slight infusion of it from Palestine. Seventy years before Mohammed made his appearance in Arabian affairs, the kingdom of Yemen was conquered by the Negus of Ethiopia, who assisted the persecuted Christians against their Jewish king, Dha Nowas. Khosrú Anushirvan, the Persian emperor, drove out the Abyssinians shortly before the advent of Mohammed. The Gheez, now a dead language, was the national speech of the Abyssinians in the age of Frumentius, when the capital of their empire was at Axum, and

is nearly related to the idiom of the Himyaritic inscriptions. The Abyssinians of the ancient empire are thus proved to have been a part of the great stock of the Himyarite or southern Arabs, who appear to have possessed the countries on both sides of the Arabian Gulf for many ages before the Hegira, and in all probability before the Christian era.*

That blending of Hamitic with Semitic blood, which first produced the Sabæan nation in southern Arabia, and which has imparted such strength and tenacity to the several divisions of the Abyssinian people, has also made itself manifest in the interior of the African continent. Many—indeed, most—of the so-called Arabs, who are the chief factors of the slave trade, and who have established themselves at different points on the eastern coast, and in the central basin down to and south of the equator, have more or less of the Hamitic strain. In the Soodan they intermarry with the Negroes, and raise large families of children.

Now that the eyes of the civilized world are fixed on the agitations of the Egyptian Soodan, and that they are watching with intense interest for the results of the impending collision between the disciplined forces of Great Britain and the fanatical hordes of El Mahdi, inquiry into the ethnic character of the Negro nations is particularly opportune.

The Egyptian Soodan not only includes Kordofan, Darfur, and Sennaar, but also an indefinite tract of country as far south as the equator, and including portions of the great lakes from whence issue the principal feeders of the White Nile. Its indigenous inhabitants have black or very dark, and often sooty, skins; *dolicho-cephalous*, or long, narrow

* Prichard, "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iv, p. 585.

heads; *prognathous*, or projecting jaws; long thigh-bones, long arms, lean shanks, an oblique set of the pelvis, and are deficient in "secondary sexual characters." They are also distinguished by short, crisp hair, each fiber of which is flattened like the fiber of wool. The beard is wanting, the lips are thick and prominent, the mouth often enormously large, the forehead retreating, and the nose flattened. "The skin is thick and velvety, and emits an exhalation of a pungent, unpleasant, and characteristic odor." Meager thighs, calfless legs, elongated heels, and archless feet are also the possessions of many Negroes, but by no means of all. The native habitat of the Negro is from the southern border of the Sahara, which has fallen under the dominion of hybrid Hamites and hybrid Semites, to the Cape Colony. Winchell includes the Caffres among the true Negroes, but excludes the Hottentots and Bushmen. The lowest of all the Negro tribes are found in the region of the White Nile, where the Shillouhs and Dinkas closely resemble in physical characteristics the Fundi Negroes of the Blue Nile, who founded the kingdom of Sennaar. The latter have very long, crimped hair; color, varying from brown to blue-black, excepting the hand and the sole of the foot, which are of a flesh-red color. The lips are fleshy, but not intumescent, and the nose straight or slightly aquiline. They are probably of mixed race. "Kordofan," says Prichard, "is probably the oasis whence the Nobatæ, or Nouba, originated. . . . The Nouba themselves may be an offset from the original stock which first peopled Egypt and Nubia."* Their descendants, barbarized in the forests of Central Africa, would, he asserts, present the appearance they now do. Friedrich Müller places the Foulahs or Fellatahs of the Niger in ethnic association with the Nouba, and refers them collectively to the north-east. On all the borders of the nations south of the Sahara is noticed a blending with the Negro type.

The question is, whether the Hamites, blackish-brown or brownish-black on the Nile, would assume, and did assume, the sooty color now characteristic of the fluviatile Soodanese after settling in the hot, humid, malarious valley of the Upper Nile and its tributaries; and further, whether their descendants, emerging from the depressions of the Nile system, and estab-

* "Natural History of Man."

lishing themselves on the mountainous regions and on the shores of the upper lakes, and on the vast plains of the southern interior, would, under altered environments, regain the physical type of their remote ancestors.

The answer to this question, we hold, must be wholly affirmative. African travelers, especially Dr. Livingstone, hold that existing modifications of the human race on the continent of Africa are caused by the joint power of all or of several of the factors—climate, heat, moisture, malaria, exposure, food, occupation, and intermarriage. Shelter, excitement, culture, religion, also modify color and structure. These forces are sufficient to account for all variations of the human form within historic time, from the probably original brown color and Semitic Arab conformation of the primal pair from whom all peoples have descended. This theory accounts for and is in harmony with all the facts of the case. Smyth, in his "Unity of the Human Races," further argues, and with valid logic, that it is concordant with the Bible, with history, and with tradition; with the intellectual, religious, and moral constitution of human nature; with the universality, nature, and connection of languages; with the fertility of intermarriages, and with the best interests of society.

> I do not [wrote the eminent physiologist, Dr. J. W. Draper] contemplate the human race as consisting of varieties, much less of distinct species; but rather as offering numberless representations of the different forms which an ideal type can be made to assume under exposure to different conditions.*

Nearly all, if not quite all, the alleged types of the human race can be seen at any time in a leisurely walk down Broadway.

It is interesting to note the deepening hue of the human race as it approaches the equator, and particularly in the riverine systems. "The women of Mequinas, in Northern Africa," Jackson wrote, "are very beautiful, and have the red and white complexion of Englishwomen." † Mr. Hodgson discovered that the people of Wadreag, though speaking the Berber language with purity and correctness, were not only black, "as many of the genuine Arabs of the country are known to be, but have

* "Human Physiology," pp. 565, 566. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856.

† "Types of Mankind," p. 207. Nott & Gliddon.

features approaching those of the Negroes, and hair like that which [characterizes most of] the human race." He believed

that these characters had been acquired, not as the result of the intermixture of races, which the local circumstances of the tribes seemed to him to preclude, but through the long-continued agency of physical causes upon a tribe of generic Tuarik origin, though the ordinary type of the race is almost similar to the Arabian.*

The traveler Buckingham remarked of Semites in similar environments:

It is, certainly, a very marked peculiarity of the Arabs who inhabit the valley of the Jordan, that they have flatter features, darker eyes, and coarser hair than any other tribe, a peculiarity rather attributable, I conceive, to the constant and intense heat of that region than to any other cause.†

Darwin has described the marvelous variations of animals under domestication; and modern anatomists dwell upon the shorter jaws of the present generation, and the early loss of the wisdom-tooth, which is no longer needed for the grinding of cereal food. These facts are of similar character with the changes undergone by human beings in Africa under changed conditions of existence. Reginald Stuart Poole, in "The Genesis of the Earth and Man" (p. 69), has, we think, inverted the facts he recognizes in the statement that

Providence has ordained rapid means of effecting a change from the form and hue of the darkest of our species to the form and hue of the fairest; but only extremely slow means of effecting the contrary change, except in respect of color.

Dr. Livingstone and other African travelers not infrequently protest against the grotesque caricature of the typical Negro by writers who labor in defense of unscriptural and untenable theories. That eminent missionary scientist affirms:

With every disposition to pay due deference to the opinions of those who have made ethnology their special study, I have felt myself unable to believe that the exaggerated features usually put forth as those of the typical Negro characterize the majority of any nation of South-eastern Africa. The monuments of the ancient Egyptians seem to me to embody the ideal of the inhabitants of Londa better than the figures of any work of ethnology I have met with.

* Prichard, "Natural History of Man," p. 559. † *Ibid.*, p. 560.

To make ignorance the basis for attempted refutation of facts, stated by authors of high character and tried veracity, is an experiment perilous only to those who make it. Literature of ancient date is largely silent on the subject of African ethnology; but what is extant is certainly not opposed to the ethnic derivation of the native African tribes from the second son of Noah:

> If it be shown in the investigations of the next few years, as many philologists predict, that the lowest African race—the Hottentot—is a descendant of the highest, the Egyptian [as it has been shown that the perishing outcasts known as the Veddahs are the descendants of those whose native tongue was the Sanskrit], then will be demonstrated that no degradation of physical type or mental condition is a necessary proof of diversity of origin.*

Magnificent specimens of physical manhood are frequent among the African Negro tribes, and Dr. Blyden, Williams, —the recently-appointed chief of the United States Exploring Expedition on the Congo,—and scores of other familiar names, prove that, under favorable Christian conditions, the black races are as capable of the highest civilization as the red, yellow, or white.

African exploration, and the ethnological conclusions founded upon its discoveries, is scarcely a century old. Vast unexplored sections await the coming of the adventurous pioneer, and will doubtless yield the knowledge of facts that must somewhat alter the character of scientific theories; but not, we are warranted in believing, in antagonism to the teaching of "God's word written."

Besides the ancient historical literature of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, we have, as sources of ethnic information about Africa, the antique monuments found in its northern portions. The Gomera of the district of Rif in Morocco are

> possibly descended from those marine Celts who, in early ages, came down from the coasts of Africa, where they left the cairns, *peulvans*, and cromlechs, which the Romans at more than one place called Philœnian altars, particularly those found near Cyrene and in the Salt Lake.†

* C. L. Brace, "The Races of the Old World," p. 311.

† Col. C. H. Smith, "Natural History of the Human Species," p. 365.

Herodotus, the father of history, is the first writer who gave authentic information about the inhabitants of Africa. Homer, the father of epic poetry, also possessed some secondary knowledge of the African aborigines—knowledge whose comparative accuracy has been singularly verified by modern discoveries. Stretching westward to the Atlantic, on the northern coast of the continent, in the time of Herodotus were the *Adyrmachidæ*, *Gilligammæ*, *Asbystæ*, *Cabalians*, *Auschisæ*, *Nasamones*, and *Psylli*. South of the Nasamones were the *Garamantes*, who, like the modern Bosjesmen, avoided all intercourse with mankind. South-west of the Syrtis Minor (Gulf of Kabes) were the Lotophagi. Next came the Machylans and Auscans. In the Sahara were the kindred tribes of the *Gætuli*, and *Melano Gætuli*, whose descendants in the fertile countries south of the Sahara are known as Foulahs, Mandingoes, Jaloffs, etc. West of the Syrtis Minor were the *Maxyans*, *Gætuli*, the forefathers of the modern Tawarek, or *Tuarik*, the Numidians, and the Mauritanians.

Phenicia was the first historic nation not Hamitic, of which we have any notice, to intrude its members into Africa. The Phenicians themselves were, in all probability, of mingled blood, and supplanted the Hamitic Canaanites on the sea-coast of Palestine. Of Semitic speech, though not of pure Semitic blood, they were as distinct from the Canaanites as the Anglo-Saxons were distinct from the Britons. According to Herodotus (vii, 89) and Justin (xviii, 3, sec. ii, etc.), they were immigrants into Syria from the shores of the Persian Gulf, at a period to which their national traditions extended. "Quiet and peaceable, a nation of traffickers, skillful in navigation and the arts, both useful and ornamental, unwarlike except at sea, and wholly devoted to commerce and manufactures," * they yet found means to dispossess the fierce and intractable aborigines, and to establish themselves in their room. Between them and the Jews almost perpetual amity reigned, a fact which goes to prove their Semitic or sub-Semitic character.

The maritime genius of the Phenicians not only carried them to the shores of Africa, but induced them to found therein a number of commercial cities, of which Carthage was the head, and for a lengthened period the political rival of Rome.

* Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. iv, p. 198. Second edition.

Carthage was probably founded between the years 872 and 865 B. C. The Libyans understood the benefits of commerce, and gladly let a portion of the soil, at a fixed rent, to the new-comers. Originally nomads, they were early won to agricultural pursuits. Carthaginian colonies were thickly planted among them; intermarriages were encouraged; and a mixed people, known as Liby-Phenices, sprang up in the fertile territory south and south-west of Carthage. These were bilingual, spoke the Berber tongue, but also adopted the language and habits of the Asiatic settlers, and were faithful and attached subjects. Far beyond the range of territory thus occupied, the civilizing power of the Carthaginians extended. Their authority was eventually acknowledged by all the coast tribes as far west as the pillars of Hercules, and as far east as the territory of Cyrene. In the latter section of Africa the Greeks had established colonies about 630 B. C. Seventy years later they also settled in Barca. Punic blood was largely interfused during several centuries with that of the native Libyans throughout Northern Africa, and as far south as Fezzan.

Rome followed Carthage as mistress of Northern Africa. The destruction of Carthage by Scipio Nasica, B. C. 146, followed by the annexation of Numidia, *cir.* B. C. 48, and of Mauritania, A. D. 40, converted the whole country into what was practically a Roman province. The new masters extended their civilization over the whole, and have left many durable monuments—described by Dr. Barth and other travelers—of their presence and power. They also further modified the ethnic character of the Libyan subdivisions by marriage and by the associations incident to the institution of slavery.

In A. D. 439 Genseric, at the head of the Vandals—a race allied to the Teutons or Goths, and coming from the region of the Elbe and Oder—captured Carthage and extended his dominion over the most fruitful provinces of Africa. In 535 Belisarius reconquered and placed them under the rule of the Greek emperor Justinian. Gelimer, the grandson of Genseric, was expatriated to Galatia, and the six hundred thousand—more or less—Vandals probably purchased their safety by

abjuring their character, religion, and language, and their degenerate posterity would be insensibly mingled with the common herd of African subjects. Yet even in the present age, and in the

heart of the Moorish tribes, a curious traveler [Shaw, p. 59] has discovered the white complexion and long flaxen hair of a northern race; and it was formerly believed that the boldest of the Vandals fled beyond the power, or even the knowledge, of the Romans, to enjoy their solitary freedom on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Africa had been their empire; it became their prison.*

Gibbon adds in a note:

Yet since Procopius (l. ii, c. 13) speaks of a people of Mount Atlas, as already distinguished by white bodies and yellow hair, the phenomenon (which is likewise visible in the Andes of Peru, *Buffon*, tom. iii, p. 504) may naturally be ascribed to the elevation of the ground and the temperature of the air.

Next in order of foreign irruption into Northern Africa came the Saracens, who, about the year 647, first attempted its conquest under the Caliph Othman. Akbah, the fearless and fanatic commander of the Arabs, "traversed the wilderness in which his successors erected the splendid capitals of Fez and Morocco," and reached the verge of the Atlantic and the great desert. Spurring his horse into the waves, near the mouth of the river Sus, at no great distance from the Canary Islands, he exclaimed:

Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee.†

Akbah perished by the sword, but his fierce intolerant spirit survives in the persons of the Afric-Arabians.

By the year 709 the subjugation of the pure and composite African peoples was fully accomplished.

In their climate and government, their diet and habitation, the wandering Moors resembled the Bedouins of the desert. With the religion they were proud to adopt the language, name, and origin of Arabs; the blood of the strangers and natives was insensibly mingled; and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic the same nation might seem to be diffused over the sandy plains of Asia and Africa. Yet I will not deny that fifty thousand tents of pure Arabians might be transported over the Nile, and scattered through the Libyan desert; and I am not ignorant that five of the Moorish tribes still retain their *barbarous* idiom, with the appellation and character of *white* Africans.‡

* Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. iv, p. 140.

† *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 242. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 247, 248.

With the accession of the Turkish sultan to the caliphate of Islam came the introduction of another and entirely distinct ethnic element into Africa. The pure Turks are the descendants of nomads who formerly pitched their tents on the southern banks of the Oxus, in Central Asia. The modern Turks are hybrids of every race, combining all the vices and none, or very few, of the virtues of any of their ancestors. Their presence in Africa, as elsewhere, has only wrought corruption and death in blood, morals, and society.

The earliest trustworthy knowledge of Northern and Central Africa received in modern times, reached Christendom through the medium of the Arabs. Accompanied by the camel, "the ship of the desert," they pierced the Sahara as far as the Senegal and Gambia Rivers on the west, and Sofala, Mombas, and Melinda on the east. Toward the close of the eighteenth century, Houghton, Mungo Park, Hornemann, and Burckhardt explored portions of the "Dark Continent," and published accounts of their discoveries. Park lost his life at Boussa, on the Niger, in 1805. Hornemann, in 1796–98, journeyed from Cairo to Murzuk, in Fezzan, sent valuable information from thence about the countries, and especially of Bornoo, in the south. He, like Mungo Park, perished in his work. In 1822 Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney crossed the Great Desert from Tripoli to Lake T'sad, and explored from thence to Sakatu on the west, and Mandara in the south. Clapperton, in a second journey, crossed the Kawara (Niger) on his way from the coast of Guinea to Sakatu, where he died. Laing followed, and was murdered in the desert. In 1827–28 Caillié passed from Rio Nunez, on the western coast, to Timbuctoo, and from thence, through the Sahara, to Morocco.

Bruce, in 1768–73; Browne, who visited Darfur in 1793; Burckhardt, in 1814; Cailliaud, in 1819; Rüppell, in 1824–25; Russegger, in 1837; D'Abbadie, in 1838–44; Dr. Beke, in 1840–44; D'Arnaud and Werne, on the White Nile in 1840–42; and Brun Rollet, in 1845, explored, and published narratives of their observations and adventures in Eastern Africa.

To establish trade and to abolish slavery in Northern Africa as far south as Lake T'sad, Dr. Barth, accompanied by Richardson and Dr. Overweg, left England in 1849. His companions died, but he successfully prosecuted his work until 1856. His

three volumes, published by Harper & Brothers, New York, are a rich treasury of information about the ethnography, religion, government, morals, manners, customs, commerce, and resources of the Sahara tribes, and of the central Negro states of the Northern Soodan. Burton and Speke, from Zanzibar, in 1857–59, discovered Lake Tanganyika. Speke also discovered another large lake, which he supposed to be the head reservoir of the Nile. Simultaneously, or nearly so, Petherick (1858), Lejean, Miani, the Poncets, Antinori, Debono, and Pency added much to our knowledge of the upper White Nile from the Egyptian side. Duveyrier, the scientific French traveler, also explored the Sahara. In 1860 Speke and Grant left Zanzibar for the lake the former had discovered. Speke named it the Victoria Nyanza, and traced the river overflowing from it to the White Nile at Gondokoro. In 1861 Gerhard Rohlfs, in Morocco, and in 1862 Petherick, on the White Nile, made important contributions to geographical science. In 1864 Sir Samuel Baker, pushing forward from Gondokoro, discovered the second great reservoir of the Nile, and named it the Albert Nyanza. In 1865–6 Rohlfs crossed the northern portion of the continent by nearly Barth's route, and thence south-westerly to the Bight of Benin. Dr. Schweinfurth, in 1869–71, penetrated the region of the complicated network of tributaries received by the White Nile, north-west of Gondokoro. Baker then annexed the whole country south, to the equator, to Egypt, and planted garrisons to maintain the hold. In 1869 Winwood Reade, from Sierra Leone to the head of the Niger; in 1867 Munzinger, in Northern Abyssinia; and in 1869 Dr. Nachtigal, carrying presents from the king of Prussia to the sultan of Bornoo on Lake T'sad, in acknowledgment of that potentate's kindness to former travelers, increased the volume of African geography. The latter particularly did excellent service by investigating the central mountainous country of Tibesti, which was previously known only by report.

Dr. Lenz, since then, has added the observations of the only scientifically trained explorer that ever traversed the vast region lying between Barth's route through Rhat and Air to the Atlantic to our knowledge of the Sahara. Quitting Tangier in November, 1879, he arrived at Timbuctoo in July, 1880, and at St. Louis, by way of the Senegal, in November following.

Leaving the city of Morocco on the 6th of March, in the guise of a Turkish physician, he was refused any guard beyond Terodant, south of the Atlas, on the ground that the sultan exercised but slight authority over the fierce and fanatical Shloh tribes in the southern part of his dominions. Intrusting himself to the hands of some Towara-Kabyle robbers, they conducted him safely through the territory of their people to Iler. There and at Temenet the dense population is chiefly of the Berber race. The Maribda Kabyles received him hospitably. Dr. Lenz discovered that the Atlas range is composed of three parallel chains; that the sand of the Great Desert was not formed by marine action, inasmuch as there were only fresh-water fossils, and that no part of it is below the ocean level. His barometric observations put an end to the scheme of inundating the Western Sahara. At Timbuctoo he was treated kindly, and for about a week was the guest of the head magistrate. He found it to be the chief slave-mart of Western Soodan, and that it supports numerous schools, possesses rich libraries, and is still the center in which the commercial exchanges between the Western Soodan and the Niger on the one hand, and the Sahara and the Mediterranean lands on the other, are conducted. From thence he made his way through the populous lands of the Massina and Bambarra to the Senegal. In all these regions, the work of exploration is mainly progressing through the instrumentality of Christian missionaries.

Careful study of the observations made by this multitude of travelers enables ethnographers, like Keith Johnston, to speak with near approach to certainty of the ethnical characters of the African populations. From the Mediterranean to the twentieth parallel of North latitude the population is mainly Arabic and Turkish. Many Jews and some French are domiciled among them. The Berber of the Atlas system of mountains, the Tuaricks (Tuaryck, Touareg, Tâwarek) and Tibbus of the Sahara, and the Copts of Egypt are of pure blood, or of blood with slight intermixture from foreign sources. The Moors are of mixed descent, native and foreign. "The Moors," says Topinard, "are the result of complex crossing between the Berber and every sort of ethnic element in which the Arab predominates." * From the twentieth parallel of North

* "Anthropology," pp. 461, 462.

latitude to the Cape Colony the Negro tribes are overwhelmingly in the ascendant.

The Copts of Egypt number about 145,000, and are darker than the Arabs. They have flat foreheads, hair of soft and woolly character, noses short but not flat, mouths wide, lips thick, eyes large and bent upward in an angle like those of the Mongols, cheek-bones high, and beards thin. Strains of Greek, Nubian, and Abyssinian blood flow in their veins. Mainly of the sect called Jacobite, Eutychian, Monophysite, and Monothelite, they are very bigoted and hate all other Christians. Sullen, avaricious, deceitful, ignorant, and faithless, they are still among the best clerks, government officials, merchants, and artisans of the country. They speak Arabic; the Coptic language being practically dead.

The countries above Egypt are inhabited by two tribes of people resembling each other in physical character, but of distinct language and origin. One is probably aboriginal, the other foreign. Dr. Prichard terms them Eastern Nubians, or Nubians of the Red Sea, and Nubians of the Nile, or Berberines. All are of red-brown complexion, approaching black, but different from the ebony hue of the Eastern Negroes. The hair is frizzled and thick, yet not as woolly as that of the Guinea Negroes. The Eastern Nubians inhabit the country between the Nile and the Red Sea, and are nomads. The northern division is denominated Ababdeh, who extend northward in the eastern division to Kosseir. On the parallel of Deir they border on the Bishareens. Thence the Bishareens extend to the confines of Abyssinia. The latter are extremely savage and inhospitable, mostly nomadic, and subsist on milk and flesh, sometimes drinking the warm blood of living animals. Their form is handsome, features beautiful, eyes fine and expressive, and complexion dark-brown or chocolate color.

The Nubians of the Nile, Berberines, or Barâbra, resort to Egypt as laborers, inhabit the valleys of the Nile from the southern limit of Egypt to Sennaar, and are distinct from the Arabs, and all the surrounding nations. Addicted to agriculture, arboriculture, and irrigation; honest in business relations, and sincere professors of Islam, they hold the high esteem of the Egyptians. The Barâbra are divided into three sections by dialect; namely, the Nouba, the Kenous, and the Dongolawi.

Dr. Prichard regards them as an offset from the original stock which first peopled Egypt and Nubia.

West of Nubia, beyond and extending into the Libyan Desert, are the Tibbus, who spread over the eastern portions of the Sahara as far as Fezzan and Lake T'sad, the "locality of ancient Libyans or Libyes." Dr. Latham considers their language as probably belonging to the Nubian class. Their color is not uniform. In some it is black, in others copper-colored.* Slim and well-made; their cheek-bones high; noses flat in many, aquiline in others; mouth large; teeth fine; lips often European; eyes expressive, and hair curled, but not woolly. The females are of light and elegant form, and walk in strikingly erect manner.

The Tibbus, called *Tebu* by Dr. Barth—every traveler in Africa having his own particular orthography of its proper names—are chiefly pastoral, keeping horses, sheep, and goats; but camels constitute the principal riches. Dr. Nachtigal describes the Tibbus of Tibesti as of model stature, well-made, elegant and muscular. Color is of all shades between clear bronze and black. The greater number are of dark bronze hue, but have not the slightest trace of Negro physiognomy. Their commerce consists largely of slaves, and is carried on between the Soodan, Fezzan, and Tripoli.

"All that is not Arabic in the kingdom of Morocco," says Dr. Latham, "all that is not Arabic in the French provinces of Algeria, and all that is not Arabic in Tunis, Tripoli, and Fezzan, is Berber." The language of the whole Mediterranean sea-coast between Tripoli and Egypt, and the language of the Sahara, is Berber. "As a general rule," the same writer adds, "the Arabic is the language for the whole of the sea-coast from the Delta of the Nile to the Straits of Gibraltar, and from the Straits of Gibraltar to the north of the Senegal." The more than twenty different Berber tribes of the Atlas ranges are at perpetual feud with each other; are poor, hardy, and accustomed to privations and hardships. The Shuluh are chiefly huntsmen, but also cultivate the ground. The Kabyles of Algeria and Tunis are industrious farmers and miners, of middle stature, of brown, and sometimes nearly black, complexion. The Tawarek are spread in various tribes over the

* Barth, "Discoveries in North and Central Africa."

greater portion of the Sahara, and are particularly described in the appendixes to the monumental work of Dr. Barth. Very different in point of moral character, they are all fine men —tall, straight, and handsome—physically considered. Abstemious and adventurous, they clothe themselves from head to foot, and cover the face up to the eyes with a black or colored handkerchief.

The Moors of Morocco and the Mediterranean coast are a mixed race, the primitive element being the Mauritanian. Next the Arab blood was infused. After the conquest of Spain they intermarried with the natives of that country, whence they were driven out after holding it for seven centuries. They resemble Europeans and western Asiatics more than Arabs or Berbers. Their language is the Mogrebin dialect of the Arabs. Intellectual, and not wholly unlettered, they are cruel, revengeful, and bloodthirsty. The elegant and graceful chivalry of their ancestors in Spain is not among their attributes. They have been the worst pirates on the Mediterranean, and still show traces of the old habits. In religion they are Mohammedan, in diet temperate, in dress simple, excepting the richer classes. Most are merchants, mechanics, or agriculturists, but there are also many wandering tribes. As artisans, and especially in the manufacture of swords, saddlery, and metallic ornaments, they are very skillful.

Tribes of true Arabic descent are scattered about from the highlands of Abyssinia over Nubia and Egypt, and westward over the central provinces of Waday, Bornoo, Kordofan, and Darfur. Others wander through the Libyan and Saharan Deserts, in the territories of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, and are a totally distinct race from the Kabyles. Adventurers of Arabic origin have subdued native tribes of every nationality, and ruled them as sovereign lords. The differences of color and features observable among the Afric-Arabians are largely due to intermarriage with neighbors.

Jews are numerous in all the towns of North Africa, and are the principal merchants and brokers. Wealthy and vain, they are compelled to hide their riches from the cupidity of native rulers. The Jewesses of Morocco and Algiers are remarkable for personal beauty. The Turks are simply encamped in Africa, and scarcely deserve to be named among the African peoples.

The Abyssinians, as we have already seen, are of mixed blood. Their Christianity is of very superstitious and degraded type, and is gradually succumbing to the pressure of the Mohammedan religion. In morals they are equally fallen. Of copper hue, and with beautifully clear yet languishing eyes, black and crisp, yet not woolly, hair, they are altogether different from the Negroes.

The Negroes are only portions of the numerous offshoots of the Ethiopic stock; "but, between the receding forehead, the projecting cheek-bones, the thick lips, of the Negro of Guinea, and the more straight configuration of the head of a Galla in Abyssinia, there are still many striking analogies; and modern philology having traced still greater analogies, denoting a common origin among the only-apparently disconnected languages of so many thousands of tribes, whose color presents all the hues between the deepest black and the yellow-brown, it is no longer doubtful that the Negro, the Galla, the Somali, and the Caffre all belong to the same ethnological stock." *

A remarkable race of wild nomadic hunters, possibly of Abyssinian extraction, occupies the high plateau which rises between the coast land and the Victoria Nyanza. They bear the appellation of *Wamasai*, *Wakwari*, etc., and are the terror of the more settled inhabitants of the adjacent countries. The Gallas, who roam over an immense tract in Eastern Africa, south of Abyssinia, hold a middle position—in respect of physical conformation—between the Guinea Negro and the Arab and Berber. The face is rounder than that of the Arab, and the nose almost as straight; while the hair, though strongly frizzled, is not as woolly as that of the Negro, nor are the lips so thick. Large of size and of great strength, their color varies between black and deep brown. Some of the women are —for Gallas—remarkably fair. The Somali, originally Arabs, occupy part of the Galla country, and, for the most part, lead a wandering, pastoral life.

Such are the ethnical characters of North and Central Africa, which comprise from seventy-five to a hundred millions of inhabitants. That they are now undergoing further modifications, whose processes will probably be more rapid in the near future, is obvious to those who watch the eventful drama now

* "Encyclopedia Britannica." Ninth edition. 1875.

enacting in the valley of the Nile. The eyes of Christendom rest upon the heroic soldier, and no less heroic Christian, General Gordon, whose personal presence and influence were thought almost, if not quite, sufficient to quell the serious disturbances in the Egyptian Soodan. When appointed by the Khedive governor of Soodan, in addition to the province of the equator and the littoral of the Red Sea, with absolute financial authority, he wrote, under date of February 17, 1877: "It will be my fault if slavery does not cease, and if these vast regions are not open to the world. So there is an end of slavery, if God wills; for the whole secret of the matter is in the government of the Soodan, and if the man who holds that government is against it, it must cease."

The Khedive wrote to Gordon subsequently, saying: "Use all the powers I have given you; take every step you think necessary; punish, change, dismiss all officials as you please." Gordon's firman was read to a crowd at Khartoum, the capital of his government. Missionaries and merchants, priests and ulemas, consuls, cadis, and fellaheen, all crowded to see him. "But," said an eye-witness, "it is, above all, the poor country people who look upon him as their saviour."

His hopes were not realized. Islam, cupidity, and ingrained habit thwarted his benign purpose. He checked, but did not end, the slave-trade. During three weeks of April, 1880, five convoys of slaves arrived in Egypt from Kordofan, Sennaar, and Darfur. On the 20th more than 900 slaves openly entered Siout—300 miles from Cairo.

Prior to this, on the 8th of August, 1879, Ismael, Khedive of Egypt, was deposed and replaced by his son Mohammed Tewfik. Events followed each other with startling rapidity. In 1882, the British subdued the revolt of Arabi Pasha. Another revolt broke out simultaneously in the remote provinces of the Soodan, where the inhabitants grievously suffered from the confiscations, oppressive taxes, cruelty, and still more from the corrupt officials and farmers of taxes of the Egyptians. The rebels are Negroes, with an occasional infusion of Arab blood. These dark races are fanatical Moslems, brave and hardy, and were the best soldiers in the Egyptian army. Mohammed Achmet, born in Dongola, west of the Nile, a boat-builder by trade, proclaimed himself to be El Mahdi, the

expected successor of the Great Prophet, and the deliverer of the people. The superstitious and oppressed flocked to his standard. So did the Baggara Arabs, the former slave-hunters of the White Nile. Victor in successive encounters with the Egyptians, he marched upon Sennaar, after his triumph near Kordofan, and for several months was sole master of the Soodan.

The Soodanese have shown themselves to be no contemptible antagonists. At Abu Harras, on the right bank of the Blue Nile, where Mohammed Taha, who styled himself the vizier of the Mahdi, was defeated by Geigler Pasha,

> the leader of the insurgents came out to meet them [the Egyptians] surrounded by hundreds of praying dervishes, and followed by his warriors and all the women and children. The fanatics allowed themselves to be decimated without faltering, until the scherif, whose seemingly charmed life inspired the soldiers with superstitious fear, was at last struck by a bullet. Then they scattered, pursued by the savage soldiery, who spared none.

Sennaar was recovered, but in Kordofan El Mahdi was victorious. When El Obeid surrendered to him, Iskander Bey, the commandant, and the larger portion of the garrison, accepted service under his banner. Three hundred and thirty-eight thousand warriors now followed his standard. From Kordofan he advanced with 300,000 Soodanese, to meet the Egyptian army, under Hicks Pasha, and inflicted an annihilating defeat. All the camels, stores, and munitions, with thirty-six Nordenfeldt, Krupp, and mountain guns, fell into his hands. Colonel Coetlogen, who was almost the only surviving European in the Soodan, and next in command, collected the scattered remnants of the Egyptian forces at Khartoum and other important posts.

Sennaar now declared for El Mahdi. The Bedouins of the coast joined the rebellion, and the whole Soodan became involved, with the exception of the fortified trading-posts. The movement threatened to extend to the Arabs of Asia, and to break the power of the Sultan of Turkey. Thence it might pass into India, inflame the passions of the Moslems there, and cause a repetition of all the horrors of the Sepoy mutiny. Great Britain was obliged to take Egyptian affairs into her own hands. British interests in the Delta and in the Suez Canal were violently menaced. The interposition of Turkey could not be admitted, nor could the Egyptians be left to " stew in

their own juice," as it was phrased. The Khedive was compelled to submit to the humiliating measures proposed by Great Britain; and to secure the alliance of the King of Abyssinia by consenting to the cession of the port of Massowah, and the abandonment of a great part of the Soodan, drawing the new frontier on a line from Suakin through Berber to Khartoum. In the winter of 1883–84, Osman Digna, the leader of the slave-dealing coast Arabs, acting independently, and yet in relation to El Mahdi, inflicted crushing defeats on the Egyptians on the east coast. Suakin was the only remaining post that could offer effective resistance. Belief in the irresistible destiny of El Mahdi paralyzed the courage of the troops, and convinced both foreign and native officers of the futility of any further attempts on their part to check his progress. The brilliant exploits of the British troops in the same region have since humbled the pride of Osman Digna, and done much toward the probable ultimate success of the British expedition, by way of the Nile, against El Mahdi.

Britain has a providential commission to execute there. Her sublime mission is to abolish slavery, establish beneficent commercial relations, and introduce that Christianity which will take up the work of ethnically-unifying Islam, and cause the unity in diversity of the human race to be apparent under conditions of truth, justice, and love.

The African race has attained its present civilization through the white race, notably from the Arabs. In order to raise itself to a higher civilization, it has need of a new initiation. To the white race, consequently, belongs the initiative in the development of the common civilization.*

The grand purposes of the Almighty march on to their ultimate accomplishment. Christian civilization is bent upon the redemption of the "Dark Continent." Faith working by love is the golden line to be stretched across that boiling caldron of warring races—a line around which the different divisions shall crystallize—in distinction and yet in unity, in difference and yet at peace.

* M. d'Eichthal, "Bulletin de la Societé Ethnologique de Paris, 1847."

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

READING THE HYMNS.

SEVERAL weeks since two successive numbers of "The Independent" contained each a contributed article devoted to the reading of hymns, as a part of the exercises of public worship. First, Professor Townsend, of the Boston School of Theology, recognizing the especially infelicitous style in which this part of the service is often rendered, proceeded to point out, somewhat "professionally," how it should be done. Some of his suggestions are unquestionably good; but our observation of readings in poetry, and especially of hymns, by professional elocutionists, has not increased our confidence in the prospect of any considerable relief from this confessed evil by any of the ordinary rules of the rhetoricians. As with artistic music, so with artistic readings, both are but ill adapted to the requirements of public worship. The second paper is by Professor Harris, of Andover Seminary, who proposes to obviate the whole difficulty by entirely omitting that part of the service, which may remind one of the quack doctor's method for curing his patient—let him die, and that will make an end of the disease. The reasons urged for this are in the form of facts, which in nearly every case belong to the category of false facts. "It retards the progress of the service," he tells us; which, however, cannot be the case, if it is itself a part of the service, as it should be, and (as it is capable of being made) an important and especially interesting part. This assumption, that reading the hymn is not properly a legitimate part of the service, runs through all the plea for its disuse, and the whole objection falls if that assumption is set aside.

It is conceded that our non-liturgical worship is liable to suffer from want of attention to the æsthetical element, which is so intimately related to public worship; and but for which Church music of any kind would be out of place. The public reading of the Scriptures needs no defense; and though the lesson may be an entirely familiar one, its reading is not for that reason any the less acceptable or profitable. The sermon itself may present nothing really new, but be simply made up of "the old, old story," so often told in our hearing, and with which we have been familiar from our childhood. One might, at less expense of time and labor, read quite as good sermons at home—if wisely selected, much better ones than the average of pulpit discourses—and yet we do not plead for no sermon from the pulpit. The services of the house of God are not to be tried by the rules of either the concert or the lecture; they have other and higher purposes, and their exercises are to be directed by other rules. And these, properly understood and reduced to practice, will much more

than simply justify the reading from the pulpit of the hymns that are to be used by the choir or the congregation, as the case may be. In passing, it may be observed that the hymns, as to their sense and meaning, can be heard in the church only as they are read; for, unless helped by the book, the worshipers in most cases will be as ignorant of the words of the hymn ostensibly being sung as they would be if the language used were Italian or Choctaw. And as between private reading, whether at home or in the pew, and the public presentation, either "said or sung," the preference must be conceded to the latter, if at all well rendered. So in the lack of intelligible articulation in the singing, the reading of the hymns is all that the congregation can have of these "aids to devotion."

In non-liturgical worship, the hymns chiefly supply the place of the ritual; the "hymnal" holds the place of the prayer-book or the breviary. Every argument that can be offered in favor of "common prayer" applies with larger emphasis to congregational singing; and yet, in the peculiar condition of musical education among us, that style of worship has become very nearly impossible. We have been educated beyond the inartistic melodies of the past age, when quantity of voice compensated for any deficiency of correct musical rendering; but yet we remain, scarcely less than were our fathers, without musical training as to both performance and appreciation; and our choirs, away in the organ-lofts, seem to regard it as no part of their business to cause the silent occupants of the pews to recognize any thing but the mingling of sweet, but inarticulated, sounds. The rationale of placing the music at the farthest possible remove from the congregation, and in the most complete isolation, is among the unexplained mysteries which fail to excite surprise simply because we have become familiar with them. Sympathy, at such long range, is not easily awakened, and to average church-goers, that part of the service is something as to which they feel themselves to be spectators rather than participants. In nearly all American churches fashionable music is, by the mass of attendants, endured rather than enjoyed; and those who have come with a sincere desire to worship and be edified, must wait in exemplary patience for the "performance" to end, and something appreciable to take its place. So far as instruction and stirring up the mind to spiritual thoughts and aspirations is the object to be sought for in public worship, about the only available good to be derived from the hymns must come from their being heard from the pulpit rather than from the organ-loft.

The old-style method of "lining the hymns," now quite antiquated, was not without its advantages. Words and sentences uttered by the living voice are vastly more effective than when simply presented to the thought through the eye; and then the retention of the words and forms of speech in the memory, that they might be sung a little later, tended to command closer attention and to fix them permanently in the memory. And there is but little room to doubt that church-going people of fifty years ago, among whom the hymns were "lined," were much more familiar with the contents of their hymn-books than are their children

and grandchildren. The Wesleyans in England still practice the time-honored usage with slight modifications. They usually first read the whole hymn through, often six six-line stanzas (they make much use of the 6-8 measures), and then they repeat it, verse by verse, as it is sung. The practice evidently improves the performance, for they are generally good readers of hymns, while with us there are very few such. A hymn properly read is also interpreted in the reading, and its chief points are emphasized and made impressive. There is all the difference in the world between the mere recitation of a few lines of poetry, and rendering the piece in such a manner that the soul of the reader shall go out with his words to the hearts of the hearers. It may be doubted whether by any other method so much of the very best forms of scriptural theology can be taught—not as dry dogmas, but as living spiritual verities—as by a judicious use of our hymns; but in order to this, the reader must himself be in sympathy with their spirit; must have rooted in his mind and heart what he reads; and must render this service not merely perfunctorily, but as an integral part of the worship of the house of the Lord.

PHILOSOPHICO-THEOLOGIZING.

It is a remarkable but a very obvious truth, that one's own failures seldom convince him that he is not still entirely competent to teach others how to succeed; and accordingly your thoroughly "played-out" genius usually assumes to speak oracularly concerning the things as to which he has most surely demonstrated his incompetency. Accordingly, Mr. O. B. Frothingham, whose name is sufficient introduction to our readers, and who has certainly proved a most conspicuous failure as a religious teacher, and at length has abandoned not only the pulpit but also the Church, seems now to expect that he will still be regarded as quite competent to dispose of all the great questions respecting the subjective phenomena of "religious experience," and therefore he asks us, in a late number of the "North American Review," to sit at his feet and learn of him.

It must not be supposed, however, that when he talks about "conversion" he uses that word as one of the cant expressions of those from whom he differs. Quite the contrary; he includes himself among the "all religious people (who) believe in a *new life* as the condition of spiritual peace and contentment, and of that tranquillity of soul in which is supreme felicity." All who are familiar with the dialect of the class of *quasi*-religionists, in which Mr. Frothingham must be reckoned—though the classification is rather loose—know very well that almost the whole vocabulary of evangelical religion has been made to do service in setting forth their "other gospel." They can talk as readily as any revivalist or mystic of "the new birth," "change of heart," "sacrifice," and "consecration;" and, indeed, of whatever is understood by evangelical believers as precisely indicative of the very things as to which they and their "liberal" antagonists are diametrically separated. But a very lit-

tle attention to their utterances, makes it manifest, that while the words are the same the sense is wholly different. It is not their method, however, to openly reject and antagonize that which real Christians hold to be fundamental and indispensable, but to ignore all these, and then by another form of teaching to infuse new meanings into the language used, and so to divert the whole train and substance of thinking toward new, and distinctively other, modes and tendencies. It is known that in adopting the Greek language as a vehicle for the deep spiritual truths of the Gospel, new meanings were infused into the terminology of that classical language; insomuch that a lexicon of the ancient Greek is not a proper exponent of the Greek of the New Testament. A reverse course is now pursued; and the language of the religious life is, by a process of evisceration, compelled to indicate an unspiritual naturalism. The word and its cognates, which in the New Testament is used to indicate evangelical repentance, in its classical use implies simply "consideration" and "change of proceeding," in respect to either methods or objects. Accordingly, it is now the fashion to restore to this word (and others in like manner) its old heathen import, and so reduce the repentance of the Gospel to a "reformation" of life and manners more or less thorough and far-reaching.

The great and controlling design of the so-called liberal pulpit and press of the present time is to eliminate the supernatural from religion. Just as the Scientists have been especially concerned to get rid of God in nature, so are these, above all else, solicitous that their theology shall have the least possible of God in it. And as those find in nature the "promise and potency" of all the phenomena of the material world, so these profess to be able not only to explain all the phenomena of mind without going beyond itself, but also to provide for all the wants of humanity from within itself. And so neither class has any use for God. The language of Scripture is very freely employed by these writers and preachers; but clearly not to teach what must be believed, but only for illustration and ornamentation. As one would quote words and phrases from Shakespeare or Milton in literature, or Bacon in philosophy, or Blackstone in law, so these employ the words of Scripture, for only secondary purposes. To the ingenuous reader who comes to the Bible that he may learn from it what is the truth, its teachings are scarcely capable of being misunderstood, for there are manifest in all its parts and in its totality a tone and tendency of spirit and a trend and drift of thought that cannot be mistaken; and by these the willing and believing will be almost infallibly guided into all needful truth. But if it is used only as a collection of historical illustrations, and of wise or not so wise sayings, the language of the Bible may be made the vehicle for a merely soulless naturalism. The process by which the words of Scripture are made to do service for the "liberal" theology affords a remarkable instance of what may be accomplished by unrestrained skill and ingenuity in replacing the substance of a thing by other matter without destroying its form, very much as a mass of so-called petrified wood retains its original outline, but none

of its substance. The fault of the system of thinking and believing of which Mr. Frothingham is eminently the representative, is not that its assumptions and conclusions are wrong as details of a system fundamentally correct, but that it is wholly and fundamentally wrong. Its God is not He whom the Bible reveals; its Christ is not the man of Nazareth and Calvary; its Spirit is not the divine one, but it is human; and its whole substance is not of heaven, but of the earth. It may, indeed, embody some things in themselves not unlike what may be found in the Gospel, just as similar details may be found in the most diverse specimens of natural history; but these in neither case disprove the essential distinctiveness of the two objects. In this case they are Christ and Belial. This may be seen in what are Mr. Frothingham's ideas of the nature of conversion and what are its conditions and resultant phenomena; which, though nowhere expressed in single phrases, are clearly enough seen in the course of his remarks. As it is simply a "turning," it may or may not indicate repentance in the writer's own naturalistic sense of that word, for he who has not gone astray need not turn again. Essentially, it is simply a *good education*—intellectual, æsthetical, and moral. Its only necessary conditions are opportunities and teachableness, and its results are good character and conduct, estimated according to conventional standards.

These, it will be seen, ignore and practically disallow all of the distinctive Christian characteristics of the subject. The "holiness" which, according to Scripture, is the ethical ideal of the divine character, subsisting in burning intensity, is reduced to the shadowy and uncertain, and at best unelevated, "virtue" of the Roman stoic. "Sin," the opposite pole to God's holiness in the ethical *cosmos*, appears simply as a more or less widely "missing the mark," by falling short or going beyond, or by aberrations to the right hand or the left—only an incompleteness, to be regretted rather than censured, and certainly not to be avenged. Such notions of the fundamental doctrines upon which all practical religions must be based render void, preposterous, and often odious, the distinctive doctrines of the evangelical Churches. The minified estimation of sin reduces guilt to a minimum, and so makes a deep and pungent "conviction of sin" the fancy of a disordered mind—perhaps the effect of a disordered liver. The only allowable atonement for sin is found in reformation and restitution, which become "vicarious" wherever there is a community of interests either good or bad, and in the exercise of kindly offices among men. For the Christ of the New Testament and the Church there is no place in such a system. If the historical Christ shed his blood for others than himself, so have thousands of others, perhaps quite as freely. If he died a martyr to his own teachings, so did Socrates to his; and so, in less conspicuous ways, have done untold multitudes of men and women. And because the Christ of the Gospels was at best only one of the great and good men of the world, Mr. Frothingham and those of the same way of thinking do well to refuse to specially honor him by consenting to be called Christians.

It is especially noticeable that in his crusade against the Christian doctrines, of which that of "conversion" is among the most considerable, Mr. F. found himself opposed to all parts and divisions of the Christian Church; and that by closer inspection it appears that between Catholics and Protestants the teachings of the latter are to him much the more objectionable, and among Protestants those are most astray, and most to be antagonized, who hold closely and tenaciously to the specifically evangelical doctrines. And yet he finds the nearest approach to the realization of his ideal in a "school of thought" in one of our less numerous nominal Protestant sects, "the Broad-Churchmen," whose title to this partiality may be the fact, assigned by another for a like preference, that they never trouble themselves about *politics* or *religion*. They "welcome every kind of culture;" are "indifferent to the current topics of theology;" and their "conception of Christ" is altogether "spiritual," so making him only a spiritual man in their own low sense of spirituality. It is, however, a real and valuable service rendered to the truth when the irreconcilable difference between the doctrines of the Gospel and those of rationalistic naturalism are thus clearly set forth in their essential antagonism.

"THE PHILOSOPHY OF CONVERSION."

The startling announcement made by the young Prophet of Galilee to the learned Jewish ruler, that in order to be found within the kingdom of grace a man must be "born again," elicited from the great man an expression of wonder and perplexity which took form in the question, "How can these things be?" From that time onward that question has continued to be asked, but it has never been answered. The fact that such a work is necessary is conceded by very many, including not a few of those with whom that young Galilean has not been accepted as a competent instructor; and though some have made tentative but abortive attempts toward the detection of its impulsive force, and of its processes, the more rationally thoughtful have conceded its practical insolubility.

In an article in the October number of the "North American Review," whose title stands at the head of this paper, Mr. O. B. Frothingham discusses this subject with characteristic acumen and force; but he reaches results that can be satisfactory to very few of his readers. Incidentally, however, some notable concessions are made, with some of which we are now chiefly concerned. Respecting the inconceivableness of the processes of a fundamental moral transformation he remarks, with a degree of force and clearness that may be commended to some dogmatizing philosophical theologians who profess to be able to solve all mysteries, but who so flatter themselves only because of the superficialness of their views:

> Nothing is more incomprehensible than the moral process of reformation. To change one's mind permanently and resolutely; to take a new view of human

nature and human life, of providence and duty, of the world of causes and effects; to turn about and face in the opposite direction—is an altogether unaccountable thing.

This is strong language; and yet it is noticeably in agreement with what we read in the Bible—as when the prophet likens the perversity of the heart, in its unchangeableness, to the leopard's spots and the Ethiopian's skin, or when Joshua says to Israel, 'Ye cannot serve the Lord," or when Paul recognizes the invincibleness of the law of sin "in his members," effectually constraining him to do "the evil that he would not." Our Lord, in reply to the doubting query of Nicodemus, makes no attempt to solve this mystery, but concedes its inexplicability, while he reaffirms the fact itself. Like the phenomena of the wind, which are certain but inexplicable, so are the processes of regeneration. The claim which some make in favor of the sufficiency of the human will to effectuate such a change is simply nonsense of the most arrant kind; very much as if one should pretend to be able to lift himself by his boot-straps.

Any fundamental and essential change of moral character, in either direction, can be effected only by a power operating upon the subject *ab extra*—from beyond himself. As the stream cannot rise above its fountain-head, so the forces by which the established substratum of the moral character shall be removed and replaced must originate in a source beyond and above the subject of which such a moral nature is a predicate. Even Pelagianism did not assert the possibility of self-conversion; for, by disallowing that the human heart is so really bad as to require any essential change, it obviated the necessity of conversion; and, therefore, if any finally fail of eternal life, their falling away occurs in themselves individually, and not as the consequence of coming short of an originally necessary spiritual transformation. The problem of conversion is only one side of the broader one which includes all and any possible fundamental changes of moral character in either direction. The beginning of moral evil—that is, SIN, in the divine dominions—is a mystery, not only of the divine administration, but deeper still of essential possibility. Man, created in God's moral likeness, fell into sin; not by the spontaneous action of his free will, but by yielding to an impulse originating beyond himself. Nor is it possible to conceive that a moral agent, all of whose impulses are essentially good, and tend only to righteousness, could begin and prosecute and consummate a process of sinning against himself, as well as against God. And now, being alienated from God, first in character and afterward in life, to reverse the eccentric and downward course of his nature—to change its polarity and turn its gravitation Godward—is certainly beyond the soul's inherent powers. As to its originating force, therefore, the work of conversion is not only beyond the range of our philosophy, but it is directly contrary to its certain requirements. Mr. Frothingham, who represents a not inconsiderable school of thought, even after granting the inexplicability of the beginning of the process, assumes to teach what must be its rationale, in doing which he most inconsistently reduces the whole matter to a system of naturalism.

His references to the methods and practices of religious teachers of various schools to promote conversions, which are in some things pertinent and judicious but usually quite otherwise, have no bearing upon the subject covered by the title chosen by himself for his discussion; which is not about the methods used to bring about that work, but the nature of the work itself. Respecting this process the following excerpt, presenting Coleridge's doctrine of "The Redemption of the Will," may not be out of place. (See "Methodist Quarterly Review," April, 1853.)

We are thus brought to the consideration of the conversion and regeneration of the will; its emancipation from the thralldom of original sin by the destruction or removal of that principle or power from the soul. If indeed the depravation of the will is complete, such a restoration can be effected only by a power operating from beyond its own being. This, in theological language, would be a redemption by free grace. Whether there is such a redemption provided beyond himself for man, is primarily a question lying outside of the range of philosophy. That it is a possibility, though it is not susceptible of proof, *a priori*, no one can deny. Though we are at no time conscious of the presence of such a renovating power acting upon our spiritual being, that negative fact is no argument against it, since the point of its access is beyond the range of self-consciousness.

Here again Coleridge shall speak for himself:

If any reflecting mind be surprised that the aids of the divine Spirit should be deeper than our consciousness can reach, it must arise from the not having attended sufficiently to the nature and necessary limits of human consciousness. For the same impossibility exists as to the first acts and movements of our own will—the furthest distance our recollection can follow back, the traces never lead us to the first foot-marks; the lowest depth that the light of consciousness can visit, even with a doubtful glimmering, is still at an unknown distance from the ground.—*Works*, vol. i, pp. 153, 154. (American Edition.)

But although the efficient cause of the conversion of the soul is beyond the range of philosophical inquiry, there is nothing in the supposition of a divine agency in that work to conflict with reason. The divine Spirit operates in secret, but the effects are manifest; and as in all other manifestations of the divine power, in nature no less than in grace, these things become assured to us by their phenomenal results. We know nothing of the secret causes of any thing, but only the facts, and in this the mysteries of the spiritual *cosmos* are no greater than those of the material.

If through its own lack of spiritual power the soul has become enslaved to the depraved elements of the personal character, the power even to will what is good must come from an extraneous source. For this lack the scheme revealed in the Gospel makes provision by postulating the presence and efficiency of the aids of the Spirit, emancipating the will, and inclining it to choose the better part. And herein is seen the basis of personal responsibility in the case; and when the force of the will is united to those of the divine Spirit, the work of conversion is then and there effectuated, and the sinner, delivered from his own carnality, becomes through grace "a new creature." All the efficiency is divine, and yet it is conditioned on the will of the subject; and whenever these concur conversion ensues, at *once* and *completely*. "If any man be in Christ, he is [now, at once] a new creature" (*καινὴ κτίσις*.)

RIGHT AND WRONG USES OF THE BIBLE.

A very suggestive paper appeared not very long ago in "The Christian Advocate" (New York), written by one of our younger ministers, entitled "The Microscopic Study of the Bible." Though shut up to the narrow limits of a newspaper article, the writer successfully points out some of the obvious infelicities of certain largely practiced and much-praised methods of studying the Bible. His aim is to show that minute criticism of the words and phrases employed is unfavorable to the adequate understanding of a discourse or any writing, and therefore that in that direction the kind of criticism which he described by the epithet "microscopic" is unfavorable to right interpretation; a position which he fortifies with abundant proofs and illustrations.

The fault aimed at is found chiefly among pretenders—purposed or otherwise—to superior skill in biblical interpretation. There are many such, who are nothing if they are not critical; whose lack of thorough learning unfits them for what they attempt, or who, if sufficiently learned in certain minor points, having attended only to the verbal forms of Scripture, have failed to appreciate its teachings in their aggregate completeness. The whole process is one of dissection, and the examination of the dissected parts, by tracing the etymology of words, and drawing out the rhetorical contents of phrases and sentences; a process which some one compares to that of an anatomist who should hold up an excavated eye-ball as an illustration of the beauty of the human face. In opposition to this method it may be said that words and sentences, wrought into discourses, are not simply isolated signs of ideas, but constituent elements of a composite thought, and therefore the whole taken together must determine their specific sense in each particular case. Too much attention to minor details—to single words and individual sentences—may operate adversely to the proper understanding of the scope and purpose of the discourse as a whole.

The misleading tendency of this form of criticism is so manifest that it needs no demonstration. It is well known, however, that it has been extensively employed in the interpretation of the Bible, and its destructive results have been ostentatiously proclaimed; and it has also been successfully combated, and its power to do harm has been largely neutralized. But the evil deprecated appears also in a modified form among the uneducated. The use of the Bible "in the vulgar tongue," by the common people, with the accompanying right of private judgment, all of which must be accepted and approved as of the very essence of Protestantism, is not without its possible dangers. The Anabaptists and the "Fifth Monarchy" men were great Bible readers; but coming to the Bible with strong but unintelligent preconceptions, they of course found abundant proofs to sustain the opinions they brought with them. The same thing was seen in the Adventist (Millerite) excitement of forty years ago, and the Premillenarians of the present day, though more sober,

and some of them better learned, are their lineal descendants. The sincerity of all these classes of persons need not be called in question, for their mistakes, however disastrous, were the logical results of their faulty method of using the Bible. And the same remark will apply to nearly all specifically sectarian opinions, even those of the Shakers and the Mormons, who also pretend to be guided by the Bible.

The saying of the mother of Adam Bede, in her discussion with her "Methody" son, Seth, that "You Methodies have a wonderful way of getting more out of a text than there is in it," no doubt contains a just criticism, which is capable of a much wider application. The fashion of "improving" the text for religious uses, by which the language is sometimes clearly perverted, and at other times strange and alien meanings are forced into the words and images, belongs to the same wrong method. And of this there are many examples in high places. The headings affixed to the several Psalms and the chapters of our English Bible are usually forced constructions appearing with a false pretense to authority; and yet the Bible Society prints them as part of "the Holy Scripture without note or comment." The use of reference texts is another case in point, for these, though perhaps not wholly without value, are certainly only human interpretations, and as such not always the most felicitous. The proof texts found in some famous catechisms and confessions present another example of the inapt and mistaken use of the words of Scripture, many of them being entirely irrelevant as proofs, and others having no likeness to those with which they are collated except in the English words, the same one being used for wholly different ones in the original. It has been well said that the terms and phrases of the English Bible have become, by reason of their unintelligent use, *asphyxiated*, so as to mean nothing, or *depolarised*, and transformed into new and strange senses.

The Bible, though *one*, is also many; and its lessons, though found in all its parts, are nowhere presented as a formulated system. Its unity is found in the one spirit that pervades it in its entirety. Its truths and doctrines are to be learned, not so much from direct and specific statements, as from the drift of its expressions and the trend of its ideas; and these are so certain and manifest that any ordinarily-intelligent reader, using no tongue but his own vernacular, and having only an approximately correct version of the sacred original Scriptures, will scarcely ever fail to be guided to the apprehension of all needful truth—enough to show him his duties and to confirm his faith and hope. It is a mistake, therefore, to use the Bible as one would use a catechism or a confession of faith, or even as a theological treatise. It indeed "contains sufficiently all doctrines required of necessity for eternal salvation;" but its teachings are nowhere formulated, nor set forth in definite articles to be believed. It presents no systematic statements of the "Economy of the Covenants;" it not, in the precise sense, a "Body of Divinity;" has no "Philosophy of the Plan of Redemption," nor "Theory of the Atonement;" and it affords very little material out of which the most fruitful fancy can construct a

"Physical Theory of the Future Life." But it tells of God and Christ; and to the soul illuminated by the promised Comforter it reveals the reality of sin and salvation, and eternal life after death. And these things, though hidden from "the wise and prudent,"—that is, the verbal critics,—are revealed to "babes," who seek for them in the written word with simple faith. To find out all saving truth we need neither the microscope nor the telescope, but only faith in God and common sense.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

An election for the chief magistrate of the nation has been held, and the result duly ascertained. The event largely engrossed the public attention of the country during the latter half of the closing year, and a spectacle was presented which to some minds appeared as the sublime movement of ten millions of free citizens recording their preferences, and then calmly accepting the public verdict and loyally rallying to the support of the elect of the nation. To others it appeared as the quadrennial spasm of the politicians, contending for power and spoils by means and methods quite the opposite of honorable and edifying. Both of these views are probably correct in part; and, because we like to believe what is pleasant, we accept the former as the more truthful rendering of the case; not denying, however, that if the latter were equally acceptable the evidence of its correctness would be sufficient.

The most remarkable fact in the late election was, that both of the great parties went into the canvass without any well-defined political issues; and so the contest was clearly less for administrative measures and principles than for men and for parties—which, in the absence of great principles, are simply factions. The politics of the country seem to be greatly disordered and mixed, with an almost entire lack of definite ideas of statesmanship, practical or speculative; and the evident attitude of both the parties toward nearly all the issues of the times which command the attention and awaken the zeal of earnest men has brought the best and the most thoughtful classes of the people into great perplexities. There is, indeed, no lack of living issues before the American people, but all these have been carefully ignored by the parties, or so referred to as to be entirely unsatisfactory. The result of all this is, that a large contingent, made up of the very best class of citizens, have found themselves "outside of politics," some not voting at all, and others doing so with strong mental protests.

Tried by their antecedents and historical records, the two parties are very clearly distinguished each from the other, and men of the class referred to have heretofore had no difficulty in choosing between them. But the citizen's obligations cannot be relegated to a party, nor can the past record, instead of the present status, of a party command the confidence of intelligent and patriotic citizens. The policy and measures to

promote which the Republican party was called into existence have passed into history, either by their successful accomplishment or by changes in public affairs which render them no longer open questions. But other matters have come to the front, in respect to which the representatives of that party, speaking through their conventions or by the press, are either entirely silent or painfully indefinite, or possibly on the wrong side. Evidently the Republican party of to-day is not the same, in either character or purpose, with that of thirty years ago, and therefore the reasons that impelled men to give it their support at the beginning no longer exist. And as a controlling portion of that party as it was during the years of its ascendency adhered to it, and gave it their support only because they approved its policy and measures, now that these no longer distinguish it their interest in it has ceased. That party had made, indeed, a highly honorable history so long as it pursued its original designs; but that course terminated eight years ago, since which date it has made another and a very different record.

Its Southern policy ceased to be pursued at the accession of President Hayes, who, having been elected by the help of the votes of South Carolina and Louisiana, allowed the governors of those States, chosen at the same election and by larger majorities than his own, to be excluded from their places by manifest fraud and violence. During the subsequent eight years that party has had the presidency, and most of the time one or both of the houses of Congress; and what is the record that has been made? Probably during no other equal term of years in the whole history of the country has there been so much of the very worst kind of legislation by Congress, every part of which the party could and should have prevented. The reader will readily think of the silver coinage law, which was enacted for purely fraudulent purposes, and passed over the president's veto by two thirds of both houses. The anti-Chinese law, which we need not characterize, belongs to the same category; and so, too, does the river and harbor "steal," and the succession of "land grabs;" none of which could have become laws without the votes of Republicans, and against none of which has that party, as such, openly protested. It is not strange, then, that the citizen whose party ties are not stronger than his love of the right should, with some degree of disgust and righteous indignation, separate himself from such an association, and refuse to sustain it by his vote.

But where shall he go? and with whom shall he vote? There can be but two principal political parties in the country, one or the other of which will have the control of public affairs; and therefore the overthrow of one of these must be by the exaltation of the other and its installation in power. As things stood at the late election the defeat of the Republicans was equivalent to the success of the Democrats. And what is there in either the history or the declared purposes of that party to entitle it to the confidence, and to win for it the support, of virtuous and patriotic citizens? Thoughtful men have learned to expect that in any issue involving moral elements it will be on the wrong side. To rehearse its

history, extending over the life-time of the generation now living, would be to convict it of almost every possible form of political wrong. It championed the cause of slavery, and labored for its perpetuation and its virtual extension over the whole country; and when it had nursed treason into active war against the national life, it stood by the side of the government, like Satan at the right hand of the high-priest, to resist, and if possible to defeat, its efforts to preserve the nation's life. The existence of the nation in the form given to it by the fathers of '76 and '88, is in spite of the utmost efforts of the Democratic party during the country's greatest perils. Nor has there been any sign that time has wrought in it any change for the better. The alliterative indictment recently uttered against it by implication—very inopportunely, perhaps, because, as is often the case with the words of the "*enfant terrible*," it was eminently true—that it is the patron of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," is undeniably just, and, as matters stand, the nation's choice is between these things and their opposites.

It is manifest, however, that the Republican party has ceased to command the confidence of a large class of its former supporters, without whose support it cannot hope to succeed, and for the want of their votes it has now suffered defeat. The rights of colored citizens in the South are no doubt systematically and grossly violated, but neither party proposed any redress; why, then, should either be preferred? The public mind is becoming sensitively alive to the abominations of the liquor traffic; but neither party has responded to the public demand for its suppression. The intelligence and conscience of the nation recognize the bad faith and the fundamental iniquity of the anti-Chinese legislation of Congress, which both parties approve; and while the currency of the country—now the best in the world—is menaced with the danger of a depreciation of one sixth in real value, with the utter derangement of the finances of the country, it is not forgotten that that peril is the joint product of both the parties. It is no doubt true that the *personnel* of the Republican party is better than that of the Democratic; it is, however, about equally evident that the less scrupulous and conscientious portion of that party has for a series of years had the ascendency in its counsels. Good men have become tired of voting for men whom they know to be corrupt, and of sustaining bad measures, lest by failing to do so worse men and measures might prevail. Wisely or otherwise they are practically saying that, if iniquity is to prevail, they are not solicitous to have the selection of its agents.

There never was a time in our history when the affairs of the nation called more loudly than just now for intelligent and patriotic statesmanship, but the call is practically disregarded by both parties. To say nothing respecting the opposite theories of free trade and protection, it is conceded on both sides that a readjustment of the tariff, and a reduction of taxation, are highly desirable. But high duties are demanded by the great manufacturing companies, for whose benefit the whole body of the people are compelled to make contributions in the form of unnecessarily

high prices for nearly all kinds of fabrics. Because a plethoric treasury is a "bonanza" for all who live by public plunder, therefore high duties are, for them, a necessity. The internal revenue, as the laws now stand, is derived almost wholly from taxes on whisky and tobacco; and because the money is not needed, it is demanded that these taxes shall be reduced, and so a high tariff is called for that whisky may be free.

Our system of national highways, now owned and managed by individuals, or private and irresponsible corporations, whose resources of wealth and power enable them to both corrupt and defy the government, and which are freely and flagrantly used for both these purposes, calls loudly for heroic treatment, to undertake which neither party seems disposed. The telegraphic system, which has become the rival of the Post-Office Department, is scarcely at all amenable to law, and the interests of the whole people, in what has become a general necessity, are almost entirely without protection. The relations of labor and capital, in which are involved some of the highest and most delicate interests, and also the greatest perils of the nation, appear to be uncared for by our statesmen and parties; and society is left to drift onward toward manifest disasters and ruin. The educational system of the country, especially in respect to primary education, is becoming year by year less adequate to the demands made upon it by the wants of the people. Illiteracy is rapidly increasing, and the proportion of wholly uneducated citizens—voters, jurymen, and possible public officers, is growing steadily larger,—but our parties, politicians, and statesmen seem to be almost entirely oblivious to the whole affair; and while the ship of state is nearing the cataract the mariners are contending for the spoils. It has been often asserted, and with at least partial truthfulness, that the issues upon which the Republican party was founded have ceased to be living questions; and since that party has not adapted itself to the new condition of the country, and because the Democratic party has always shown itself incapable of grappling with any of the great problems of the government, the intelligent and patriotic citizens of the commonwealth find themselves without a party. But such disintegrations have occurred at other times, to be followed by new and better combinations than the defunct ones had become, because they looked only to the past, and failed to adjust themselves to the requirements of the present and the surely coming events of the future. The party that now becomes the "opposition" has before it the alternatives of readjustment and new adaptations to the demands of the times, or disintegration after the manner of its illustrious predecessor, the great Whig party. Which?

PRIVATE CHARACTER AND PUBLIC LIFE.

The contestants in the late political canvass dealt very freely with the private lives and characters of the chief candidates for the presidency. This gave to it an unpleasant aspect, from which many persons turned away with disgust; but it also involved considerations which may not be

disregarded because they suggest distasteful thoughts. To refuse to recognize the vices which are known to be corrupting society indicates the decay of the moral tone, and is to sacrifice virtue through a false and superficial delicacy. Vice detected, and openly called by its right name, is robbed of half its corrupting power.

When, in June last, the convention of the Republican party nominated its candidate for the presidency, the announcement was received with marked disfavor by a not inconsiderable portion of those who had hitherto acted and voted with that party. They objected to the nomination because they held that it had been made at the behest of the worst elements of the party, and because it was believed that the candidate was himself of the same class of politicians; and that for him good and unexceptionable men had been put aside. There were also honest fears that Mr. Blaine's foreign policy, as developed while he was Secretary of State in Mr. Garfield's cabinet, might, should he be made President, lead to dangerous foreign complications. Accordingly, a partially organized body of citizens, in New York and Boston, known as "Independent Republicans," professing much regard for moral considerations in politics, declined to respond to the nomination; and when, a little later, Governor Cleveland, of New York, was nominated by the Democratic party, these men with great unanimity became his supporters, being represented and sustained by some of the principal Republican papers of this city, both secular and religious. It seemed then that the Democratic candidate would be carried into the presidency upon a tidal wave, somewhat as two years before he had been made governor of the State.

Of the candidate himself very little was known. He was a young lawyer of Buffalo, who had been elected to the mayoralty of that city, and, it was said, had discharged the duties of his office with average fidelity, and had been nominated for the governorship by his party as a *new* man, and was carried into that office by an exceptionally large majority, because of a bitter factional feud in the other party. He was now brought forward for the presidency as an available candidate, rather than out of respect to any special personal fitness. It was tacitly assumed that his private character was of average acceptability; and that if he was not a great man, he would not be the first of that mental stature who had filled, if not graced, the high position for which he was named: and from such considerations not a few persons—of whom this writer was one—purposed to vote for him. So matters stood for a few weeks after the nomination, and then it began to be muttered that the Democratic candidate for the first office in the nation was a man of conspicuously and flagrantly corrupt private life and character, and the evidence elicited placed that fact beyond question. Even his own partisans conceded the alleged facts, which were of the worst kind and fearfully damaging. And now new conditions were presented, and corresponding processes brought into use in the contest. After ascertaining the truth of the alleged complaints, the religious papers which had indorsed him, we believe without exception, abandoned the support of the Democratic candidate; but not so the

"respectable" secular papers, which, on the contrary, seemed to redouble their zeal. Most of them persistently ignored the charges respecting Mr. Cleveland's personal manner of life, and their readers, had they had no other means of information, would not have been aware that any thing to his discredit had been at all credibly alleged against him. Some of them, however, came boldly to the rescue, and, conceding the facts, excused them as peccadilloes quite too insignificant to be taken seriously into account in a political canvass. And, strangest of all, the same ground was taken by two or three distinguished clergymen, among them a bishop and a well-known pulpit celebrity. As to the mental processes by which such a conclusion was reached we have no theory, but we indignantly repudiate the vile slander that, granting all that is alleged against Mr. Cleveland, he is probably no worse than the average of men. None but a thoroughly corrupt heart could have conceived any thing so vile. The issue was, therefore, openly and distinctly made and presented to the American people, whether or not the fact that a candidate for President of the United States was a confessed libertine—the associate of lewd women and the father of a spurious progeny—should be accounted a disqualification for that high place; and in answer an effective negative has been rendered by the men of this nation. We have, therefore, a President-elect whose character and career go to teach the young men of the country that private immorality is no bar to the highest public honors; and soon the White House at Washington, the Mecca of American "society," is to reproduce in these latter days the peculiar characteristics of some, not the least infamous, of the European courts of the last century. The warnings given in the earlier chapters of the Book of Proverbs must, in view of this verdict, be understood in a "Pickwickian" sense, and the solemn objurgation of the "Preacher," telling the young man who "walks in the ways of his heart and the sight of his eyes" that for these things there will be a reckoning, must now be set aside, at least for a life-time, or the reading changed to "For all these things men will bestow upon you the highest civic and social honors." The people of this country seem to have been given over to test by an experiment of their own choosing the truth of the divine sentence which declares that "The wicked walk on every side, when the vilest of the sons of men are exalted." Considerations of statesmanship, which seem to have been very little cared for during the course of the canvass, are now rendered comparatively insignificant in the presence of such a damaging onslaught upon the purity of private life. Should not now the Young Men's Christian Associations go into liquidation, since they cannot teach moral purity without implying a censure upon the elect of the nation, and those who elected him?

The charges made against Mr. Blaine's private life, and in respect to his domestic relations, were evidently retaliatory and vindictive, and so they were very soon lost sight of. But not so in respect to certain speculative transactions in which he, as a public functionary, was accused, not without a show of probability of having used his official position, with the advantages that it afforded him, for his own emolument. It has not, indeed,

been shown that he had dealt dishonestly or directly betrayed any interest public or private, or, indeed, done any thing that would not have been right and proper in a private citizen; but very many have deeply regretted that one charged with so high a public trust should have been found mingling in the doings of speculative traders and brokers; and with an unexceptionable alternative candidate they were inclined to refuse to aid in placing him at the head of the national government. The very large vote given to Mr. Blaine in all the Northern States, the only ones in which free elections were held, should not be accepted as an approval of these transactions, so much as a protest against his opponent.

These things suggest some rather difficult questions respecting the code of personal ethics in public life. Members of the British Parliament receive no compensation, and are expected to abstain from all money-making enterprises in any way connected with the government. They must therefore be gentlemen of leisure and owners of considerable estates, and of course all but the rich are practically excluded. With us the case is quite otherwise. A seat in Congress is a paying position, and many a Congressman increases his income by serving the public. But his new position largely increases his necessities, and at the same time presents opportunities for money-making of which all, except the most scrupulous, readily avail themselves. Some, indeed, live within their salaries, or draw upon their private resources, and often retire to private life poorer in property than they were when they entered it, while others begin poor and become rich by practices that have not heretofore been reckoned dishonorable. And yet there can be no doubt that such practices are demoralizing, and not unfrequently the occasion of corruption in office, and of sharp practices in business. The evil of this state of things is sufficiently manifest, but the remedy is not easily found. Probably Mr. Blaine was among the less unscrupulous half of the money-making members of Congress. He was no doubt sharp at a bargain, but fair in his dealings according to the code of morals of those among whom he was acting. And yet it is to be wished that the practices with which he has been charged, and in respect to which his friends have sought to defend his conduct, were not so common as they are known to be among those holding public offices.

But there is comfort in the assurance that the standard of morals that suffices for candidates for public honors is not that which is demanded by the great mass of the people in their domestic and social relations. It is no doubt true, though greatly to be lamented, that many a husband and father gives his vote for the political advancement of men who would not be desired in their parlors, or allowed to associate with the young people of their families. Possibly, too, the American people have not now for the first time chosen a libertine to the Presidency, though we are not persuaded that they have done so; but happily heretofore no one has been so chosen with the brand of the leper upon his forehead.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN PARIS. — The famous *Kulturkampf* that has raged in France as well as in Germany, although directed originally and mainly against the Catholic Church, has also struck the Protestants of France in a very sensitive manner. Many of them that hailed the new school law with joy, as the approach of a better era, because it relieved them from the clerical pressure that weighed them down in so many regions, find that they are still subjected to quite as much injustice as formerly. The government subsidies for salaries and house-rent have, through the entire land, been either cut off or greatly reduced, and thus the Protestant clergy, with their families, suffer a great deal more than the celibate priests.

Among the Protestants of Paris the Lutherans seem to have suffered most severely. The Reformed Churches have found a few wealthy friends among their adherents, but the German congregations are largely composed of poor immigrants who left Alsace when it was taken by the Germans, and the separation from their mother Church thus leaves them without much external aid or sympathy. And although the Lutherans, the same as the other Protestants of France, were very loyal to their country during the Franco-German war, it is impossible for the French to forget that these people are at least of German origin, which fact works greatly to their disadvantage. After the war the Lutherans succeeded in reinstating their theological faculty in Paris, but the promises made to them have been much weakened by the general war against the Churches. At the present time all the preachers are suffering from a great reduction of sustentation, while some of their schools have been either closed or transformed into municipal schools, in which the teaching of the Lutheran confession is not allowed. They have also been treated very parsimoniously by the city authorities as well as by the Legislative Assembly. A source of income from funerals in their community, amounting to 30,000 francs per year, has been taken from them and turned over to the city. It is true that these blows were intended mainly for the Catholic Church, but their greatest severity is felt by the Protestant minorities in the country. It would surprise no one if the State were soon to cut off all assistance, which would, perhaps, do less harm than the present condition of things, by awakening in the breast of the sufferers a spirit of independence.

PHILO-SEMITIC AND ANTI-SEMITIC.—The European world is still agitated with philo-Semitic and anti-Semitic demonstrations in the foreign press. A Belgian sheet, entitled the "Sunday Journal," lately presented a series of articles in favor of the Jews; and a literary celebrity in St. Petersburg recently published several letters on the same side. But it must be acknowledged that the championings of the Jews, in the press or on the platform, are mainly confined to themselves, and thus little is known of their efforts at self-defense outside of their own ranks.

On the other hand, the anti-Jewish movement is active every-where. One publication recently issued in Berlin is endeavoring to abolish the influence

of the Talmud from Judaism. A theological debater from Vienna has just been delivering lectures in Berlin on the Jewish question in Germany and Austria. Prof. Oort, of Leiden, treats very learnedly of the question of what is called the "blood-guilt" of the Jews, the suspicion of which has been brought down from the Middle Ages. Another practical question, namely, the overcrowding of the higher schools by the Jews, has been met at the University of Kieff by the resolution to admit only ten per cent. of Jews among the students. The endeavor in southern Russia to induce the Jews to go into agriculture has resulted in a complete failure. Of nearly five thousand Jewish landholders of thirty years ago, only about sixty now live on their possessions. A very significant series of articles lately appeared in the principal politico-economic journal of Germany, entitled "Judaism in the State;" these now appear in pamphlet form. In this the Jews are shown, in the words of their own leaders, to be a peculiar race and people within the State, and to be in a condition of perpetual antagonism to the rest of the population. On the whole, the conviction seems to be gaining ground that not much progress would be made in the way of modern emancipation with the Jews. Especially is this so, since the great mass of that people of to-day are zealously engaged in endeavoring to widen the chasm rather than to bridge it over.

THE OLD CATHOLICS IN CONGRESS.—The Old Catholics are again recovering courage, and have recently held a Congress in Germany. For the past few years they have been very much troubled by dissentings within their ranks, but they seem to have succeeded in separating the chaff from the wheat, and the latter is now making a valiant effort to germinate anew. In this Congress nearly forty districts were represented. The well-known jurist, Von Schulte, again presided. Congratulations were received from five American bishops, from one Irish bishop, and from numerous other religious celebrities. Among their proceedings we still find determined opposition to papal absolutism on the one hand, and to affiliation with any political party on the other. They are more than ever determined to oppose the policy of the Roman Catholic Church, and by a resolution expressed the hope that the period is not very far distant when on German soil a General Council, in the Old Catholic spirit of genuine reform in the Church, may convene.

A commission was appointed to recommend or prepare a series of writings for the young, illustrating Old Catholic truths. The Congress was honored by the presence of quite a number of foreign guests. Some of these, from Holland, the United States, and Ireland, delivered addresses. Among these was Von Santen, from Holland, who brought the greetings of the Archbishop of Utrecht, and further we note the greetings of Savarese and Campello, from Rome; Bishop Herzog, from Berne; professors from Munich, Halle, and Manheim, from Breslau, Oxford, Edinburgh, and Winchester. A public meeting was attended by three thousand hearers, and a banquet was enjoyed by about one hundred and forty delegates and friends. At this latter the Emperor of Germany was enthusi-

astically cheered. The Congress was certainly a grand success, and has done much to revive sympathy for Old Catholicism.

FRENCH PROTESTANTISM—"The Church Under the Cross" is a beautiful historical study by Pasteur Benoit. The expression "under the Cross" alludes to the sufferings of the French Protestants of the eighteenth century in the south of France, who were ever martyrs. The author is reliable in his information, judicious in his choice of facts, skillful in their presentation, and grave and sober in style; his story seems a poetic picture of the great past. He begins with the first years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and displays churches falling under the pick and pastors quitting the kingdom, and ends with churches reconstructed, consistories or official bodies either recognized or created by decree; and also presents to us Jean Béranger, the "Pastor of the Wilderness," appointed president, and, trembling with emotion, as he receives the solemn investiture of his charge in presence of a justice of the peace and a mayor. This book of Benoit helps one to comprehend how the Church passed from opprobrium to honor; and one sees throughout its pages that marvelous diversity of fate and that contrast of situations which gives to the description a strangely romantic interest.

Maspéro, the French director of the famous museum of Bulak, is again sending home valuable communications in regard to new "finds" in the sepulchers. He recently discovered a city of the dead of great extent and wealth near the ancient Panapolis. He found more than a hundred vaults, and investigated five of them very closely. In these he found 120 mummies, and from this sum infers that the total number of those in this resting-place of the dead must amount to about 6,000. He is preparing to make a more thorough investigation of these tombs with reference to inscriptions and manuscripts, hoping to find literary memorials from the Greek period of Egypt, because this city of Panapolis was, after the period of the Persian rule, the principal seat and favorite retreat of the Greeks. Fragments of the Greek poets, from Anacreon, Sappho, Pindar, and others, have already been discovered in like mortuary chambers. Maspéro has also made some new "finds" not far from Memphis, consisting of sarcophagi from the time of King Pepis I., which are covered with pictures and sacred inscriptions, and contain interesting works of art.

A recent review of the study of evangelical theology in Prussia during the last three years attests during that time a considerable increase of students of theology. Altogether in Prussian universities and other German schools there are 2,322 Prussians enrolled. Of these about 500 graduate yearly, a considerable number falling out by the way. For the Prussian Protestant churches about 400 new preachers are required yearly, thus leaving 100 for home and foreign missions. This increase in Prussian theological students is attributed to the fact that since the appeal of Prussian pastors to parents a few years ago, they have sent more of their children to the theological schools. There is also a sort of patriotic

revival among the Protestants of Prussia of interest in their home institutions; and the demand is now being made that all Prussian theological students shall spend at least three semesters in Prussian institutions. Of late years there has been quite a tendency in young Prussian theologues to go to other universities; last year there were 206 of them at Leipsic, 92 at Erlangen, and 118 at Tübingen. This scattering of the young men over so broad a surface exposes them to a great divergence of religious views, and some of them return home to be more troublesome than useful in their innovations.

"The Manual of Theological Sciences," by Zöckler, has just reappeared in a second very carefully revised edition, with numerous additions. This is a compliment to its value, and a call on the learned author for more work of this kind, which he, better than most of the theological scholars of his nation, is well able to supply. His treatise on Israelitish history, archæology, and biblical theology is very rich. This new issue is much larger than the old edition, and the increase comes not from the author alone, but also from a large corps of collaborators of the first rank. Among these are Prof. Scheele, of Upsala, on symbolics; Kübel, on apologetics; Cremer, on dogmatics; and Zöckler himself on *special* dogmatics. The entire work promises to be a very valuable guide and hand-book for the clergy, as well as for candidates and students. The theological world is now awaiting with much interest the appearance of another volume, to be devoted largely to the methods of biblical criticism.

The secular schools of France have made very great progress within the last few years, which may be graded by the financial appropriations made to them. They began in 1877 with 12,000,000 francs annually, and now receive over 70,000,000, which the leaders of the movement still declare to be too small. Paul Bert makes it his special business to keep a very critical eye on these institutions. He has just published statistics of the schools for the last year, in which he announces that there are still engaged in teaching about 38 per cent. of the Christian Brothers, and 45 per cent. of the Sisters, having no other diploma than a simple letter of obedience from superiors. Furthermore, he says that in spite of the laws of 1879, which direct every French department to have a normal school for both sexes, there are at the present time 36 departments that seem to have made no haste in complying with this law. There are at present over 1,200 teachers employed in the public schools belonging to the so-called "Congregations," who have no teaching diploma. According to the figures given by Bert, one third of the French school-children are still instructed by teachers of this class, who teach them to be hostile to "radical progress and democratic liberty." But Bert is glad to announce that in the public schools the system of laïcization is being energetically introduced by means of the text-books. He is so unfortunate and unwise as to make the following developments. The grammar is no longer to contain the name of God, Jesus, prayer, or the Creator. A recent grammar

for children was thus corrected: In place of "God is the Creator of the world," there now stands, "Europe is a portion of the world." "Cain killed his brother Abel," now reads, "Italy has the form of a boot," etc.

The *Central Annual for Germany* contains a somewhat remarkable article on Symbolics by the late Professor Philippi, for some years professor in Röstock. While living he enjoyed in large religious circles the not-undeserved reputation of being the sole genuine orthodox Lutheran. It is this circumstance, perhaps, that has induced the publication of a synopsis of his academic lectures; for it would be difficult to find any other valid reason for such a publication, as theological science has nothing to gain by this addition to its library.

The stand-point of the author is expressed with the greatest clearness. He says: "The Lutheran Church is no ecclesiastical party or sect, but the purified, regenerated, original Catholic Church — that is, the true Church. It is such, not merely as the invisible but as the visible Church, because its Confession is drawn purely from the word of God, and it rejoices in the purest administration of the sacraments. All other Churches have, therefore, only in so far a share of the truth as they harmonize with its Confession." This assumed harmony between the doctrine of the Scripture and that of this Church presumes that the various Confessions are not a peculiar comprehension of the one Christian truth, but are simply different degrees of truth and error, according to their harmony with or digression from the genuine Lutheran platform. But the presentation of the doctrine is merely surface work, accompanied by no sufficient proofs and based on no principial foundation.

There are also clearly many groundless assumptions in these pages. The author's position in regard to Calvin certainly indicates that he was not fairly understood. The assumption that, according to Catholic doctrine, the Holy Ghost still gives to the Church new revelations, contains more hardihood than courage, and the entire publication seems to be more a series of academic notes to guide the lecturer in his choice and array of subjects than a well-digested defense of his creed. The publication of these has done the author no credit, and it has injured the orthodox Lutheran Church in the eyes of other German Christians and those of the world at large. Such orthodoxy in the leading Protestant Church of Germany has been productive of much harm to liberal and progressive Christianity, because it has appeared to the eyes of zealous and generous Christians as but one step removed from the ultramontane Catholic Church; and the majority of German Christians believe that the spirit of the nineteenth century has as much to fear from the one as from the other.

The same publication contains an article by Koffmane on "Luther and Home Missions"—Jubilee production handed in after the festival. The article is written with a very extensive knowledge of the subject. It makes us at first acquainted with the various phases of benevolent activity before the Reformation, and shows us the necessity and the wants clinging to this work of love.

"Pessimism and the Social Question," the leading article of the September number of the *Revue Cretienne* ("Christian Review"), by Chastand, is peculiarly French in its character, and quite acceptable at the present epoch, when the French are inclined to deduce the socialistic troubles of the Germans from their pessimistic philosophy. The French never have taken kindly to the German philosophers, and have allowed the teachings of Leibnitz and Hegel, Kant and Fichte, to pass by with little attention. Their own taste has always been toward an eclectic philosophy that would permit them to choose and adopt what would meet their comprehension and suit their own tastes, and let all else pass by as but mere chaff. But Schopenhauer, the real founder of pessimistic philosophy, has at least seemed clear and comprehensible to them, and, therefore, received more attention. In the writings of the two philosophers, Schopenhauer the founder, and Hartmann the preserver and propagator of this philosophy, there is an absence of abstract propositions, metaphysical arguments, and scholastic phrases, which makes them more acceptable to French thinkers, who much prefer the curt, perspicuous, and precise phrases, though often paradoxical. They seem to have taken to the letter these words of one of their own *savants*, namely, "Philosophical demonstrations which cannot be comprehended by all learned men are not worth the ink with which they have been printed."

The editor of the [Christian] Review (M. Pressensé), in his *résumé*, extends a hearty welcome to Père Hyacinthe on his return to Paris from his recent visit to this country. He acknowledges that the brilliant orator is always admirable, full of fire and imagination, frequently carrying away his audience by the rapid movement of his superb eloquence. But the writer hits the mark accurately when, while acknowledging him to be always the convincing Christian, he says that he unfortunately also always stops too soon in his opposition to the main principles of Catholicism. This has been the trouble with Père Hyacinthe from his first rupture with the Catholic Church, and has been mainly the cause of his failure in his Christian work. He has now handed in his resignation as vicar of his Gallican church, and proposes to himself in the future a more apostolic and evangelistic mission. He is eminently able, if he can strike the right chord, to render signal service to the Gospel work in France to the democracy of that country, which rejects the living Gospel largely because of ignorance of its character, which leads the masses to confound the God of Jesus Christ with an ultramontane idol. Hyacinthe has just found an able colleague in the Italian Abbe Rocca, who lately seceded from the Catholic Church and has published a very interesting book bearing the title, "Christ, the Pope, and Democracy." The writer, who certainly, from long experience, knows whereof he affirms, is boiling over with a vehement indignation against ultramontanism, which he denounces with righteous wrath, as the principal producer of the impiety of the period, which it has nursed into life by violently separating Christianity from democracy and progress.

DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE CHAUTAUQUA IDEA.—It needs a large crucible in which to assay the Chautauqua Idea. Its proportions, together with its multiple powers of reflection and refraction, have led admirers to esteem it almost as the Kohinoor of educational plans. Experts have come to variant conclusions as to its intrinsic value, but the popular estimate is undoubtedly high.

One difficulty in the way of any fair measurement of its advantages or shortcomings lies in the incomplete and tentative character of all its details. It is as impossible now to predict the future of Chautauqua as it was in its beginning to foresee it as it now is. Such rapidity of growth naturally breeds the thought of shallowness rather than of depth or strength; but if its vast work is to be unworthy or superficial, that is yet to appear. Because only a man may be superficial—not a youth. The superficiality of the scholar appears when he gets to work in the world. The conditions of Chautauqua at present are certainly not the conditions which ordinarily result in superficial scholarship. Some of these are, reluctant attention to a prescribed course of study in deference to the will of others rather than as the choice of the student; the *ignis fatuus* charm of graduation from an institution of renown—a charm that culminates and loses its power on commencement day; the thirst for a professional life only, the entrance to which the novice thinks to be the college door, front or back. And to these may be added, as one of the most plentiful sources of superficiality, the traditional social and otherwise congenial attractions of an under-graduate course, entirely outside the curriculum. But, without ancient prestige, Chautauqua fills its halls and groves with non-professional students, alive with enthusiasm, and gathering of their own choice. The lake-side, semi-summer-resort character of Chautauqua is, doubtless, an attraction to some not otherwise partial to literary culture; but it does not fairly offset the worthless society attractions of college, which draw together what Carlyle used to call the "unserious dilettanti," because the *place*—habitable, healthful, accessible, picturesque—is but a mere fragment of Chautauqua, the chief feature of which is a great host scattered all over the continent, who, never having listened to the chimes, nor seen the hall or auditorium, yet having seemed to see a great light, read their books and master them, in voluntary classes or in solitude. It is well to remember, too, that even if the charge were proved, superficiality in scholarship is not to be condemned except where it is the deceptive substitute for profundity. A shallow rivulet is better than a summer-dried water-course. "A little learning," "dangerous" as it may be, is infinitely better than none. And the privileges of Chautauqua are not offered in the stead of a collegiate curriculum, but of the intellectual emptiness of an average farm or factory.

In its methods Chautauqua commands the best, and its resources have thus far seemed equal to all emergencies. Its instructors are in the faculties of all colleges, and have sounded the depths in their special depart-

ments. It exhausts its topics with brilliant analysis and illustration. Professor Doremus passes street-gas under ordinary pressure clear through a cubic foot of good sandstone six times coated with shellac, and with a match lights it as it comes through on the other side, and all to show the absurdity of a saucerful of chloride of lime as a disinfectant of volatile poisons and contagious disease. The microscopist places a fine cambric needle before the lens, and the figure thrown upon the canvas measures five inches across the point which just pricked your finger. This sort of thing is exhaustive, and at exhaustiveness Chautauqua aims.

Religiously, Chautauqua is a curious phenomenon. Starting from thoroughly Methodist sources, it speedily announced itself undenominational. A close observation of its laws, methods, and general plan will reveal a strain of Puritanism and a touch of Ritualism, as well as the birthright fervor of Methodism. And already enthusiastic Chautauquans make the bold claim that in the building of the great frame-work of the Chautauqua Idea the hands of the mighty of all time have had something to do—Socrates and Cromwell, Paul and Loyola, Fröbel and Carlyle and Wesley. Of course the narrow-minded will tend to the recognition only of the stones dug from their own quarry, and the exceedingly narrow will fall into the mistake that the ultimate result will be an absorption of all things into their own limited order. But this does not alter facts. On a Saturday evening a little group just arrived at Chautauqua ascended the hill leading from the landing to the hotel. The foot-path led before a whitened statue of Mercury, poised and wing-footed, but shadowed from the full moonlight by the foliage of the over-arching trees. In passing it one of the company was overheard to say, "I suppose that is a statue of John Wesley." Equally puerile and ridiculous was the inference drawn a short time since in the columns of "The Churchman," of New York city, that the religious features of Chautauqua were becoming largely liturgical and ritualistic, and that its president had strong "Churchly" tendencies, because in the public service of the auditorium some well-chosen sentences from the Book of Common Prayer were employed.

The Chautauqua University is the natural outgrowth of the "Literary and Scientific Circle," multitudes being led by the studies of the Circle to feel deeper wants and to indulge higher aspirations. Having a share of the world's work already on their hands, they were debarred from ordinary college privileges. Arrangements were accordingly made for a thorough University Course—the lessons to be conducted by correspondence, and each pupil to come into close relations to each professor.

There are now 60,000 students enrolled as members of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, of whom 20,000 belong to the class most recently organized, who will finish their course in 1888. These reside in all parts of the world—every State and Territory in the Union, every province of Canada, and every continent, having its representative. The population of the Grove rises to at least 30,000 in the height of the Assembly season.

ROMANIST "FREE SCHOOLS" IN THE UNITED STATES.—It is a pregnant and ominous fact that one of the two chief religious denominations of the United States is avowedly arraigned in bitter hostility to that system of primary education which all the other religious bodies, and indeed the bulk of American citizens, have been accustomed to regard as one of the bulwarks of our civilization and our liberties. The controversies which have perennially sprung up all along the path of progress of the "Common School"—ever since its earliest development in this country—are as eagerly pressed now as at any former time. It is always of interest to the fair-minded thinker to obtain a clear view of his subject from a stand-point at the farthest possible remove from his own. This consideration gives a peculiar interest, in the eyes of a Protestant, to a recently published review of "Catholic Free Schools in the United States—their Necessity, Condition, and Future," from the scholarly pen of John Gilmary Shea, LL.D., which has recently appeared in the "American Catholic Quarterly Review." The author sketches the history of elementary schools during the first fifty years of our national history, and shows how in the beginning "religion was the underlying element of all education." The Protestant patronage of "godless" schools he traces to the rebellion of the "active minds of New England" against the despotism of the old-time Congregationalism. The denominations gradually took less interest in their schools, and at last relied almost exclusively on State aid. State schools then took the place of denominational schools; and according to Dr. Shea the old religious element would have entirely died out had not the Bible been, almost accidentally, taken as a school-book. "The lack of 'readers' made it convenient to employ as a reading book a volume to be found in almost every house." About forty years ago Dr. Shea thinks a golden opportunity was lost by the advocates of religious training. A clear, logical statesman might then have built a plan by which every citizen could obtain for his children the highest possible education, with such religious training as he preferred. "But a wretched compromise was effected, and this is the system which has gained in several States, and is talked of as national." The early Roman Catholic Councils earnestly but fruitlessly exhorted the bishops and clergy to establish schools "in which the young may be taught the principles of faith and morals while they are instructed in letters." About 1852 Archbishop Hughes gave a new impulse to Roman Catholic education by both earnest words and diligent example. "Parochial schools" were established in all directions. Soon "approved" school-books were prepared; and during the last thirty years the progress of these parochial schools has been truly wonderful—all the more wonderful because they have been supported almost exclusively by the "constant small contributions of the many." It is a suggestive fact, freely admitted by Dr. Shea, that in not a single case has a Roman Catholic school been founded or endowed by an individual. "Ireland," says he, "is dotted with the ruins of convents and monasteries, most of which were founded and endowed by individuals in the Ages of Faith. Spain, France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, show similar foundations; it is a reproach to the Catholics

of the United States that their body has produced so few men actuated by large and charitable impulses that spring from faith." Yet, though the parochial schools were thus dependent for their creation and maintenance on the liberality of the poor under the direction of the priests, their number had risen in 1875 to 1,444; in 1876, to 1,645; in 1879, to 1,958; and in 1880, to 2,246, with 405,234 pupils. At the commencement of the year 1884, the Catholic body in the United States, according to the statistics furnished by the several dioceses, "taxed as they were to maintain State schools, which they could not conscientiously use for the education of their children," maintained 2,532 parochial schools, in which 481,834 children were educated. The "Catholic Almanac" of 1834 records but three parochial schools; that of 1884, 2,532, and nearly half a million of pupils. The total average attendance at the public schools in 1880 was 5,805,342 in a total population of fifty millions, a little over ten per cent.; while the Catholic community of eight millions had in its own free schools half a million, or nearly seven per cent. "A few years," predicts the essayist, "will make the Catholic rate exceed that of the State school."

THE ELEVATION OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN.—It is a cause for profound thankfulness that our political philosophers have ceased to urge the extermination of the Indians. The "military policy" has fewer advocates than formerly; and even the annual report of the General of our army has less than usual to say concerning the methodical slaughter of the aboriginal tribes. A pessimist might readily find reason for this apparent change of public sentiment in the unquestioned tendency of the redskins toward extinction. But it is better to seek its source in those humane agencies, which, beginning with the "peace policy" of President Grant, have ever since, with multiform philanthropy, helped to lift the Indians toward civilization. It is noteworthy that at a meeting of the National Teachers' Association recently held in Madison, Wis., one of the most able discussions was upon the best system for the education of Indian youth. General S. C. Armstrong, the Principal of the Normal Industrial School at Hampton, Va.—an authority in these matters—spoke most hopefully of the aggregated results of the efforts made during the last five or six years to elevate and Christianize the Indian youth. From three to five thousand of the thirty thousand Indian youth of school age are now trained industrially amid civilizing surroundings; a knowledge of the mechanic arts, elevated social customs, and a mastery of the English language are imparted to them by experienced teachers, and they are thoroughly drilled to become teachers themselves. The results, thus far, are full of hope. Enough time has elapsed to indicate the tendency of Indian children at their homes after a practical training in the midst of civilization, in which over one half of the instruction given each year is, for the young men, in trades and in farming; for the girls, in housework, cooking, and making garments. The General pleads for "a well-conducted training of the hands, head, and heart for a period of about five

years, sending pupils back to their old homes for a visit of from three to twelve months at the end of the third year."

The results of three years' work have not been disappointing. Of seventy-one sent back from Hampton since 1881, but seven have been reported as "gone back to the blanket," which means giving up citizen's dress for a woolen "toga," putting on paint, going to dances, and letting the hair grow long. Not one of them has become a horse-thief or a renegade. Of the rest, about one half are more or less weak and fickle, needing the agent's care and the influence of the missionary to keep them to steady habits or to lead them back from temporary relapses. The other half are comparatively steady, industrious, and thrifty; good examples to their people, whose feeling about the education of their children has changed remarkably in the past few years.

General Armstrong spent some time in an endeavor to prove what needs no demonstration—that the American Indians should have the best of men to guide them and the largest chances to improve. With the tremendous wave of progress across the continent resulting from four lines of railroad—the irresistible grasp by the whites of mining, farm, and grazing lands—the necessity of securing lands in severalty in order to have any thing left of the extensive, but doomed, domain they now occupy—the only stand they can make against the forces about them being to become citizens and voters—there is no chance of the Indians of our country but in sufficient and practical education in labor schools, and in an able, energetic, local management through competent agents, who shall be sustained in every effort to advance their people, keep whisky away, and establish them on lands of their own.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE COAST AND INTERIOR MISSIONS OF AFRICA. — Africa is attracting more and more the attention of statesmen, missionaries, explorers, and mercantile adventurers. From the East Coast great missionary and trading enterprises have pushed into the heart of the continent, and formed their settlements and stations on the shores of the great lakes. Beginning with the Church Missionary Society on the Victoria Nyanza, in King Mtesa's kingdom, where, within a year, surprising progress has been made in education and in conversions, we go a comparatively short distance south, partly by roads made by the missionaries, passing several missionary stations, until we come to the field of operations of the London Society on Lake Tanganyika, and between the lake and the coast, among an intelligent but warlike people. From this long and narrow lake a short journey southward brings us to Lake Nyassa, lying much nearer to the coast, and easier of access than the other lakes. On the southern shore of this body of water the Scottish Free Church, which had prepared valuable native assistants for this formidable undertaking (regarded formidable ten years ago) at its famous Lovedale Institution in South Africa, has established itself. The

Free Church Society is endeavoring to form a chain of stations around the lake, and to establish free, intelligent, and Christian communities, in which purpose it has the earnest co-operation of the mission of the Kirk of Scotland, situated at Blantyre, on the Shiré River, near the southern shore of the lake.

These lake missions, which have cost much in treasure as well as some valuable lives (particularly to the London Missionary Society), might not have been established if their founders had foreseen all the difficulties and discouragements they have encountered; but they have probably passed their hardest days, and are now entering upon more productive stages. The missionaries, indeed, find much to encourage them. Heathenism, corrupted by its contact with civilization along the coast, has less of hope in it than heathenism in the gross forms in which it is found in the interior of the continent. The Arab slave-catchers have, it is true, been long among the interior tribes, but only for trade. They had not propagated Mohammedanism on the Nyanza when the missionaries settled in Uganda. It did not seem to occur to them to do so until after the standard of Christianity had been raised. Whatever may be true of other portions of Africa, a broad belt in the interior, extending from the Equator south to Lake Ngami, is chiefly dominated by the native religions. Mtesa, after a thorough test, found more to his satisfaction in the *lubari* of the lake than in the religion of the desert. The missionaries find that the youth are, for the most part, very quick and intelligent. Those in Uganda learn to read with amazing facility, and quickly comprehend the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Nothing more encouraging from any point has come to our knowledge than the conversions reported among the Buganda.

Besides these lake missions, the Church Missionary Society has had for many years a station at Mombasa, in the mountainous region near the coast and below the Equator, and the Universities Mission, which used to be attached to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, has a mission between the coast and Lake Tanganyika. Both of these are centers for freed slaves, and are flourishing enterprises. The American Board, advancing north from its old field in Zululand, has sought to establish a station in Umzila's kingdom, thus making a line of stations from Algoa Bay to Juba at the Equator. But this mission is as yet little more than a project. The southern part of the continent, from the Limpopo River on the East Coast round to the Orange River on the West Coast, and from Cape Town north to the Kalahari Desert—a territory embracing a great variety of tribes, from the dull Bushman to the bright and interesting Bechuanas—is more fully occupied than any other. If the native Christians of all names could be gathered into one South African Church, they would make a large and influential body of Christians. Here British, German, and French societies, as well as the American Board, have long been at work, and the French society is pushing north to the southern branch of the Zambesi and the Chobe, half way between the two coasts.

The Western Coast has claimed most attention for a year or two. Stanley's exploration of the Congo, and the attempt of the African Interna-

tional Association to open the great Congo basin to the trade of the world, have excited the interest of Europe and given rise to great mission enterprises. Portugal, which had almost forgotten the existence of its West Coast colonies, has roused itself to assert and maintain its rights. France wants to add to its territory. Germany is anxious to acquire possessions; and even Spain has had a revival of its old colonial spirit. On the 15th of November an International Conference met in Berlin to consider whether it is desirable to partition that part of West Africa still unappropriated, and whether the Congo shall be free to the world. France has the first territory of value south of the Great Desert in Senegambia, but its influence extends almost to Sierra Leone. At the mouth of the Gambia British territory begins, but it is only a small colony. South of this is the native kingdom of Combo, which has only about twenty miles of coast line, the French possession of Cazamanca lying next. Portugal has a little patch on the south bank of the Cazamanca, and, with some insignificant exceptions, its dominion extends along the coast to the Bissagos Islands. Sierra Leone, Sherbro Island, and Turner's Peninsula belong, of course, to Great Britain. Thus from the Senegal to the Republic of Liberia the coast is a sort of patch-work, the flags of Great Britain, Portugal, and France alternating, the French holding, perhaps, the largest proportion. We need not stop to speak of Liberia and the Methodist mission work there. It is a long, interesting, but painful history of comparative failure. For the next two hundred miles below Liberia native chiefs hold sway. It is the country of the Kroos, the laborers and porters of the West Coast. Grand Bassa and Assinie, which were formerly French colonies and have recently been reoccupied, take us to the northern border of the British Gold Coast. Between Quettah and Great Popo Dr. Nachtigal has lately raised the German flag. Beyond Great Popo lies Dahomey; then Porto Novo, which is French; then Fort Ajuda, which is Portuguese, followed by one hundred and eighty miles of coast under British rule. Below the Benin Great Britain has recently been hoisting its colors, and aims to control the Niger, on which it has important interests, and the rest of the coast to its Lagos possessions. On the Cameroons coast the Germans have been doing something in the way of annexation. The next two hundred miles of coast belongs to the Banakas. Corisco Island is Spanish, south of which France has claims. This is a very interesting piece of territory, as to which a writer in the London "Times" says:

No one disputes that the French have legitimate possession of the long strip of coast from Corisco Bay to beyond the mouth of the Pembo, a distance of quite three hundred miles, and including the mouth of the Ogové and the fine Bay of Gaboon. Under the auspices of De Brazza and other explorers, the French have been not only opening up the interior and tracing out river trade-routes, but been among great stretches of territory as they went. How far their power extends in the interior it would be difficult to say, but by a sweep up the Ogové and down the Alima, they have at least a line of territory ending at Stanley Pool, on the Congo. Between the French territory and the mouth of the Congo, some three hundred and fifty miles, the coast at present is chiefly occupied by petty native kingdoms, which will doubtless soon be absorbed, probably by France. Along this coast there are several small settlements belonging to various Powers; at

Setti Camma are some British factories; at the mouth of the Kevilu are both Dutch and English factories; at Punta Negra is the station recently occupied by the French; at Chinchoxo is a Dutch factory, and just south of the last-named is Landana, which, with the adjoining territory, was placed under Portuguese authority by treaty with the native chiefs in December last. The International Association have established stations at the mouth of the Ruillu that are connected by a regular series with the Upper Congo, while the French have a station at the mouth of the Congo on its northern shore. Up the Congo estuary are factories of various nations, while at Vivi the domain of the International Association begins. But at present the Congo mouth and the coast on each side is debatable if not neutral territory. This is certainly the great prize of all the coast, and no one nation will be allowed to possess it without much protest from the others. Better, as we have before advocated, that it should remain really neutral, and that under the auspices of the Association trade should in the meantime be free and unrestricted. It is doubtful, however, if all the four nations interested will be likely to restrain themselves; in the general scramble that has begun we may hear any day of the annexation by some one power of all the Congo coast.

South of the Congo for one hundred and thirty miles the natives are in possession; then comes the Portuguese territory stretching along the coast for seven hundred miles or more. Below this Germany is seeking to obtain the coast as far south as the Orange River.

The West Coast, then, from the Senegal to the Orange is already chiefly in the possession of four European nations, whose desire is for the most part to develop their colonies and stimulate trade. From Vivi, on the Congo, far into the interior, the International Association wishes to be in control for the purpose of making the river free and of developing a civilized government for the numerous tribes occupying the Congo Valley. The future of missionary enterprise in Western and Central Africa will depend in no small degree on the political arrangements soon to be made.

The most noteworthy of the new mission enterprises are those on the Congo. The English Baptist Society, establishing its first station at San Salvador, followed a route to the river and established a line of stations to Stanley Pool, beginning with Underhill, immediately to the north of San Salvador. There are in all four stations on the river below Stanley Pool, all on the south bank. A small steam-ship called the "Peace" has been transported in sections to the Pool, and there put together and launched for service on the Upper Congo, where there is a stretch of perhaps a thousand miles which the little boat can navigate. The first station above the Pool is Tukolela. The society has determined to send no fewer than twenty men to preach and teach on the Upper Congo, which presents, perhaps, the most magnificent opportunity in Africa for great efforts and achievements. The other mission on the Congo was begun by a society known as the Livingstone Inland Mission, which was organized at Cardiff, Wales, and which was chiefly supported by Plymouth Brethren. Mr. and Mrs. H. Grattan Guinness were its inspiration. The society sent out its first missionaries early in 1878. They established a station at Banana, at the mouth of the Congo, and soon had a line of stations on the north bank to Stanley Pool. Upward of a hundred thousand dollars were expended up to last spring, and twelve persons lost their lives in the work, which, of course, is still in its first stage, with no noteworthy results to report.

A steamer was ordered for the Upper Congo, and preparations were made to advance into the far interior when the society saw that more funds than it could command would be needed. For this reason all its interests on the Congo have been transferred to the American Baptist Missionary Union, whose wise management in India and Burmah, and whose ample resources, lead to the expectation that this Congo mission will be vigorously prosecuted.

Besides the English and American Baptists there is soon to be another missionary force on the Congo. Bishop William Taylor, as is well known, is forming a company of workers whom he expects to station on the noble river. His plan is to form a chain of twenty or more stations on a line south of and parallel to the Congo. He will need about forty missionaries, of whom twenty have been already enrolled. It is stated that he himself will enter Africa from the Atlantic coast with twenty missionaries, and Dr. Summers will enter Africa from the Indian Ocean with twenty more missionaries in May or June next. Both parties will advance toward the interior until they meet, thus completing the chain of mission stations across Africa from the mouth of the Congo on the Atlantic Ocean to the mouth of the Zambesi on the Indian Ocean. The only money the Bishop asks for is passage money to Africa, and the conditions he lays down are these:

1. That our friends in America, through our Transit Fund Society, may pay their passage outward. 2. That all our workers shall depend on God and the people they serve for daily bread. 3. That they shall receive their salary in full from our Father in heaven after their arrival in the "Heavenly Jerusalem."

Before passing from this great river and its great valley to speak of other mission enterprises a word ought to be said in acknowledgment of the service Leopold, the King of Belgium, has performed as head of the International Association in opening this territory to commerce and Christianity. He has expended of his own means no less than a million of dollars in the work of exploration, road-building, and station-planting. Mrs. Guinness, in an interview with him, ventured to ask him what had caused him to take such a profound interest in Africa. He replied, that when the Lord took away his only son, he felt at first as if he had nothing to live for, until God seemed to say to him, "Live for Africa." He added: "You know I am a Catholic; I love God and want to please him." In the middle of October the association sent out its fifth expedition, under Lieutenant Becker, who is to cross the continent from the east to the west, in order to connect the stations of the Upper Congo with those of the interior, and thus to render Karema as accessible from the West Coast of Africa as from Zanzibar. The work of the expedition is to be completed within two years.

Three or four hundred miles south of the Congo, in the Portuguese possessions, lies the town of Benguela, in the province of the same name. At this point two or three years ago the American Board sought to enter the interior, and to found a mission at Bihè, on high and healthy ground. The missionaries formed a station on the route, at Bailundu,

whose king, Kwikwi, received them kindly, and among whose people they seemed to have friends. A small party pushed on from Bailundu, after some months, to Bihè, and were settled comfortably there when they received intelligence that Kwikwi had ordered the force in Bailundu to quit his dominions at once. They accordingly joined their friends at Bailundu, and the whole party marched to the coast, accomplishing the journey in about twenty-three days. Kwikwi gave no reason for his sudden change of mind, for he had been very gracious to the missionaries; but they well understood that his mind had been poisoned against them by a Portuguese slave-dealer. Remonstrance and entreaty were alike in vain, and the missionaries were compelled to depart, leaving goods behind to be plundered by the greedy natives. Kwikwi upbraided them because they had not given him whisky, guns, and gunpowder. This promising mission is therefore temporarily broken up, and part of the missionaries are in this country.

OUR FOREIGN MISSIONARY WORK.

The session of the General Missionary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for 1884, was held in New York, Nov. 5–13, at which the missionary operations of the Church, both foreign and domestic, were carefully reviewed, and plans for future action adopted. That "Committee" is, in fact, the great directing power of the Church in all its missionary matters, having its authority directly from the General Conference, and being empowered, among other things, to "determine what fields shall be occupied as foreign missions, the number of persons to be employed in said missions, and the amount [of money] necessary for the support of each mission." It is composed of the Bishops and thirteen Commissioners at large, appointed by the General Conference, and an equal number chosen by the Board of Managers from its own body, and the Corresponding Secretaries and Treasurers. The attendance was full, and the business in hand was diligently attended to and very thoroughly examined; and the work for the next year, as far as the means would allow, effectually provided for.

In these proceedings the whole scheme and scope of the denomination's foreign missionary work passed in review, and both what has been done and what it is proposed to do were very clearly stated and determined, and the feeling awakened seemed to be one of encouragement and gratitude in respect to the past, and of hopefulness for the future, except as to the pecuniary means needed for the effectual prosecution of the work. The gross income of the treasury for the current year was shown to have been $751,123, which was a slight falling off from that of the preceding year, though it appeared that the decline was entirely in the incidental resources (chiefly legacies), and that the contributions by the churches had advanced a few thousands. The aggregate amount appropriated to be used during the year now ensuing (including $67,721, for "liquidation

of debt") is $850,000, of which nearly $350,000 is for foreign work, distributed as follows :

Africa	$4,000	Italy	$28,378
South America	20,500	Mexico	34,782
China	69,803	Japan	34,936
Germany and Switzerland	24,600	Korea	8,100
Scandinavia	46,833		
India	67,171		$351,979
Bulgaria and Turkey	12,876		

No new mission field was projected, though Korea, which was provided for last year, has not yet been actually occupied, but it is said all the preliminary arrangements have been made, and the work will soon be entered upon with a good outlook. The selection and appointment of the missionaries is in all cases the work of the Bishops, and the details of the home administration are committed to the Corresponding Secretaries and the Board of Managers, the last a corporate body composed of the Bishops and sixty-four others named by the General Conference, one half each of ministers and laymen, which Board meets monthly at the Mission Rooms.

The foreign missions of the denomination have advanced steadily, but not rapidly, for more than half a century, until they have become many and world-wide, and some of them are of large proportions. Africa and South America—rather, Liberia and Buenos Ayres and vicinity—are of the longest standing, and neither of them has been even ordinarily successful, though the latter now promises better things.

In China a mission was begun in 1846–47, at Foochow, and since then three others have been founded, at Kiukiang (Central China), Peking, and, within a few years past, at Chung-king, in the extreme west, about 1,200 miles from the coast. After a long period of almost fruitless efforts the mission at Foochow began to be successful among the people, and it has since become aggressive; and by its action Methodism has become fairly seated and established as a naturalized form of religion in all the extensive and populous province of Fukien. Its laborers are chiefly natives, who are pecuniarily sustained for the greater part by the people and churches among whom they are working. Though they are less advanced, because they are newer, yet the same remarks will apply generally to the other missions in that empire.

The mission work in India, in the North-west Provinces, was undertaken a little more than thirty years ago ; and though it has had its reverses, it has been on the whole highly successful and prosperous, with the promise of steady, permanent, and almost indefinite increase. The work appears to be prosecuted in all its affairs with the purpose of raising up and establishing an indigenous Christian community, chiefly operated by native agencies, and sustained by their own resources. Its system of schools—extending from vernacular primaries scattered among the villages to high schools, one or two of which seem to be developing into complete colleges after the best American type, and a school for training preachers and other workers—is full of promise for the future of India;

and the agents of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, operating apart and yet in unison, are carrying the blessings of the Gospel to many of the females of the upper classes, who are entirely beyond the reach of the ordinary methods. This mission is evidently regarded with great favor by all who have looked into its affairs, and they seem to expect still greater things from it.

The missionary work in Japan is the wonder of the age, for in but little more than ten years that whole empire, so long almost hermetically closed against the outside world, has become thoroughly permeated with the teachings of Christianity, and seems to be rapidly hastening to take its place among the older nations of Christendom; and among the agents of this wonderful work, the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church seem to hold a not inconsiderable place. These three—the Chinese, the Indian, and the Japanese—are the only properly heathen missions of the Church, and they are those to which it may point with the highest satisfaction in respect to both actual achievements and assurances for the future. All of them appear to be advancing steadily, and with reasonable rapidity, toward the conditions of self-supporting and self-governing Christian bodies.

The missions in Bulgaria, Italy, Mexico, and South America are those in non-Protestant Christian countries. Of the last some account has been given, and of the first it may be said that it has been the hardest and least productive field that has been undertaken; but after being almost entirely wiped out during the Russo-Turkish war, some ten years ago, it has since been rehabilitated with improved prospects. The mission in Italy was begun in 1871, and has advanced somewhat successfully, in respect to converts and churches and a native ministry, but the reports indicate that in matters of self-relying independence these converts from Romanism have not proved very apt scholars; and till those things shall be learned the mission will be comparatively feeble and ineffective for good.

The work in Mexico is comparatively new. It was begun early in 1873, and has advanced fairly well, but it is yet too soon to speak of it as either a success or a failure, though enough has appeared to encourage the belief that it will succeed. Here, however, as in all Roman Catholic countries, the missionaries find their greatest difficulties in the false and often demoralizing conceptions of religion and morals into which the people have been educated in their ancestral Church.

The Church has its missions, also, in each of the Protestant countries of north-western Europe—Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Their presence there may seem to require an apology, which is found in the fact that in all these countries Methodism of the American type had been introduced and partially naturalized before the home Church was officially aware of the process. Emigrants from those lands to this country had been converted, and, going back again, they had told their kinsfolk and former acquaintances of what they had experienced, and so they kindled the Methodist fires and constituted its worship and discipline in their

several fatherlands. And soon, as was natural, the Macedonian cry for help came over the ocean, and, equally naturally, it was practically responded to. The mission in Germany dates from 1850, in which year a very small beginning was made at Bremerhaven; and the work has so prospered that it now extends over most of the empire, and also into the German cantons of Switzerland, with a membership of more than ten thousand and nearly a hundred ministers — all natives of the country. The success of the work, which it is claimed has exerted a most wholesome influence on the State Church, has seemed to justify all that has been done and expended, in both labor and money, though some are asking whether the same outlay among the heathen would not have been more profitable and more seemly. German Methodism has, indeed, become well grown; but it seems to be rather reluctant to stand and walk alone. The work among the Scandinavian nations had a like origin, and its success has been even more marked, and its outlook, as seen by its friends, is altogether radiant. But the work in all these countries, and in some of the other missions also, is becoming embarrassing by reason of the magnitude to which it has attained. The child has fairly outgrown its childhood; and what now must be done for it?

The history of this work is suggestive. It is a record of consecrated devotion on the part of the workers in the field of a good degree of liberality, and of directing wisdom on that of the Church at home, of sucess in giving the Gospel to those who were without its blessings, and in planting churches and other Christian institutions among the heathen. In respect to all these points the Church in its missionary administration has richly earned the confidence of its constituency, which ought to be responded to by largely increased pecuniary support. But the enlarged proportions of the work are beginning to call for broader views and more comprehensive methods than have hitherto been used. The Christianizing of a people must be effected not by strangers but by its own people, and the church institutions of each people must be its own, and not a portion or branch of a foreign and alien body. The time for their separation has evidently come to a considerable number of these missions, as a means to their own best development, and, as well, to leave the home Church free to enter some of the many open doors through which millions of heathens are calling for the word of life. The late General Conference seemed to feel the presence and the force of these things, but after a few tentative efforts, in which it failed to meet their demands, it left things much as they were. It may be hoped that when another shall assemble the subject will have been so prepared to its hands that the needed adjustments may be consummated.

THE MAGAZINES.

In America the Magazine has reached a development not attained in any other land. Here it combines the literary review, the art journal, the political and social essay, the biographical and geographical record, the scientific chronicle and the lecture platform, the serial novel, and the school of decorative art. It is impossible to compare the foreign and domestic magazines without seeing that our own surpass, in popular merit and attractiveness, those of any other country. Magazine work abroad is far more specialized than here. The student is better served in Europe; the people are vastly better served in the United States.

At the head stands "Harper's," with the "Century" not far behind. The rivalry between these leaders has produced a richness and variety of illustration which remains a monthly wonder. The ablest writers in the country seek opportunities to reach the public through the Magazine. Publications of the "Review" type have had to stir themselves, to submit to modifications of plan and frequency of publication in order to keep their place. Meanwhile, the people are able to secure, for a very small sum, artistic illustration and interesting and valuable matter in such quantity that the Magazine has become one of the chief educatioual forces of the country.

The October "Harper's" is an unusually fine number. Its range is something wonderful: Scandinavia, England, Mexico, Holland, California, New York, Kentucky, were ransacked for illustration and matter. Treadwell Walden's paper on the "Great Hall of William Rufus" is a fine example of the charm which may be given to a familiar subject by a sympathetic and skilled writer. Windsor Castle could not supply from its strange history more romantic incident or charming pictures. There is the delight of novelty in the reproduction of the old and little-known portraits of England's kings, nobles, and commoners. And how pleasant to compare the Westminster of 1647 with the Westminster of 1884 by the help of Hollar's quaint plan and map. Hans Christian Andersen is less known to the children of to-day than to those of thirty years ago. But many a heart now worn with burden-bearing will be cheered by the portrait of that rare genius who made the days bright with the fun and pathos of the "Ugly Duck." Not even De Amicis has surpassed our countryman, George H. Boughton, in describing Holland. Boughton shows as much skill with his pen as with his pencil. He has caught with marvelous ability all that is characteristic in the landscape, the occupations, and the people of the Low Countries. Many of his figures are exquisite in the charm of unsophisticated peasant life. The verbatim report of "My Life as a Slave," by Charles Stewart, an old Kentucky negro, is one of the best things in a rich and varied number. The portrait of Darwin is superb as a work of art, and reveals the great naturalist without the disguise of a beard. The paper on "Municipal Finance" deserves careful reading.

The November "Harper's" exhibits great editorial tact in its adaptation to the season. Its spirit is of the autumn rather than of the long summer days. That noble fall flower, the chrysanthemum, is splendidly engraved. Many will learn for the first time from Mr. Thorpe's article that the chrysanthemum is the national emblematic flower of the Chinese and Japanese, receiving the most reverential care and attention. Columbia College, whose history as King's College was traced in a preceding number, is very fully described by an anonymous writer, presumably Dr. Barnard. This college, on account of its situation in the city of New York, and from its great wealth through endowments in land, dating from colonial times, is likely to have an increasing future. The portraits accompanying this article are noteworthy. Joseph Hatton, an unsurpassed magazine writer, contributes a delightful sketch of Sir Joseph Hooker and the Botanical Gardens at Kew. "Norman Fisher Folk" have filled of late years a large place in art, and Mary Gay Humphreys makes them interesting by the careful study of their ways and spirit. Reinhart's pencil revels in the quaint costumes and pathetic expression of these toilers of the sea. Mr. Walden returns in this number to the "Great Hall of William Rufus," and reaches one of the most thrilling periods of its history. The frontispiece presents Vandyke's portraits of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, his queen. This engraving is Mr. Closson's masterpiece. Soft, yet clear, preserving every characteristic of Vandyke's work except the color, it deserves a frame as the highest achievement of the American graver. In a totally different style is the full-page illustration on page 908 of Mr. Roe's "Serial Story." Mr. Bernstrom is only a degree behind Mr. Closson in the delicate strength of his work. The paper on Sydney Smith by Andrew Lang is excellent, and is sympathetic toward the strengths and weaknesses of that mad parson. The portrait, though the features are strong, shows in the lines of the mouth the undying fun which sometimes scandalized his calling.

The October "Century" does not equal its successor. The portrait of Austin Dobson exhibits the face of one of England's younger men of genius. It is an essentially musical face. The late war is not likely to lack historians. George F. Williams, in "Lights and Shadows of Army Life," achieves a distinct success in a well-worn field. The "Century" excels in the reproduction of etchings. Those of Edwin D. Forbes, illustrating this article, are of great power. Mr. Smalley, in the "Cœur d'Alene Stampede," shows how the spirit of '49 survives in this recent rush to new mining fields. It would seem that Edward Eggleston has laid aside the pen of the novelist for the quill of the historian. His article on "Social Conditions in the Colonies" is only a little less picturesque than the old houses and interiors engraved in illustration. Mr. Stillman, in his Homeric Studies, reaches the "Odyssey and its Epoch." The engravings are of the less known parts of Greece. Religious thinkers will find much to stir and profit in Washington Gladden's study of "Christianity and Wealth." The matter and illustration of Mr. Langley's explanation of the

"New Astronomy" are of the highest order. Nowhere can our readers find so full and fresh information as to the most recent facts and conclusions of astronomical science. A very valuable feature of the "Century" is the open letters, always discussing topics of the highest interest.

The November number is the best issued in a long time. Elihu Vedder is a man of genius, but not all the products of genius are pleasing. The frontispiece is by Mr. Vedder, and is of the same type as the figures on the cover. They are certainly vigorous, and as certainly coarse. They attract attention very much as any writhing forms are fascinating. But his pictures are not beautiful. Austin Dobson's poem on "The Sedan Chair" is a graceful bit, and the illustrations, while sketchy, are telling. The genius of Howells is manifest in the initial chapter of his new story, "The Rise of Silas Lapham." The most interesting paper, from the novelty of its subject, is that on the "Chinese Theater." The full-page illustration on page 36 is a marvel of good work. Mr. M'Dowell says of the social esteem in which Chinese actors are held, or rather not held, "that they occupy in China the lowest social caste. They are incapacitated from holding any place under the government, and the rule applies to all the sons and grandsons as well." The heathen Chinamen would appear to have evolved a prejudice against the actor's calling not unlike that known in Christian lands. Mary Hallock Foote supplies Mr. Janvier's story of "The Lost Mine" with a magnificent illustration. The paper on the "Sculptors of the Early Italian Renaissance" is of only moderate interest and merit. The reproductions of the old drawings will, however, carry it. Annie Fields's account of her acquaintance with Charles Reade has some biographical interest. But the article which of itself would give this number a wide sale is that by Gen. Beauregard on "The Battle of Bull Run." It is written in excellent temper, and betrays the disposition to criticise Jefferson Davis which was manifest in the general's recent military biography. The portraits are remarkable, and many of the illustrations are from photographs only recently accessible. This series is to be a marked feature of the "Century" for some months to come. George Ticknor Curtis, always a thoughtful writer, betrays his tendency to live in the past by advocating the restoration of the power of free choice to the members of the electoral college. The drift is rather to the choice of the President by direct vote.

The November "Atlantic" is by no means remarkable. Most of the articles are of class interest, a fault into which the recent management of the "Atlantic" has not often fallen. Yet Brooks Adams has a good study of the ancient guild as the foundation of the commonwealth idea, and Maurice Thompson makes a very readable paper on the haunts of the mocking-bird. We find nothing of value in the posthumous paper by Henry James, Sr. It is a thinly-veiled biographical sketch of very little merit. The lengthier reviews in the "Atlantic" are always well done. There are also some good suggestions in Mr. Shaler's presentation of the Negro problem.

There has been a great improvement in "Lippincott's" in respect of the quality of its engravings. They are not numerous enough now to be a very strong feature in this Magazine. The quality is, however, excellent. The readers of the Review will be detained by not more than two articles. Mr. Kirke writes in an interesting fashion of a trip up the French Broad, one of the most picturesque of Southern rivers; and the author of "Study and Stimulants" presents John Bright as a temperance reformer. Theologians as well as scientific men will do well to read what Dr. Francis J. Shepherd has to say in the October "Popular Science Monthly" concerning "The Significance of Human Anomalies." It is a development of the idea, on which the evolutionists lay great stress, that anomalous muscles, bones, and organs frequently found in the human subject, betray descent from some anthropoid, but not human, type. The inaugural address of Lord Rayleigh, at Montreal, is given in full. It traces the recent progress of physical science in a clear and pleasing fashion. This address is conceived in a very different spirit from that which gave John Tyndall notoriety rather than fame. Another noteworthy paper is that on "The Morality of Happiness," in which an attempt is made, not without ingenuity, to find a natural basis for morality. Perhaps Prof. J. P. Cooke's discussion of the "Greek Question" ought to be included in the list of valuable papers.

The October and November numbers of the "Canadian Methodist Magazine" increase our respect for this excellent religious family magazine. Its papers on travel, education, mission work, and religion are excellently well adapted to increase intelligence, inspire devotion and quicken religious activity. It is a singular fact that no religious periodical of this class seems to succeed this side of the Dominion line.

The preacher need not in these days go without homiletic aids. Besides the larger works on homiletics there are two monthlies which very thoroughly represent current pulpit teaching. The "Homiletic Monthly" (Funk and Wagnalls) has been longest in the field, and has gained a high place in the esteem of many. While this and the "Pulpit Treasury" (E. B. Treat) are both surpassingly good aids to an honest student, they need to be used with care, lest, on the one hand, the excellence of the matter produce discouragement, and the quantity of the matter, on the other hand, create a disposition to rely on the preparation of others. Rightly used, there can be no more valuable helps to the minister than these excellent chronicles of current pulpit work.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. By ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M.A. Oxon., D.D., Ph.D., late Warburtonian Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn. Two vols., pp. 698 and 826. Second Edition. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. London: Longman, Green, & Co.

It had seemed that the department of Biblical and Christian learning properly included under the designation of the "Life of Christ" had been so fully occupied that there was no longer room for any new-comer. But the elaborate work of Dr. Weiss was accepted on its appearance as covering points still vacant, and presenting views that had not before appeared; and now we have yet another work on the same general theme, but very unlike the former, so learned and elaborate as to command respectful attention, and make its study a necessity to all who would be acquainted with the literature of the subject, or view its wonderful story in some of its most important aspects. The author of this work, though not much known in this country, where none of his writings have till now been published (except his annotated translation of Kurtz's "History of the Old Covenant," Philadelphia, 1859), has, however, been recognized by scholars, both in England and this country, as a writer of painstaking fidelity and of extensive learning in his chosen specialty, as is amply shown in his "History of the Jewish Nation after the Destruction of Jerusalem under Titus" (12mo, Edinburgh, 1867), and his "The Temple: Its Ministry and Services as they were in the Time of Christ" (8vo, London, 1874), both of which have an intimate relation to his chief work, named above. This reprint is from the second English edition (the first was issued only little more than a year earlier, September, 1883, and was probably a very limited one, as to the number of copies, and not stereotyped), and the enlarged demand that has called out this second and more permanent issue is indicative of the favor with which the work has been received. It was reviewed in the "Edinburgh" for January, 1884.

The author is known to us only by his writings. His style of writing and methods of thought are those of an English biblical scholar, which designation includes those of his class in this country; but he differs widely from the German and other continental writers, and to our thinking, very much for the better. But both his German patronym and the specific lines of thought in which

all his studies and writings run suggest a probably Israelitish ancestry, and out of these come to us some of the most valuable properties of the work, in both the body of the narrative with its discussions and illustrations, and more especially in the learned Introduction of a hundred pages, and the nineteen Appendixes.

The second subject named in the title, the "Times" of the Christ, is elaborated with special fullness. The Introduction attempts to reproduce the details of Jewish life and thought, the political, social, and religious conditions of the people, at and immediately before the beginning of our era—their Messianic expectations, and their mental and spiritual enslavement to Rabbinism. If Christ's own history is the drama produced in these pages, the environments of his life constitute the scenery among which it was enacted, and their presentation seems needful to the proper understanding of the evangelical story; and these are here given with a fullness and a wealth of learning that is seldom seen in works of this character. So rich is the setting of the jewel that one may hesitate to decide which of the two is, as to its form, the more admirable. At every point of the sacred narrative not only the facts as stated by the evangelists are brought out clearly, and their places and relations determined, but their attendant conditions and circumstances are reproduced, not, however, in the form of imaginary ideals, but as realities taught and illustrated by competent authorities. The only available objection that can be made against the work is its wonderful fullness and wealth of matter.

It is not a work for hasty and superficial reading; but to the real student, whose purpose is to fully comprehend the New Testament narrative in its objective presentation, and by that means the better to appreciate its deep spiritual significance, this great work may be recommended with all confidence. In no other that we have seen—and we have endeavored to be acquainted with its literature—is the subject so fully discussed in its historical relations and bearings; and at the same time the great spiritual truths which permeate and suffuse the records of Christ's ministry are every-where brought to the front and made the governing idea of the writing. As a literary production these volumes are evidently the rich harvest of a life-time of diligent husbandry, pursued with industry and singleness of purpose, and the result abundantly justifies the outlay.

History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament. By EDWARD (WILHELM EUGENE) REUSS, Professor in the University of Strasburg (Germany). Translated from the Fifth Revised and Enlarged German Edition, with Numerous Bibliographical Additions. By EDWARD L. HOUGHTON, A.M. In two volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. New York: 11 East 17th Street.

This work, now first given to the English reading public, has been long and favorably known to biblical scholars since its first appearance, more than thirty years ago. Its advent was at a time when the destructive criticism of the Tübingen school had passed its zenith, and was giving place to better methods of inquiry. The author's position or method, in the performance of his self-imposed task, is the "historico-critical," submitting his subject to just such treatment, in endeavoring to determine its character and authority, as must be given to any and every document, ancient or modern, religious or secular. This method of treatment is now very generally accepted; but as a writer's own cast of mind and habits of thinking very largely affect the force of the evidence with which he deals, and often determine the results of his investigations, so, while following the same objective methods, different critics will arrive at wholly diverse conclusions, according to their dissimilar subjective inclinations. So this writer, because he hesitates to accept any superrational conception of Christianity which includes the specifically divine element in the Scriptures, so applies the accepted method of criticism as to reach results that would not be reached were that element received as a factor in the problem. But though his stand-point is that of a rationalist, his style of argumentation, very unlike many of his predecessors of the same school, is logically fair and reverent in spirit; and while excluding the supernatural from the premises with the concession of which the argument must begin, its reality is allowed to be possible, but not available, because it is transcendental.

The Christian student, who in studying this great work shall make the requisite corrections to rectify the writer's mental aberrations, will find in it an uncounted store of the most valuable, because available, learning touching the subjects considered. After a brief introductory glance at the oral teachings of Christ and the apostles—giving special prominence to the ministry of St. Paul—he passes to the period of the production of the apostolic literature—the latter half of the first century—during which all the canonical books of the New Testament were written. After that he comes to the formation of the canon, by including certain books and excluding others; a work which he thinks was

generally well done, though by no official authority, and not always absolutely correctly on either side. Next is given some account of the preservation of the New Testament writings, including the history of the text, with their diffusion throughout Christendom, their theological use, and finally the history of exegesis. As a thoroughly learned, fair (as seen from the author's point of view), and eminently able handling of these subjects, we know of nothing better; and, notwithstanding a qualified dissent from some of the conclusions reached, it may be cordially recommended to any who may be seeking to master its subjects. The translation here given deserves most emphatic approval. In many Anglicised German works, the so-called translation remains essentially German in its style and forms of utterance, though given in English words; but not so in this case. The purpose declared by the translator, "to render the thought as accurately as possible, and at the same time in fairly idiomatic and readable English," has been accomplished with exceptional completeness. The reading very seldom suggests any of the characteristics of the original German, so proving the incorrectness of the assumption sometimes made, that our language is not competent to embody the ideas that are familiar to German writers.

This work, as now given to English readers, makes a valuable contribution to our apparatus for biblical study, for which not only the author, but also the translator and the publishers, are entitled to our thanks.

The Possibilities of Grace. By Rev. ASBURY LOWREY, D.D. 12mo, pp. 472. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A well-chosen title makes a favorable output for any new book, and such is that chosen by Dr. Lowrey for this his latest production. The outward appearance of the book will also make favor for it, for in type, paper, and binding it is such a book as one likes to take in hand. As to its contents, it is a treatise on the religious life, or Christian experience, viewed and presented with especial reference to its "possibilities" in its advanced and matured stages. As will be inferred, it belongs to the somewhat numerous class of books—some very good, and some not so good—that make up our modern "holiness" literature, and in that goodly company it deserves an honorable place. In its substance and scope it is almost identical with Bishop Merrill's "Aspects of Christian Experience;" but the two are distinguished from each other by characteristic peculiarities, the latter being the broader

and the former the more intense. As a professor of the "higher life," Dr. Lowrey undertakes to set forth its character and conditions, its relations to spiritual religion in its widest conception, and he carefully guards the subject against misapprehensions and abuses. The book is happily arranged and well written; its methods of discussion are commendable, its temper good, and its taste unexceptionable. It merits a ready reception among works of its class.

The doctrinal views expressed are generally of the orthodox Methodist pattern. The fact of original sin in man's nature is assumed or treated as a first truth, and the overthrow and extirpation of this "fault" is presented as the great purpose of God's grace as manifested in religious experience. But this is seldom or never accomplished at the beginning of the new life, and therefore growth in grace and conflicts with inbred sin go forward in the life of the believer till the completed work is effected. To these views no sound Methodist of the Wesleyan type can take any exceptions, nor need we intimate any dissent from the general teaching of the book, at any important point; and if it contains but little that has not been before said, there may be enough of newness and freshness in the saying to justify this substantial repetition.

It is quite manifest, and some may consider it as undesirable, that a portion of our excellent people constitute a class of specialists in respect to religious experience. They not only use their own methods, but they have a peculiar dialect, and words and phrases as used by them have come to have special and somewhat technical significations. "Sanctification," and "holiness," and many like terms that in Holy Scripture and in general religious discourse are used to designate the ordinary fruits of the Spirit in believers, are narrowed down so as to indicate only a specific and ultimate work of grace; and while Christ and his apostles, and the godly of all the ages of the Church, have been intent on cultivating the work of grace with equal diligence in all its stages, these good people appear to concern themselves almost wholly with that higher grade into which (so much more is the pity) comparatively few have come. There can be no question but that "the possibilities of grace" reach forward to a blessed fullness, and for that all are called to labor; but there are very many steps in the ascent below the topmost landing, and for those upon these most of the labor of Christ's ministers must be expended; and some may even doubt whether there is any special landing-

place in the ascent of the soul heavenward till the end is reached. We have named some of the good qualities of Dr. Lowrey's book, and there are still others that might be named. To some readers such books are especially acceptable, and may be profitable; but the spiritual tastes of others will covet spiritual diet prepared and presented in less artificial styles. Theories in religion, whether of the head or the heart, are less valuable than the faith that accepts, without a theory, the grace that brings salvation.

Jesus Christ, God, God and Man. Conferences delivered at Notre Dame in Paris. By REV. PÈRE LACORDAIRE, of the Order of Friar Preachers. A new edition in one volume. 12mo, pp. 418. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

Besides the self-aggrandizing ecclesiasticism of the Church of Rome and its soul-killing literalism and formalities, it also embodies substantial Christian doctrine, and it likewise has within its communion a class of deeply pious (many of them also pietistic) Christians who, despite the unwholesome influences among which they reside, are leading lives of real faith and devotion. This better side of Romanism is presented in these discourses of Père Lacordaire, in which, with the accidents of his Church relations and life, he most happily and forcibly sets forth some of the great fundamental truths of Christianity which belong to Protestants no less than to Catholics, to wit: Christian theism, the person and work of Christ, and the intercourse between God and man in Christian life. It is a wholesome book, if read with proper discrimination, and well adapted to awaken deep devotional feelings.

Spiritual Life; Its Nature, Urgency, and Crowning Excellence. By Rev. J. H. POTTS, A.M., Detroit. 16mo, pp. 230. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1884.

This is a kindred book to that of Dr. Lowrey, noticed above, and yet with specific differences; and in their points of difference we prefer this work to that, as broader and more catholic. Such books are chiefly valuable as aids to personal religious culture, though they are not without their dogmatic implications and didactic suggestions. In literary ability and good taste, as well as for its adaptation to awaken religious impulses, it is deserving of decided commendations. Its extensive use would do good.

The Reality of Faith. By NEWMAN SMYTH, Author of "Old Faiths in New Light," etc. 12mo, pp. 315. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Dr. Smyth made himself famous, and so awakened opposition and procured promotion, by stating certain rather commonplace

notions in unusual and somewhat exaggerated forms of words. It is quite evident that he is not a bad heretic, and probably as he grows older, and his imagination comes to be less disproportioned to his judgment, and when he has thought himself through the subjects he has in hand, it will be found that his theology is neither new nor strange. This last output of his ever-restless brain probably will neither hasten nor retard the transition through which the subject, though probably himself not aware of it, is evidently passing.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A History of Methodism. Comprising a View of the Rise of this Revival of Spiritual Religion in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century, and of the Principal Agents by whom it was Promoted in Europe and America. With some Account of the Doctrines and Polity of Episcopal Methodism in the United States, and the Means and Manner of its Extension down to A. D. 1884. By HOLLAND N. M'TYEIRE, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 8vo, pp. 688. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

With this very long title—which is fairly indicative of the contents of the book—Bishop M'Tyeire, having been requested to undertake the work by the Centennial Committee and the "college" of Bishops of his Church, presents to the public a rapid, succinct, but comprehensive sketch of Methodism generally, and of American Methodism as a whole, down to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and thenceforward the history of that branch of Methodism to this Centennial Year. As a specimen of mechanical and artistic book-making the volume in hand is highly creditable to its publishers. The paper, printing, binding, and illustrations (on steel) are all good, and in all its exterior the work is worthy of its occasion. As a literary production it is also creditable to its author, who, having an immense mass of matter from which to choose his materials, has quite satisfactorily selected and omitted, so as to bring together within the prescribed limits the salient and representative points out of which to weave the purposed narrative according to the ideal in his mind and purpose; and it is done with commendable literary skill.

The real character and attitude of the work, as designed by its author, is fairly indicated in a single sentence in the preface: "The reader is advertised that this is not a history of Southern Methodism, but of Methodism from a Southern point of view," though this must be qualified by the concession that it is, as to

the period from 1844–45, onward, specifically and nearly exclusively a history of Southern Methodism. A further indication of its purpose is given in the remark that "Methodism in the South has suffered injustice from the manner in which it has been presented by learned, honest, and able writers in the North." The presence and influence of the ruling thought indicated by these two observations may be detected throughout the volume. The writer is calm and kindly-disposed, with no apparent wish to renew the strifes of the past; but he cannot remand the subject of those conflicts to silence without a restatement of the case and a final plea in behalf of his own side.

Evidently the discussions about the points which have divided the opinions of American Methodists, and which have seemed to have different aspects in different latitudes of the country, are not yet at their end; but passing from merely local, temporary, and personal debates, they are now receiving the broader and better consideration that their dignity and importance demands. From the first the Methodists of the South, in sympathy with the aristocratico-barbaric civilization of their region, inclined to favor something of a prelatical character in the episcopacy, and to guard the "prerogatives" of the *magnates* quite as jealously as the "rights and privileges" of *the commons;* while in the North an opposite tendency has been manifest. And out of these fundamentally opposite tendencies has grown up most of the conflicts which have agitated the body — though it is somewhat remarkable that the border States of the South have contributed some of the ablest advocates of the liberal side. The political divergences of the two sections have had their effects upon the prevalent views of their ecclesiastical affairs; and the end of these things is not yet. The thoughtful observer will not fail to see, that, after the similitude of the unborn sons of Rebecca, two nations were in the womb of early American Methodism, and two manners of people have all along contended in its organic structure. The High-Church party has contemplated its ecclesiastical authority as an heir-loom descended from Wesley, and perpetuated by a continuation of the ecclesiastical successors of that great "Apostle." With them, therefore, the episcopacy is possessed of certain inalienable *prerogatives* which cannot be eliminated nor modified except by revolutionary proceedings. This was the attitude of those, chiefly Southerners, who effectually resisted and reversed the will of the majority of the General Conference, in 1820, on the famous "Pre-

siding Elder Question;" and which also, in 1844, gallantly but ineffectually strove to shield the episcopal status, as they viewed it, which they thought they saw invaded in the person of one of its incumbents. The theory of their opponents is, that the American Methodist episcopacy was indigenous to the soil—a sporadic development from the living body of the Church, which (Church) antedates by a score of years the advent of a Methodist Bishop in America. They hold that Coke became a Bishop, not by Wesley's "ordination" and appointment, but by the action of the Conference of 1784, which accepted him in that relation, to which office Asbury was also raised by the election of the Conference, and ordained according to its instructions. Acting upon this idea, the Conference soon afterward effectually repudiated Wesley's authority over them; and a little later, first reduced Coke to the status of an assistant superintendent under Asbury, and at length effectually deposed him without trial or formal complaint against him. The same principles were brought to bear, in 1844, in the case of Bishop Andrew, a proceeding which is fully justified, as to its legality, by that theory as it cannot be by any other. The General Conference of 1884 formally reaffirmed these principles, and vindicated the action of the fathers in 1844, as nothing else could do.

In considering these things "from a Southern point of view," Bishop M'Tyeire presents the "High-Church" side of the questions and controversies of which he writes, as, of course, he has the right to do. The positions held and the claims set forth by the Methodists of the "Church South" are in harmony with their cherished fundamental ideas of Methodist Church polity, and they are entitled to respect for their practical loyalty to their own convictions. But just how the High-Church advocates in Northern Methodism reconcile the action of 1844 with their principles, is a question that we need not answer. If they are theoretically correct, it would seem that the Methodist Episcopal Church owes it to herself, and to the truth of history, to disclaim any sympathy with the action that suspended Bishop Andrew, and as far as possible to reverse that action, with due confession and contrition—all of which, most likely, will NOT be done in the near future.

The view of the progress of Methodism in all lands during the century succeeding Mr. Wesley's earliest Conferences is alike marvelous and cause for devout thanksgiving, all of which Bishop M'Tyeire presents in a graphic and life-like, though

necessarily condensed, sketch, as also others before him have done. But his sketch of the Church South, in both the period of construction immediately after the "Separation," and that of reconstruction after the "War of Secession," are comparatively new matter of history, and the things there stated cannot fail to awaken admiration at the immense resources for recuperation it has displayed. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is to-day no inconsiderable factor in the problem of the moral and religious affairs of the future of the nation; and, while emphatically dissenting from its theoretical ecclesiasticism, we give it a hearty Godspeed in all its evangelistic designs and achievements. And to that work Bishop M'Tyeire's book will prove a valuable auxiliary, and, indeed, it will stand an honor and a boon to "ecumenical" Methodism. Lamenting, as we do, any deficiency of Christian forbearance in the process of division and in the subsequent relations of the two Methodisms—as seen from the present point of view—it seems to be demonstrated that the separation was not only a necessity, but for the best interests of all concerned. The history of Abraham and Lot, and their separation each from the other in the interests of peace, is paralleled in this case; and the causes which called for separation forty years ago remain to this present. But the division is no longer geographical. There are three "nations" in the South, to only one of which, though that is both the most numerous and the most highly cultivated, is the Church South the best qualified to minister; and in order that in all that region the poor shall have the Gospel preached to them, it is needful that a Church based upon other ideas should set up its banners and permanently pitch its tents among them. The division of labor in that field is a recognized fact. Let each one stand in his lot, and then "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim," but each in his own way shall fly upon the shoulders of their spiritual enemies.

Centennial History of American Methodism, inclusive of the Period of its Ecclesiastical Organization and its Subsequent Development under the Superintendency of Francis Asbury. With Sketches of the Character and History of all the Preachers known to have been Members of the Christmas Conference; also, an Appendix, showing the Numerical Position of the Methodist Episcopal Church as compared with the other leading Evangelical Denominations in the Cities of the United States; and the Condition of the Educational Work of the Church. By JOHN ATKINSON, D.D. 12mo. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1884. Price, $2.

The "Centennial" seems likely to serve a valuable purpose in respect to original Methodist history. Heretofore our histories

have consisted chiefly of apologetics and heroics. They were called for by the times. But the time has fully come for truthful and discriminating examinations and presentations of the events and the men of the early days of Methodism, and precisely that thing is here attempted by Dr. Atkinson, and executed with a good share of success. Those "grand old heroes"—ancestors are nearly always heroes—will not suffer by being set in a clear historical light, with all their human traits laid open to inspection. We are glad that Dr. Atkinson, whose patience in research is proverbial, has undertaken and completed such a work.

Teachers and Teaching; or, The Sunday-school Teacher's Teaching Work, and the other Work of the Sunday-school Teacher. By H. CLAY TRUMBULL, D.D., Editor of the "Sunday-School Times," etc. 12mo, pp. 390. Philadelphia: John D. Waters.

Dr. H. Clay Trumbull has the right to speak *ex cathedra* to all Sunday-school workers—for he has not only given his life-long efforts to that work, but has also accustomed himself to carefully note all its phases, and to put into shape, and then into print, the results of his observations. By that process this volume has grown up, much of its matter having before seen the light, chiefly in "The Sunday-School Times," but large portions also in other periodicals. His method combines philosophic discussions of the subject of teaching, especially as called for in the Sunday-school, and specific rules and directions for rendering his own conclusions practically available. As no adequate statement of the contents can be given in the limits at our disposal, we can only commend the book to the attention of our readers, with the conviction that its careful study will be abundantly compensated to all who may use it in the spirit in which it is written.

Hebrew Lessons. A Book for Beginners. By H. G. MITCHELL, Ph.D., Boston University. Small quarto, pp. 68. Boston: Ginn, Heath, & Co.

A knowledge of the Hebrew is a necessary preparation for the critical study of the Old Testament; and as just now the attention of the learned world is especially directed to that part of the Holy Scriptures, that knowledge is more than ever before a prerequisite not only for engaging in the conflicts of the times, but also for intelligently following the discussions which constitute a special feature of the biblical literature of the present age. It is well, therefore, that all possible helps shall be afforded for the acquisition of a mastery of the language of our oldest Scriptures; and we are glad to see just such a work as this of Professor

Mitchell, which seems to be peculiarly adapted to the wants of "beginners." The mechanical execution of the work is all that could be desired.

The Beloved Physician: Walter C. Palmer, M.D., and his Sunlit Journey to the Celestial City. By his Colleague, REV. GEORGE HUGHES. With an Introduction by REV. F. G. HIBBARD, D.D. 12mo, pp. 400. New York: Palmer & Hughes.

Dr. Palmer was for nearly fifty years a somewhat conspicuous figure in New York Methodism, though he seemed always content to accept the second place, while his wife, Mrs. Phœbe Palmer, held the first. The two were joint laborers for the promotion of the "higher Christian life," in which they operated together as true yoke-fellows, and with not inconsiderable success. During the earlier part of their career they encountered some degree of opposition, in respect to both their doctrines and their methods; but not so in their later years. But whether the change was the result of a higher spiritual tone in the Church, or because their own bearing became less belligerent with ripening years—as Etna's fires grow dim at break of day—may be an open question. Certainly the later years of "The Beloved Physician" were strongly marked by a quiet godliness of manner which seemed to encircle his head like an aureola. This volume, which purports to be his memoirs, is meager in properly biographical matter, being largely made up of excerpts from Mrs. Palmer's letters, and miscellaneous extracts from the "Guide to Holiness," of which first she, and then he, was a long time the editor. A very good steel-plate portrait serves as a frontispiece.

The Life of Robert Paine, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. By R. H. RIVERS, Author of "Our Young People," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. W. P. HARRISON, D.D., Book Editor, etc. 12mo. pp. 314 (with a portrait). Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Our Southern brethren seem disposed to write their own history and to commemorate their own heroes, which is well. Of those heroes Bishop Paine was a decidedly good specimen; if not among the most brilliant, yet of solid worth. As is desirable in such a relation, the biographer was an attached friend and admirer of his subject, and the work he has produced is a beautiful tribute to the memory of a good man. The "Introduction," by Dr. Harrison, is a somewhat elaborate essay on the influence of early Methodism on American civilization, with some references to mooted questions in Methodist polity, a subject which is usually viewed from the stand-point of the successful party, and therefore the presentation may be one-sided.

Thomas Carlyle. A History of his Life in London, 1834–1881. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. 12mo, pp. 417. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Mr. Froude is certainly producing a very readable sketch of his great subject, despite any infelicities, supposed or real, of either or both the author and his subject. Without denying or very much palliating Mr. Carlyle's unamiabilities, the writer presents them with their conditions, which in many cases show them in a better light than that in which they have hitherto been seen. A fuller discussion of the qualities and merits of the work is reserved till the publication of the complete set.

Country Cousins: Short Studies in the Natural History of the United States. By ERNEST INGERSOLL, Author of "Friends Worth Knowing," "Knocking Round the Rockies," "The Ice Queen," etc. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 247. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Ingersoll, in the books heretofore issued, has at once made the public his debtor and achieved for himself a valuable reputation as an instructive and pleasing writer, especially on subjects of natural history as the "common people" see such things. In this volume his chosen subjects are not those the most generally favored. They are toads, and dormice, and "birds of the brookside," snakes, oysters, and starfishes, with a glance of Pike's Peak and its native denizens. The young people who have been delighted and instructed by the author's earlier volumes will desire to possess this, and it will not disappoint them.

Manual of Biblical Geography. A Text-Book on Biblical History, especially Prepared for the Use of Students and Teachers of the Bible, and for Sunday-school Instruction, containing Maps, Plans, Review Charts, Colored Diagrams, and Illustrated with Accurate Views of the Principal Cities and Localities known to Bible History. By Rev. J. L. HURLBUT, D.D., Assistant Editor "International Sunday-School Lesson Commentary," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. J. H. VINCENT, D.D., Superintendent of Instruction, Chautauqua. 4to, pp. 158. Chicago: Rand, M'Nally, & Co., The Continental Publishing Company. $4 50 cloth; $3 75 boards.

The very full and accurately descriptive title, given above, of this elegant and really valuable manual renders further description largely unnecessary. For its ability and adaptation, the names of those who prepared it and under whose auspices it is sent forth will prove to any who have not seen it a pledge of its sufficiency; and the confidence so begotten will not suffer under examination. It will, wherever used—and alike to private readers of the Bible and Sunday-school teachers and pupils—prove a pleasant and a highly useful companion.

Hindu Philosophy Popularly Explained: The Orthodox Systems. By RAM CHANDRA BOSE, A.M., of Lucknow, India, Author of "Brahmoism." 12mo, pp. 420. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The author of this work is a somewhat remarkable product of our cosmopolitan age. He is a Hindu of pure blood, early converted to Christianity, and educated at Dr. Duff's college in Calcutta. He has also largely profited in the religions and philosophy of his own country, so that he is able to present inside views of the subjects of which he treats. Such a production is a valuable addition to our stock of information respecting Hindu learning and thought. It is written in good and nervous English, and in a style that cannot fail to be understood.

POLITICS, LAW, AND GENERAL MORALS.

The Liquor Problem in all Ages. By DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D. 8vo, pp. 656. Illustrated. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Dr. Dorchester is great on statistics, and here he has found a broad and fruitful field for the exercise of his genius. In respect to the subject here treated, statistical knowledge is especially valuable, and when given with adequate fullness, such statistics are tremendously eloquent. Of this portly volume, the first "Part," of a hundred and forty pages, is made up of an account of the use of alcoholic stimulants in all ages and nations, and though necessarily brief it is comprehensive. The rest of the book, designated "Part Second," is devoted to the "Temperance Reformation," the record of which the author distributes into three "periods:" "The Inception," 1785–1825; "Organization and Advance," 1826–1860; "Latest Phases," 1860–1884. The field of observation of the whole of this "Part" is our own country, except a brief reference, in the third period, to some recent movements in Great Britain.

The historical statements respecting the first of these periods, that of "Inception," is especially valuable, as showing the incipient movements of a force which has become at length so fully developed and thoroughly organized that its presence is recognized and its efficient action felt or found in all ranks and classes of society. In the history of this period the name of Dr. Benjamin Rush justly occupies the first place, and a significant fact in that great philanthropist's career is that recorded by Rev. Jesse Lee in his account of the Methodist Conference of 1788, held in Philadelphia, that "the celebrated Dr. Rush visited it, and

delivered an earnest and animated address on the use of ardent spirits,... and he besought the Conference to use their influence to stop *the use*, as well as the abuse, of ardent spirits." There was something prophetic in that meeting, when on the one hand physiological and medical science, and evangelical propagandism on the other, met together in the field of Christian philanthropy to set the brand of condemnation upon a vicious practice, and to designate its only effective remedy. The whole temperance reform, as it is now known, was there in embryo. After Dr. Rush came a succession of worthies—Dr. Lyman Beecher, Heman Humphrey, N. S. Prime, Calvin Chapin, Wilbur Fisk, Abbott, Worcester, Channing, still widening into a great multitude, to enumerate which even Dr. Dorchester's marvelous statistical powers are unequal.

Of the period of "Organization," beginning with 1826, we have been a personal observer from the first, and since 1828 a participator, *in minime*.

The founders of these "cold-water societies" of fifty years ago —which were often among the least pretentious gatherings of the people in halls and school-houses, and as appendages to the debating society or the farmers' clubs—were building better than they knew, and their movements were the first symptoms of one of the greatest and most beneficial, because the most needed, moral and social reformations of the age; and like the first stages of all great movements, this was then quite incomplete in its character, and showing very faint intimations as to "whereunto these things would grow." And yet the germs of the whole plant, as it is now developed, with its prophecy and potency for still larger results, were all there; and in that fact lies the essence of its invincibleness and the pledge of its final triumph.

The history of the temperance movement, from its inception downward to the present, is both curious and instructive, well calculated to inspire hope, though in many cases it was very far from being wisely and ably managed. As it has been said of the Church that it must be of God, or it would have been ruined by those who have undertaken to manage its affairs, so the temperance cause evinces its indestructibleness by its survival and growth in spite of the treatment it has received from its friends.

But its outlook is full of hope. Its warfare is by no means nearly accomplished; in fact, it is just beginning in good earnest. There has been a good deal of skirmishing and sporadic uprisings, but the time has come for organized action, with the massing of

its forces, the open declaration of war to the death, and the placing of the array under competent leaders. What has been done need not to be depreciated, for all these stages of its development were necessary, and as they have done their work well and worthily, so now other men and methods must take their places. The Church has steadily advanced its positions, till, as a whole, it is now pretty closely abreast with the reformatory column, and the government, in obedience to the popular will, enforced by the convictions and the conscience of the masses, must take its place as the executioner in this conflict and victory. Our political parties have the alternatives presented, to adopt the prohibition of the liquor traffic among their chief purposes, or to go down under the power of the popular verdict. This may not, probably will not, come all at once, nor till after many partial defeats and partial victories, but the incoming of the tide or the changes of the seasons are scarcely more certain and irresistible than are such moral revolutions.

We are very glad that this book has been written, and we hope it may be very widely circulated and read. Its great practical value is in the fact that it must produce conviction and arouse men's consciences, just the things as to which our popular temperance movements have chiefly failed. But the day of decision has evidently come, and every man must take his place on one or the other side of the temperance question, which means on the better side, *total abstinence for the Individual, and total prohibition for the Government.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

Nature's Serial Story. By EDWARD P. ROE, Author of "Barriers Burned Away," etc. Illustrated by W. Hamilton Gibson and F. Dielman. 8vo, pp. 430. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Those who read serials in the Magazines—we never do—may have become acquainted with this work, as it has appeared in "Harper's" during the current year. Here the numbers are brought together in a really beautiful volume, with the exquisite illustrations that appeared in the monthly—altogether making a superior holiday book.

Mr. Roe is well known as a writer of fiction, and so well have his productions responded to the public demands that his books have had an exceptionally large sale. This one, though written in the form of a fiction, is evidently such only as to its

form and special details. It is a transcript from nature—the country homestead and its occupants, the fields and orchards and meadows, the forests and mountains, the sunshine and rain, the wind and the thunder-storm, the birds and the beasts and creeping things, with the changing skies and seasons. These are wrought into the personal story of a country family of the better class, with the inevitable summer visitant from the city. As a novel, the work is not of a high order, though it has the due amount of love-making; but to the lover of natural objects and scenery, as they appear to all such, with the vicissitudes of the changing year, and especially to one personally familiar with the things that are herein described, as is the writer of this notice, these descriptions possess a genuine charm. As a delineator of these things Mr. Roe is not to be compared with Thoreau or John Burrows; but he delights in nature, and succeeds in imparting some of his enthusiasm to his readers. This is, therefore, a pleasant book to have at hand, to be looked into at leisure times, when it will both please and instruct; and the pictures will bear often-repeated examinations.

Forty-fifth Year-Book of De Pauw University: Containing an Historical Sketch of the Institution; an Outline of the Organization: the Triennial Record of the Alumni; the Course of Study; the Catalogue of Students; and General Miscellany, for the year 1883–84.

After a successful career of nearly half a century, not without some vicissitudes and felt wants, "Indiana Asbury University," chiefly through the liberality of a single individual, advances prospectively to the front rank of Methodist institutions of learning, and with its improved status also adopts the name of its chief patron. Its past career has been honorable, and now its outlook is full of promise. Its year-book, an octavo of 308 pages, presents an almost bewildering array of "schools" and "colleges" and "lectureships" and "departments," with accounts of the provisions made for their maintenance, and the successful prosecution of its work. Its faculty is an able one, with Bishop Bowman for its Chancellor, and Dr. Alexander Martin, who has successfully administered its affairs since 1875, as President and head of its local administration. The outlook of its affairs is exceedingly hopeful.

Shobab: A Tale of Bethesda. (A Poem.) By JAMES A. WHITNEY, LL.D. 16mo, pp. 145. New York: N. Tibbals & Sons.

The versification is good, the style elevated, and the imagery poetical.

Harper and Brothers are issuing, in extra weekly numbers, Stormonth's "Dictionary of the English Language." It will extend to over twenty numbers, which together will make a volume of more than 1,200 pages. The type is good—not large—a fac-simile of the English copy, being made from duplicate plates. It is certainly a valuable work, embodying all that has been so well and ably wrought out in precedent works of its class, especially Webster's. Its *Vocabulary* is comprehensive, the *Pronunciation* is clearly made out, the *Etymologies* full and learned, and the *Definitions* precise and clear and rich. The appendixes now usually found in dictionaries will appear, wholly rewritten, corrected, and greatly enriched.

Indian History for Young Folks. By FRANCIS S. DRAKE. With Numerous Illustrations. 8vo, pp. 479. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Though abounding with valuable information, in common with nearly all the records of affairs between the white men and the native savages of this country, this book is not pleasant reading. The conduct of the whites toward the Indians has usually been characterized by injustice and unscrupulousness, and that of the latter by dishonesty, treachery, and barbarous cruelty. The usual manner of telling this sad story has not been felicitous, for at one time there has been the picturing of the "noble red man," and at another the most sickening stories of savage bloodthirstiness and brutality, though in this volume these features are somewhat softened, perhaps at the expense of historical accuracy. The account here given extends from the earliest advent of Europeans to this continent to the recent past. It is well written, both as to style and the grouping of subjects, and without much of the false sentimentality that is usually found in such writings. It is apparently the story of a doomed race; for in the presence of white men of the Anglo-Saxon race savages of all nations, whether in war or peace, seem to waste away and die out.

Sketches and Rambles in Holland. By GEORGE A. BOUGHTON, A.R.A. With Illustrations by the Author and Edward A. Abbey. 8vo, pp. 142. New York: Harper & Brothers.

These are rollicking "sketches" of very miscellaneous "rambles" in the "Low Countries," and of scenes viewed through artistic eyes, and sketched with a view to the picturesque, with a slight dash of the comical. The narrative and descriptive matter is well done, and very readable, the latter quality being enhanced by the large print and clear white paper. The illustrations are characteristic and somewhat quaint, and very well executed.

Teachings and Counsels. Twenty Baccalaureate Sermons. With a Discourse on President Garfield. By MARK HOPKINS, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 395. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Few men have been better qualified to teach and advise young men than the venerable late President of Williams College; and no doubt the circumstances among which these discourses were delivered called out his full powers; and, now that he has vacated the position which he so long adorned, it is well that his "Baccalaureates" should be preserved in book form. His graduates will prize them; and they will do good wherever read.

Some Literary Recollections. By JAMES PAYN, Author of "A Confidential Agent," etc. 12mo, pp. 205. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Judith Shakespeare: Her Love Affairs and Other Adventures. By WILLIAM BLACK, Author of "A Princess of Thule," etc. 12mo, pp. 391, also 4to, Franklin Square Library. New York: Harper & Brothers.

William Black is perhaps about the ablest of living novelists, and "Judith Shakespeare" will not damage his reputation.

Sonnets and Lyrics. By JAMES A. WHITNEY, LL.D. 16mo, pp. 42.

Love and Mirage; or, The Waiting on an Island. An Out-of-Door Romance. 18mo, pp. 239. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Lesson Commentary on the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1885. By Rev. JOHN H. VINCENT, D.D., and J. L. HURLBUT, D.D. 8vo, pp. 333. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

My Aunt Jeanette. By Mrs. S. M. KIMBALL. Three Illustrations. 18mo, pp. 296. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Berean Question Book for 1885. 18mo, pp. 185.—*The Berean Beginner's Book for* 1885. 18mo, pp. 224.—*The Senior Lesson Book for* 1885. 18mo, pp. 191. New York: Phillips and Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Apostolic Life; as Revealed in the Acts of the Apostles. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple (London). Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 353. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Dr. Parker makes the grand, heroic men of the infant Church move vigorously and life-like before us, and their imperial oppressors he covers with shame and confusion. The various and exciting incidents connected with apostolic times are given with marvelous exhibition of exegetical skill and graphic delineations.

Sir Moses Montefiore. A Centennial Biography. With Selections from Letters and Journals. By LUCIEN WOLF. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 254. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Sir Moses, among all other strange happenings, has the unusual opportunity of knowing what will be said of him when dead; and as Mike said, when gazing at a showy funeral cortege, "Any man might be proud of such a funeral." That such should be the case with a Jew is a remarkable sign of our times.

Harper's Young People (for 1884). The bound volume makes a beautiful as well as valuable annual; and, as it has been a perennial during the current year, by virtue of its weekly visits, so will it be in future years, in its new form. It marks the high level to which juvenile literature has attained.

Left Behind; or, Ten Days a News-Boy. By JAMES OTIS, Author of "Toby Tyler," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 205. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A boy's story—such as boys like to read—of the less exceptional kind of its class.

Fifty Years of London Life. Memoirs of a Man of the World. By EDMUND YATES. 12mo, pp. 444. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A gossipy sketch of personal reminiscences—largely autobiographical—of a London theatrical man. It will be specially interesting to its own class, as it is also not without its value as a picture of the changing phases of the British metropolis for the last half-century.

Biographical Essays. By MAX MULLER, A.M. *Rammohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Dayananda Sarasvati, Bunyiu Nanjio and Kenjiu Kasawara, Mohl, and Kingsley.* 12mo, pp. 282. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

These are some of Max Müller's larger "Chips."

Rhetoric Made Racy; or, Aids to Good English. A Companion Book in the Study of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Composition, for Schools, Reading Circles, Literary Societies, and Self-Culture. By Rev. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, A.M., and H. F. FISK, A.M. 18mo, pp. 283. Chicago: George Sherwood & Co.

"Laughing, to teach the truth."

The People's Church Pulpit. Edited by J. W. HAMILTON (Pastor). 12mo, pp. 326. Boston: People's Church.

Just what relation this book bears to "The People's Church" does not appear, further than that the pastor of that church is its editor, and a sketch of its progress forms an Introduction. The sermons were also preached in the church. They are by Bishop Simpson, Joseph Cook, the Pastor, Revs. Phillips Brooks, J. P. Newman, J. M. Buckley, O. P. Gifford, J. O. Peck, Bishops Foster, Campbell, and Mallalieu, the Pastor, J. H. Vincent, and Dr. Townsend.

Boston Monday Lectures: Occident. With Preludes on Current Events. By JOSEPH COOK. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 12mo, pp. 382.

The annual volume (that for 1884) of the "Boston Monday Lectures" is a little tardy in its coming this year, but it is now in hand. Its form is like its predecessors, and its matter the same that was printed and scattered broadcast over the country during last winter and early spring. But there is much in the volume that will bear re-reading, and in its present form it becomes permanent, and may be widely circulated.

Lost Fairy Tales. By EDOUARD LABOULAYE, Author of "Fairy Book," etc. Authorized Translation by Mary L. Booth. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 382. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Both these stories and the pictures will afford a vast fund of innocent amusement to the young folks. None better since the days of Hans Christian Andersen, or the Grimm Brothers.

Hebrew Introduction; An Elementary Hebrew Grammar and Reading Book. By EDW. C. MITCHELL, D.D. 8vo, pp. 94 and xxxiii. Andover: Warren F. Draper.

A well-prepared and elegantly printed first book in Hebrew, concise, clear, and sufficiently comprehensive.

My Missionary Apprenticeship. By REV. J. M. THOBURN, D.D. 12mo, pp. 386. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

A personal narrative of experiences.

Our Missionary Heroes and Heroines; or, Heroic Deeds Done in Methodist Missionary Fields. By DANIEL WISE, D.D. 12mo, pp. 291. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Miss Tommy. A Mediæval Romance; and In a House-Boat. A Journal. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 253. New York: Harper & Brothers. Cloth, $1; paper, 50 cents.

A quiet, sprightly, and instructive story of a young woman, who neither aspired to be a man nor despised those whom nature had made such. The writer says of her heroine: "She really lived about half a century ago. She was very beautiful and charming; her name was Thomasina, and she was generally called 'Miss Tommy.'" It is one of Mrs. Mulock-Craik's characteristic stories, and that fact is its sufficient recommendation.

The Voyage of the "Vivian" to the North Pole and Beyond. (Adventures of Two Youths in the Open Polar Sea.) By THOMAS W. KNOX, Author of "The Young Nimrods," etc. 8vo, pp. 297.

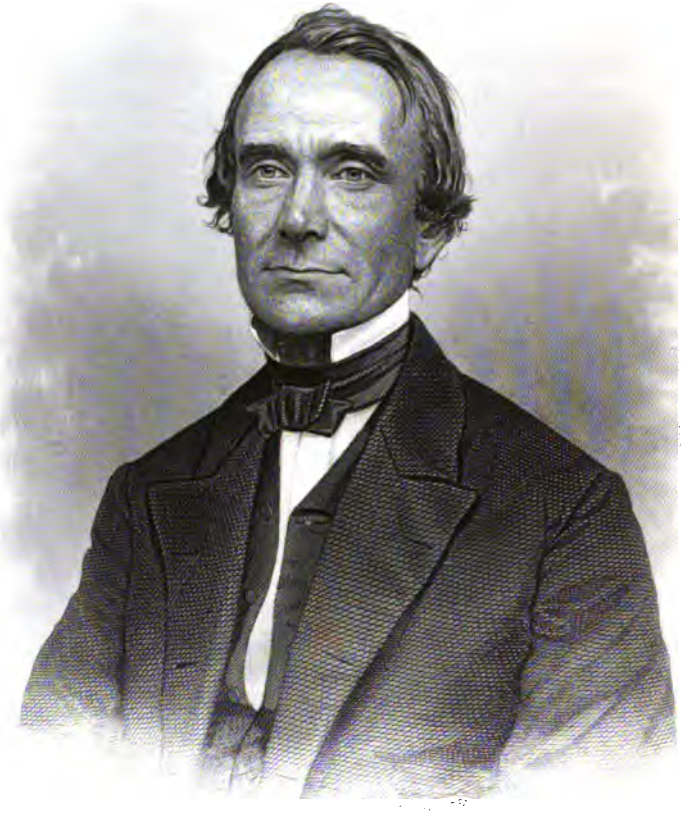
This is Mr. Knox's contribution for the year to the heroics of juvenile romance. It appears quite opportunely, just when the public mind is all awake to arctic matters. The "voyage" is, of course, fictitious, but the facts of which it is built up are chiefly real, and the fictitious matter is generally such as might be real. The boys will like it, and it will teach them much that will be valuable to them.

Universal History. The Oldest Historical Group of Nations and the Greeks. By LEOPOLD VON RANKE. Edited by G. W. PROTHERO, King's College, Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 494. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Only the barest skeleton of history can be given in such a work as this, and, accordingly, the author purposes to relate only the things which belong to the whole race of mankind. A little more than a hundred pages are devoted to the ancient eastern nations, (including the Jews,) and the balance of the volume treats only of the Greeks, with whom profane history really begins.

The Ice Queen. By ERNEST INGERSOLL, Author of "Friends Worth Knowing," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 256. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A sprightly story about boys and girls—for boys and girls.



E. Thomson

ETHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1885.

ART. I.—BISHOP THOMSON

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"BISHOP THOMSON is a man of yesterday," said a prince in Israel to the writer. So is Arnold of Rugby. So the gifted and lovely Switzer, Lavater. So Chrysostom and St. John. Each graced his age, and though of yesterday, he belongs to to-day and to-morrow.

Edward Thomson was called to his place in the middle of the nineteenth century, and fitted to it with singular felicity. We of to-day owe something to his "yesterday." He passed in succession to various places of distinction: Doctor of Medicine, Doctor of Divinity, Doctor of Laws, Bishop—adding luster to each. But as a jewel is a jewel still, no matter what incasings its worth calls round it, so was he superior to scalpel, bema, and miter. The simple name Edward Thomson points to that for which he was most remarkable, *the worth of his own rare nature.*

In person he was under size, never weighing over 125 pounds; so in body, as in mind, there was nothing superfluous. His form, though delicate, was erect and vital. In walking his carriage was elegant, modest, manly. To see him pass up the aisle to the rostrum, meekly as if the humblest of all his brethren, yet erect and grand as if consciously an embassador from heaven, was in itself part of a liberal education. The poise of that perfect head above erect shoulders gave a striking air of symmetry. The head was large, but so filled out and curved in outline as to seem neither round nor unduly long. There were no crags nor crannies for the hiding of over-developed faculties or the brewing of tempestuous passion—a head to

contain what we call genius, but wherein genius must never misbehave itself. Into his fine face were set a pair of sensitive nostrils the play of which was always a little prophetic of the flashes of thought that at times seemed to leap from the entire man. The eye was a bright gray, bordering on blue, sometimes hinting of brown—a vast, deep eye. It held a latent flame, which, when kindled and turned upon any hapless rogue of a student who deserved detection, was like a search-warrant, and when lit in the hour of mental excitement flashed and swept with a far reach, like the eagle's when turned toward the sun. The lines of the mouth, not small nor large, curved into that fine shape suggestive of an eagle's wings, and which is never the gate-way for the utterances of a small soul. His voice was light but fine, and of great flexibility; less a tenor than that of Simpson, less metallic than that of Wendell Phillips, but more musical than either.

When this small man stood before a throng—the more select the more complete his control—sweeping over it the forces of his mighty spirit, men would bow before him as trees in a storm, or rise from their seats by a common impulse,—an event that occurred in several notable instances. Then would his small stature seem transfigured to the towering dimensions of his soul, and he stood ranking with such as Watts, Wesley, Knox, and Paul, his brotherhood of gigantic spirits in petit forms.

Thomson's life was given mainly to his Church, but his nature was larger than a denomination's lines. As Payson was wider than Congregationalism, Edwards than Presbyterianism, Stanley than English Churchism, so Thomson's nature reached the communion of saints and the brotherhood of man. He died fourteen years ago. A singular tardiness has held the pen of the biographer, an unaccountable silence has hung over his tomb. Meager, indeed, are the records of his worth. The great Cyclopedia bearing the name of his illustrious compeer M'Clintock devotes to him but a very brief space, scarcely worthy the fame of many an exhorter! Does it not reflect upon the men he educated and the Church he ornamented that this silence has hung over his name and the riches of his unpublished writings more than a dozen years? Perhaps a timid sense of inadequacy for so rare a task has held others back, as the writer has found himself held from even this humble attempt. Men

are slow to undertake the embodiment of ideals too fine to be cut in marble or thrown on canvas, and when partially delineated, too rare to be seen by a world too distant or dim-eyed to catch the vision. Those who knew Thomson best are sure he cannot be reported.

Years ago Judge Nott, now of Colorado, said to the writer:

Why not prepare a lecture for the inspiration of young men, on Edward Thomson? I saw him but once: he came to M'Kendree College to lecture on Hugh Latimer. He also talked to us in chapel. As a boy I was strangely overcome. He *was to me a new sort of man.*

This furnished the germ. Afterward Dr. Whedon wrote me:

I am glad to know you are doing something to honor the memory of our late beloved Bishop Thomson. The lovely spirit and brilliant genius of that memorable man should be kept fresh in the memory of the Church.

Rev. Mr. Daniels says, in his "History of Methodism:"

There were doubtless weak places in him, since he was a mortal man; but neither his pupils, his parishioners, nor his subordinates in the ministry seem to have been able to discover them.

Dr. Townsend, of Boston Theological Seminary, writes me:

I regard him as one of the purest minds in the history of the Church, and one of its strongest and clearest thinkers. For loftiness and clearness of conception, and for purity and simplicity of expression, Bishop Thomson has had no superior, if equal, in the Methodist Connection.

A deliberate statement from very high authority.

Dr. Warren, president of the same University, also writes, in a private letter concerning a course of lectures:

In those days Boston was favored with an unusual number of lecture courses on moral and religious subjects, but it would be hard to instance a single one which, in combined sweetness and strength, in force of argument and in beauty, clearness, and pregnancy of style, could be considered the equal of Bishop Thomson's. A memorial of his life, character, and work should long ago have been given to the world.

President Eliot, of Harvard, having attended those lectures, remarked that he "knew of no man who used the English language more faultlessly than Bishop Thomson." A notable concession from one so little in sympathy with the trend of the lectures.

William Morley Punshon, with his power to penetrate character and his genius for lofty and accurate utterances, in eulogy on our dead before the General Conference of 1872, exclaimed:

> Thomson, the Chrysostom of your Church, of golden speech and golden value; whose large, child-like spirit could not harbor a thought of guile, and who seemed ever as if detained on earth by slight and trembling tendrils!

Carlyle says, in sarcasm on fashionable biography: "Your true hero must have no features, but must be a white, stainless, impersonal ghost-hero." Then adds, of true biography: "They that crowd about bonfires may get their beards singed. It is the price of illumination." Alas for Carlyle's beard at Froude's bonfire, made of private letters from the garret!

We might shrink from illuminating Edward Thomson with pine knots, whose smoke makes shadows, but in the presence of these, among the very head-lights of the times, there is no risk to him. Turn on the electric light! Bring your solar microscope! The stronger the light the better shows the man. Few places in the world furnish a severer ordeal than the keen intellects and moral sensitiveness of such literary centers as Delaware. But nowhere else would we more gladly challenge admiration than where he spent fourteen years of splendid, transparent life.

But he was early appreciated outside of Ohio. In his 26th year he was pastor in Detroit. One describing his ministry says:

> He drew many of the most influential families, and among them Governor Cass. The audience was frequently entranced by the magic of that indefinable power we call eloquence, and in a few instances they were lifted quite beyond the regions of sense, and with them the speaker was carried by an uncontrollable inspiration out of himself, and seemed only the passive instrument through which a higher—a divine—power was pouring words and thoughts and feelings and bursts of electric sympathies, till speaker and audience together, spell-bound in each other's embrace, seemed sweeping upward to the highest heavens.

On one occasion, during a temperance agitation, when the debates of the Legislature were carried round among the churches of Detroit, and both sides were publicly advocated, Thomson was speaking. Unexpectedly the whole audience rose to their feet.

Nor did this popularity make him vain, though so young. Once in that city his heart sank, and, like Moses and Elijah before him, he desired to abandon his work. That is usually an indifferent life in which there is no juniper-tree. There are not to such many Horebs, parting Jordans, and chariots of fire. Thomson was on his way to give up the key and go home. At the sexton's door he overheard the voice of prayer. It was a plea for the young pastor. His heart smote him. He cried, "God forgive me for shrinking while thy servant so pleads!" He abandoned his purpose. Blessed be the Aarons and Hurs of the belfry!

Michigan offered him her highest honor. When founding her University, which has won high rank at Heidelberg and Oxford, she called Edward Thomson to its presidency. But fortunately for Methodism he was already inaugurated at Delaware, and preferred his own Church and his conscience, with half the salary, to the honor of presiding at Ann Arbor.

If Gotham, on Manhattan Island, with her "bosses" and ships, had too much dust in her eyes to see this pure spirit, though for years amid her din; if Baltimore, with her tobacco and oysters, was slow to hear the eloquence of this rare orator; if Chicago, with her pork and emigrant trains, did seem scarcely competent to recognize this son of light—so Jerusalem, with her priests and Pharisees—so Rome, with her Cesars, gladiators, and bacchanals—received not him who had been caught up to Paradise, and there heard words that it was not possible for a man to utter.

Edward Thomson was born on the Isle of Man, Oct. 10, 1810. He spent the first nine years of life in that pent-up island a sickly child. The family emigrated to the wonderful "West," of which the little boy was forming visions as he hung on his father's chair-back, listening to the reports and growing schemes of the household. On the voyage the ship was run down by a pirate and overhauled. The Thomsons might have walked the plank, and so, missing the American, reached too soon the eternal, shore. But the pirate captain finding among the captured crew a brother, and "blood being thicker than water," it floated them on to America and to us. They settled at Wooster, Ohio, and were thus unconsciously preparing the richest endowment ever made to the Ohio Wesleyan University.

His first ten years in the New World were spent partly in the limited school advantages about him, and then in the medical department of the University of Pennsylania. He then spent a year as physician in Jeromeville, Ohio; six years in the itinerant ministry; six years principal of Norwalk Seminary, Ohio; two years editor of "Ladies' Repository," where he challenged attention even outside his denomination as a writer of rare force and beauty; fourteen years (from 1846 to 1860) as president of Ohio Wesleyan University—years to him of life's greatest harmony and power, and from which there was but one way to move higher, and that was heavenward; four years (from 1860 to 1864) editor of "The Christian Advocate," a sphere he ornamented but never enjoyed. The misunderstandings and strifes of the impending rebellion drew upon him for what he possessed in almost limitless measure—the love of a John and the courage of a Paul.

Elected Bishop on the first ballot in 1864, he began his closing career by going as first of his colleagues round the world, to look with his seer-like eyes upon the great parish of John Wesley. Though sick and sad, he gave two volumes of wonderful grasp, and fairly prophetic in their pictures of the future. They were left cruder in form than was his wont, but it was because he was wearying for his long rest, in which he laid him down at Wheeling, in March, 1870. His age was 60 when, with such a constellation as Kingsley, Clark, M'Clintock, at nearly the same time, he left our sky for the upper heavens.

Who then was Edward Thomson? By what measures shall we estimate him? He died a Bishop in the most numerous Church communion on earth. But above that was his fitness for the scepter of intellectual leadership as a quickening educator; and above that still, and outside of all functional views, was the rarity of his nature.

Entering more within his nature, the first quality arresting attention was his *guileless purity, very child-like*, a quality often associated with greatness. To say he was saintly does not well describe him. That savors of the sacerdotal; of this Thomson had none. He has been compared to Fletcher of Madeley. But Fletcher was mystical; Thomson was not. Nothing of cell or cowl for him. His was an ear for the world's harmonies, an eye for its lights, a hand for its strifes.

His heart beat with the pulse of the age. His the broad earth and wide heaven. His soul plumed itself on the heights, and spread its wings into the boundless. *But those wings were white.*

This purity was the hiding of his power, reaching farther than he knew. When traveling in Switzerland with a friend to whom he had become greatly attached in travel, they discussed the feasibility of visiting Chamouni and seeing Mont Blanc. Whose eyes could have so feasted on that heart of Swiss scenery, or so wondered at that great white throne of grandeur, as could his? But to do so, complete his business plans, and reach Paris and the sea, he must travel on Sunday. He decided to miss Chamouni. His friend saw Mont Blanc, but never saw his home. He traveled on Sunday, reached the ship, and the ship reached the bottom of the Atlantic. Thomson missed the sight and the ship and the depth, but held his grasp on his young men. The lesson of that tender conscience followed, and fell on the thrilled hearts of four hundred of them in burning words from the lips of Professor M'Cabe. It had gathered momentum by its birth amid the distant Swiss mountains and the leagues of intervening ocean.

This pervading purity of nature, hid nowhere, is under focal rays when surrounded by pupils with penetrating young eyes. Every teacher is weighed in accurate balances, and the false character is as sure of detection as was Belshazzar. Pureness reaches farther than precepts, rules, laws, or faculty votes.

Edward Thomson could be a fine detective. That small frame, carrying round its apparently abstracted soul, was more effective than a sheriff's posse. Woe betide the student in a trial of wits! But his government made little show of its presence. It was *felt*, but scarcely seen. He could reach the hidden in character and the nameless in conduct. He spoke on secret vice, and with word and look and gesture would tear aside the veil, and guilt would shudder as if some angel of light were present. His eye one day caught sight of a vile sentence written where innocent eyes might read and be contaminated. He rebuked it openly with a sarcasm and recoil of abhorrence that curled on his lips, and flamed from his eye so terribly as to bring blushes to innocent cheeks, and must have scared the culprit into longing for a hiding place.

He could stand before his mixed audiences on Sunday, com-

posed of the refinement of college and city, and preach on Jezebel, or the perils of her door, which is hell's mouth, with no more taint of indelicacy than was in the rebuke of Him who sent away all accusers by writing on the ground and giving permission to the guiltless to cast the first stone. In a public rebuke of disorderly conduct he has been known to so lay bare the conscience as to bring tears of repentance, to be followed by real reformation. He could and did quell a rebellion in one flash of a brilliant, witty, overmastering sentence. A daring student was publicly expelled. He was a hero and a leader, and the university young. As he retired from the sentence there was a burst of applause. Next morning the president said: "There is doubt whether the applause was for the verdict or the offender. If for the latter, rise up; if the former, remain seated." By that time they were cool, and remained seated in approval of the verdict.

A circus was coming. Instead of advertising it by a warning, he simply said, in a casual way: "They who attend circuses are either green or depraved." My seat-mate winced under the points of both horns of the dilemma, and was finally gored by the latter.

A depredation on the bell had been perpetrated, the rogue leaving his pocket-knife on the scene. The doctor simply alluded to it, and said: "The knife is here; the owner can come forward and claim it." Tantalizing clew! what if it should let out the secret!

These merry traits show that his purity was not frigid. It did not repel the warm heart of youth. He knew what is in man when struck by Cupid's arrow—a crisis when most educators are powerless, if not indifferent. Even parents abandon their children to youth's heated fancy, or the crude if not vicious leadership of writers of romance.

I hate the name of "college widow," relict of unguided folly, or heartless recklessness and cruelty. Percival's lines are not inapt in college towns:

> "I saw on a lonely mountain height
> A gem that shone like fire by night;
> I climbed the peak, and found it soon
> A lump of ice in the clear, cold moon.
> Wouldst thou its hidden sense impart?—
> 'Twas a cheerful look and a broken heart."

Many a witty, wise maxim fell from his lips, showing that he was an elder brother.

Call seldom at the seminary. Paul says, "Let your moderation be known to all men," and, let us add, women, too.

Beware of the grace-hoop [a game then in vogue], lest it fall about your neck. The freshman's beloved is often the senior's despised.

In those days, writing from Europe, he analyzed the nations on this basis:

I wish advice, . . . a serious matter—getting married. Is it best? . . . Nobody in particular. . . . Marrying in the abstract. That is *young Germany.*

No use to deny me or run from me—where you go I will go, where you stop I will stop, . . . where you die I will die, where you are buried I will be buried.—*Young Ireland.*

Zounds! I love her, and I will have her if I have to swim the river for her.—*Young America.*

Worth three thousand one hundred and twenty-seven pounds six shillings and fourpence halfpenny, which, under the circumstances, is not quite sufficient.—*Young England.*

When young people read such from his pen, and heard him embellish his lectures with such sentiment as the "Irishman's Lament,"

"I'm sitting on the stile, Mary,
Where we sat side by side,
'Mid the bright May morn
And the springing corn,
When first you were my bride,"

they welcomed him into the holy of holies of their hearts, as a mitered priest, wise, reverent, and stainless.

This purity of character had a delicacy of grain which was natural, but its renewal and completion *was the fruit of the Spirit.* Ere he was twenty he was a member of a skeptical club which undertook to traverse and disprove Christianity. Thomson grew serious in the appalling work, as candid skeptics do. Unrest led him to the village prayer-meeting, reminding us of the little groups where young Nast was led to light, where Wesley's heart was "strangely warmed," and where tent-makers turned the learned Apollos into an apostle. The preaching of Russel Bigelow, whom he afterward declared filled the same place in the Western pulpit as Henry Clay filled on the political stump, took mighty hold on his whole nature.

His awakening culminated in a suggestive manner. Even the greatest men are converted through the heart. Cowper was convinced of sin by stumbling over an exhumed skull in Westminster yard. Martin Luther was shaken with conviction by bereavement, sickness, and lightning. Wiclif's conversion was hastened by the plague's approach. Thomson, alone in his office, saw a friend instantly killed by a falling beam of timber. He fell on his knees. God gave him a new heart. His conversion was so thorough as to sweep the scent of tobacco from his breath and tainted speech from his lips. The Holy Spirit led him into the ministry, using largely the advice of his pastor, the talented but eccentric Harry O. Sheldon. Here is his own description of its beginnings:

> I made my trial of the itinerancy, accompanying the preacher on one side of the circuit, and the assistant on the other. It was spring-time, and never did dew-drops seem so pure or dawn so holy. Here I first learned to study the Bible by the rising sun, and kneel alone in the solemn forest under his setting beams. Sweet counsel did we take by the road-side and at the hearthstone, to where a generous hospitality made every comfort free as the mountain spring.
>
> Going with moistened eyes from the thicket, our hearts often cheered us, as when we approached the cabin or school-house or the barn we heard the waiting congregation singing,
>
> "Jesus, my all, to heaven is gone."
>
> Entering, saddlebags in hand, we often felt a new commission as we drew forth the pocket Bible and preached the unsearchable riches of Christ on puncheon floors or on the green grass, while the sinner cried as his heart was touched, the penitent rose happy as the bird when it follows the sunbeam over the hills after the morning shower, and the saints made the forests, as they retired to their homes, ring with halleluiahs.
>
> But I saw afterward its shades as well as its lights—sometimes kindly received, sometimes bluntly; now shivering through the night, now nearly smothered between two feather-beds; now sinking to quiet slumbers in the rich man's down, now stung through the night by mosquitoes in the poor man's milk-house. I received seventy-five dollars for my first year's labor, and shortly after gave fifty dollars to the first Methodist seminary in Ohio.

Here he touches his greatest life-work. His coming, how timely! The great Republic, now numbering fifty millions, was then educationally crude. The few who had brought collegiate traditions from Europe had passed away from the West.

Harvard and Yale were too remote to attract the sons of our log-cabins. The ax and the plow were awaking the soil. The stage-coach and canal were beginning to carry a dawning commerce. Our sturdy Methodism cared little for education while the forest was in the way. There was great danger of a stolid, stupid, or avaricious nation; danger of a Church unarmed for the intellectual strifes floating from Europe, and the hordes of heathenism certain to come as a cloud from across the Pacific, or the unbelief sure to spring up in our midst.

At the critical time came Edward Thomson, prepared, none can tell how, but endowed and fairly inspired to fill this divine call. His inaugural address at the opening of the Ohio Wesleyan University thrilled along the lines of the Church as a bugle-blast. It found, as many can still testify, hundreds of youth ambitious but aimless. Henceforth there were before them new worlds to conquer. There is something in its pictures, and chiefly in that of the graduation of the widow's son, irresistible to any with a spark of true enthusiasm. That lecture will vie with the glorious spring on the campus in value as a cause of existence of the University. Whoever finds a youth aimless, but of good parts, can hardly find a better way to start him up a shining track than to induce him to read that, or any other of Thomson's Educational Essays.

He displayed a genius for scholarship. It is said he could, without apparent preparation, conduct a recitation at a moment's notice in any department. But his chief power was in stirring the mind as a lecturer. He could infix a philosophy for life by a paragraph. He would reverse the soul's course by a sentence of comment, a mode of reading the chapel lesson, or his beautiful and heavenward prayers. His preaching was logical and lucid. The judgment was satisfied. But conviction was wrought by his personality, which winnowed the conscience and made visible the impassable gulf. Unconsciously he has described himself in one of his lectures, in a passage more than once quoted, even without credit, by famous men.

> The Christian rises side by side with the philosopher into the starry heavens. They tread foot to foot the zodiac round. Together their souls expand and burn, and wonder and adore; and here the Christian bows to his learned companion and leaves him

in the milky way, and on the wings of faith ascends to the upper skies, enters the paradise of God, soars through fields of light, and surveys the mansions of the blest. He mingles with the blood-washed throng, and repeats their halleluiahs. He bows at the altars where saints perfected worship, and enters the chapels where angels sing. He soars to the heaven of heavens, sees God the Father, Jesus his Son, and God the Holy Spirit; and, lifting his eyes upward, he cries, This is thy throne, dear Father, and these are my native skies.

A citizen of the world and a brother of mankind, nothing good or true in the race was foreign to him. His own description of a visit to Westminster Abbey affords an illustration. While moving amid its statuary and grandeur, the bell called to worship. He sat down on one of the plain forms. One would imagine, from his having grown amid the simplicity of western Methodism, that he was out of sympathy with his surroundings; but his soul was too great for that. He says:

> The gorgeous building, the solemn associations, the monuments of the dead, the multitude of the living, the chanting of the choir, the notes of the organ, the grand current of liturgical thought, on which my soul was willingly borne, were too much for me. I seemed to sit in the mouth of the world's sepulcher, while the reanimated dead were chanting themselves up to the resurrection morning. The tears stole down my cheeks, and but for a strong effort of will I might have fainted.

Who that has ever felt the solemn stillness and grandeur of that Valhalla of England's greatness, and then sought amid the best utterances of her most gifted sons for adequate descriptions, has ever found a sentence so deep in feeling and so comprehensive of grasp as this, from the small, humble, western minister? I know of none. Yet it was but a passage for a newspaper letter. So, too, was his description of that cosmopolitan wonder and symbol of England's greatness, the British Museum; while his "London Tower" surpasses in historic grasp and rhythm of diction that of Macaulay. Read his "Tunnel of the Thames," or his "Tomb of the Taj," and he will astound you with strange nomenclature, overwhelm you with mathematics, startle you with their significance, and charm you with his simple rhetoric, while the wonder is how this small, abstract man, partly deaf, whose overcoat the thief would steal, and who often lost his railway ticket, could find out what old travelers never knew.

This breadth of nature included the extremes of humanity. Peter Cartwright was as distant from Edward Thomson as men can be to belong to the kingdom of heaven together. But when the fiftieth anniversary of Cartwright's ministry came round, Thomson was his admired guest, and no words spoken there were so adequate as a tribute to that sturdy son of thunder as were his. It was like lightning playing about a granite peak. Himself has said:

> Dean Swift declares: "I hate mankind, though I love a few individuals, as Peter, James, and John." Pope replied: "I love human nature, but hate individuals." Warburton: "We must have grace not to hate both." We have no sympathy with such philosophers, but admitting all mankind to a participation in our blessings, we learn to respect and love all; as General Taylor says, "The world and the *rest of mankind.*"

Though so broad in sympathy, he was not too vague to be a *patriot*, a quality ever impressed upon his students. In his times the Supervisor was wont to come with his summons to students' rooms, warning them to work out their road-tax—it was difficult to decide whether in earnest or in jest; but the students mostly took the latter view. The president's appeal to young patriotism, on one occasion, made it dreadfully uncomfortable, and—tell it not in Gath—some actually shouldered the mattock and the spade.

It may relieve us from the ceaseless strain of eulogy to turn to the single case found against him in all our researches. In the old Minutes of the Michigan Conference is the following record:

> *Tiffin, Ohio,* Sept. 11, 1838.— *Whereas,* There has been, and still is, much excitement in the Methodist Episcopal Church on the subject of abolitionism; and, *whereas,* we believe such excitement is prejudicial to the interests of the Church; therefore, *Resolved,* That it is the duty of the members of this Conference to refrain from agitating the subject by forming abolition societies in or out of the Church, or by attending Methodist abolition conventions. . . . And preachers who do should be dealt with accordingly. Signed, HENRY COLCLAZER,
> E. THOMSON.

Bishop Waugh was in the chair. E. Thomson was Secretary. This record was, at first, astounding, and contrasts strangely with the assertion in College Chapel, in after years, that he would not obey the fugitive slave law, but suffer its

sorest penalty whenever summoned; and with his almost superhuman arraignment before the General Conference and elsewhere of this "sum of all villainies."

This record recalls other facts. Wiclif was at the start an incipient monk. John Knox began as a priest. John Wesley narrowly escaped asceticism. Edward Thomson was a conservative. The best minds are conservative toward men when most radical concerning right. The agitator is often the gentlest of men personally, and the grip of iron has a womanly tenderness. The Druids' rock stood against a hundred men, but rocked at a child's touch.

The days of that minute were days of confusion. (Another is found there against ministers swapping horses.) Two ideas were intertwined. They separated, parted, and met at last at Appomattox at opposite ends of a sword surrendered over a "lost cause"—a cause turned under by the plowshare of war.

Thomson had a filial heart. "Lay me down," said he, "when I die, where I may see my mother's face." Once that mother came down to Delaware, and the "Immortal Doctor" could be seen with her leaning on his arm, bearing her proudly about the campus as if that plain, good woman were a queen. No doubt many a toiling mother was happier the next vacation and through life for that example in the ideal man. Garfield's lips touched his mother's brow on inauguration day, and it was heard the world round. When our college president made glad his mother's heart before the sons, it set the widow's heart in tune for a generation.

His fondness for home, wife, and children was tender, delicate, and charming. A wood-saw was glorified in my eyes after seeing one in his hands driven through a billet of oak. Grief has never appeared unmanly in the light of his example. Four of his students carried as tenderly as could be the dust of his first-born to rest. Dr. Greeley, the pastor, with Irish brogue and delicate tact, quoted the language of Otway Curry, friend and companion spirit of Thomson, of whom he wrote an appreciative memento:

> "When through the nameless ages
> I cast my longing eyes,
> Before me, like a boundless sea,
> The great hereafter lies."

This re-appears in one of his volumes, thus:

Time may allay your feelings, but you will go in the bitterness of your soul all your years; and when your dying eye is closed, you will open your mental eye in the eternal world and say, "O, my daughter, where art thou?"

When leaving his home in Evanston on his last journey, he returned a distance of a hundred miles. For this his only explanation was, that he might get a better good-bye. It reminds us of Bishop Gilbert Haven, whose great heart, consumed with longings in the heat of battle, said: "When I go to heaven I will lay my head to rest in my wife's lap for a thousand years."

He had a merry heart. His wit and humor were as sparkling as his oratory was brilliant. When abroad to purchase a library for the University, it was at a time when Americans were less known and more often snubbed than now, especially by Englishmen. One of them questioned our having any mineral resources. Thomson replied:

"We have a mine called the Illinois Coal-bed, running through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. We shall scoop out a little, and if you will bring your island over and put it in, so annex you."

"You have but little machinery?"

"*Machinery?* We have all you have, and one which is run by force of circumstances."

"What is that?"

"One such machine is now talking to you."

"You have no nobility in America."

Thomson drew up his five feet five of slight manhood to its full height, and with his profoundest bow, replied:

"You are now conversing with one of the royal family of the United States of America."

This readiness became at times a terrible weapon. Woe betide the college rebel whom it smote! Like as the stroke of the blade of fable, off came his head, he knew not how.

He was no jocular monopolist. He relished the wit of others, and it took its place in his mental store-house, ready for orders. With keenest zest he reported the Irishman's retort, who was showing him the skull of Saint Peter. Having seen one in Rome, he asked Mike to explain the difference in size. "O, your riverence, this is his skull when but a boy."

He could laugh at himself, and on account of his frequent abstraction was sometimes a fine subject. It is said, that on leaving the recitation room he has been known to put his hat under his arm and his book on his head. I saw him at my fireside ready to go and deliver his great Centennial Sermon. One foot was dressed in a stocking and shoe, the other with only the shoe, and low cut at that. But for his wife, our angel had gone half barefoot that day. It is said his wife, taking his arm to return from church, was assured that her "face was familiar, but he could not recall her name."

His abstractions were never vexatious. His politeness was genuine and perennial. You forgave him though he failed to recognize you, because certain he meant no disrespect. So universal was his politeness, that it was a college saying that he bade the cows each a polite good-morning as he passed them in the street.

His nature was magnetic. This was "personal," but of an order higher and wider than usually belongs to that quality. Napoleon never imbued men with his military heroism more fully than Thomson transfused his magnetic intellectual and moral qualities into young men. It was well-nigh universal and irresistible. In "anti-Nebraska" days, the clergy of New England petitioned Congress against the encroachment of slavery. Thomson seized the occasion to give a Sunday lecture on "The Pulpit and Politics." The students called for it in pamphlet form. The "Ohio Statesman," published at Columbus, made a fierce attack on the lecture and its author. Two literary societies had invited the editor, S. S. Cox, to deliver the address before them at the approaching Commencement. The attack aroused them. After two sessions, lasting till midnight, they rescinded the invitation. The eloquent and adroit Cox would have found it dangerous to touch the man of whom, in those heated sessions, an alumnus who came in to share the strife, said: "We will never brook the slightest affront to that man, who is as meek as Moses and as eloquent as Paul."

He belonged to an order of educators who come seldom, such as Arnold of Rugby, Wilbur Fisk, Mark Hopkins, but he was more brilliant and magnetic than any. Garfield said, "Give me a bench. Let Dr. Hopkins sit on one end and me on the

other, and I ask for no better university." Such was Thomson without the bench, for the bench would come to him, and the students crowd it. It was a rare faculty round him in those brave days of old,—smaller and less equipped than now, but harmonious and compact as a chariot-wheel,—in its unity furnishing by far the best factor of a college; aggregating a magnificent combination of ideal manhood. As its head, he was leader of an intellectual host. We should never have sacrificed him until our educational Israel had learned in him to discriminate between a college *drummer* and a college *president.*

By reason of splendid management since his time, the Ohio Wesleyan University is not hard to find. But as men long inquired, not so much for Williams as Hopkins, not for Yale but Woolsey, and now Princeton is better seen by the towering head of M'Cosh, so, had his life been spent here, must this intellectual Mecca have been called after Thomson.

Men come in corps. In Florence, came together Ghirlandajo, Leonardo, and Michael Angelo. In England, came near together Milton, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Addison, Butler. In Germany, Kant, Lessing, Neander, Goethe, Schiller. In the same age and rank Coleridge, Campbell, Carlyle, Cuvier, Legendre, Laplace. Was it not God's design to give a corps of kindred minds to Thomson's times? Is there no Rachel's voice "weeping for her children *because they are not?*"

Is there no exaggeration of the importance of our episcopal miter? Have we not used it again and again, as the French use the guillotine, to behead colleges? Let us hope the folly so conspicuous in Thomson's case may sober us into harmony not only with the new "rubric," but the whole genius of our Church. Bishop timber is abundant. Trees for such college presidents grow one or two in a century.

Edward Thomson was a brilliant ornament to the episcopacy in some of its best functions. His heroism was Pauline. His prudence cared for every interest but his own. But his Oriental tour killed him. While on the Indian Ocean he inhaled the infected air of an opium vessel. Before that, while on the Red Sea—he related it with pathetic humor—he made up his mind to "join Pharoah and his host." The two volumes written from his journal kept on that tour have an undertone of sad weariness. When he reaches Dr. Maclay's

home in China, it is, as he says, "weary, wan, and ghost-like, twenty thousand miles from home." He "leans his head against the wall, and silent tears steal down his wan cheeks."

Too ill to see the Holy Land, he "sails by the shore with unspeakable sorrow." At Constantinople he can only "look from his sick pillow at its minarets," though even then he pens lines which forecast the future of Europe, and the fate of the false faiths of the East. True, he came home again, while the sturdy Kingsley laid him down to sleep at Lebanon's base, and Haven, with all his ruddy bloom, fell at last of African fever. Yet Thomson only occasionally burst into the blaze of his former splendors. The "iron wheel" was too much for his texture, as it threw him round a circuit that year of forty thousand miles, he meanwhile attempting to regulate its power, so affecting to itinerant families and churches, for all of whom he suffered much, vicariously. It was too ponderous for his fine nature. It was like an angel at a drive-wheel. God gives us men to whose touch it answers with mighty rhythm. But reverence did not check Ezekiel's cry when he saw the wheel of vision. As we look on Thomson, and then on what racked him, we too can but cry, "O, wheel!" When he died, there seemed a tone of self-reproach in the sorrow of the Church. It was fit there should be heart-searching. All felt the force of that fine lament of one of his successors, when he cried, "We ne'er shall see his like again!"

We here touch the inscrutable. His powers may find better play in the unseen world than here; but heaven is rich, and earth would seem to be too poor to rob herself so soon.

As author, his career was more largely potential than actual. A cutting shows the grain of a gem. Pollok's "Course of Time," Kirk White's "Star of Bethlehem," Thomson's "Close Thought," are such cuttings. What if his life had not been deflected from its course till now! Addison nor Irving ever wrote a purer English, and both with less force and fire. Count the monosyllables in one of his pages, and it is doubtful if you will find so many on any other outside the New Testament. Why are his essays not more in the hands of our youth? Is it because they bear our denominational imprint? It is something that duplicate copies of his writings must be kept in the library of the Ohio Wesleyan University to supply the demand

of readers, and that they must be oftener rebound than any other volumes in the collection.

He had great versatility. He delivered two lectures before the California Conference some years ago. Men who had lived for a dozen years on the Pacific slope were amazed at the wonders of their country never before thought of. The attention of scholars and civil officers was arrested by their accuracy. How he prepared them, no one knew; the only account his wife could give was, that "they were composed while riding over the plains and mountains in the stage-coach."

At Constantinople, too ill to go ashore, he wrote a chapter, ten years in advance, depicting the outcome as it occurred at the Berlin Congress under the dictation of Bismarck and Disraeli.

There are no so-called poems from his pen. But the blood of the English poet Thomson ran in his veins, and diffused a poetic fire through his prose. A friend watched by his bed during a fever. One night he dreamed of controversy with an angel, who arraigned our race for meanness. Thomson, as spokesman, answered in verse, some of which he repeated when awake. One stanza ran thus:

> "I am too an angel made,
> And round this head a sphere is laid
> Which is not less than heaven."

There is no *volume* from him on *systematic divinity*, unless there be among his unpublished writings. But his lectures on "Evidences" show that he had power to answer *skepticism* and to *fascinate* into faith with his subtle reason and clear diction. He never wrote out an elaborate argument after the manner of "Butler's Analogy." But the boys often longed for a "translation of Butler by Thomson." Had he turned his hand to such work as a "History of Rationalism," so charmingly accomplished by another mitered college head, he could have made that track blaze. Had he entered the field where Raymond has gone shining through, or where Cocker's stalwart form has marched, there too he could have excelled. His intellect was at home with such minds as Kant, Sir William Hamilton, and Plato. They did not go beyond his depth nor above his flight. And if there be any finer quality to such minds as Emerson, Carlyle, and Goethe, he could look them in the eye even

measure, for rather to that rank was he born. At times the trend of his thought, the far sweep of his vision, and the track of light on which he leaves our lower heavens, suggest the question, which of the prophets had he been if he had lived in Bible times—Elijah, Paul, or John?

When fifty years of age he was called from his presidency, and his studies amid academic scenes, to sit four years on a tripod, like an angel tending a spit. Six years more he went round with the great "wheel." Fifty and four and six are sixty. Then he left us for the upper skies fourteen years ago.

It is four and thirty years since the current of his life was turned. His associates in the faculty are all still alive. The world is growing richer from their ripened wisdom. What if Thomson had been here to fulfill the promise of his early years during this quarter century? Within that time of life most great men do their best for the world. Before his great career began, the Duke of Marlborough had come to an age when most men retire. But that finished the dread of the French armies and of Louis XIV. at Blenheim. Von Moltke went into Paris to see the final downfall of the Napoleons behind a white beard. Michael Angelo spanned St. Peter's with its heaven-like dome after his eightieth year. Within the same last stage of life Asbury, Wesley, Humboldt, Herschel, Grotius, Dorner, Neander, Bryant, Emerson, and Longfellow have given their golden harvest to the world. The last named, with genius enriched by years, has well sung:

> "Nothing is too late
> Till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate.
> Cato learned Greek at eighty,
> Sophocles wrote his grand Œdipus,
> And Simonides bore off the prize of verse from his compeers,
> When each had numbered more than fourscore years.
> And Theophrastes at fourscore and ten
> Had but begun his characters of men.
> Chaucer at Woodstock, with the nightingales,
> At sixty wrote the Canterbury Tales.
> Goethe at Weimar, toiling to the last,
> Completed Faust when eighty years were past."

When men cross voluntarily an imaginary "dead line," it partakes of cowardice or suicide. When we *send* them over, it is murder. Let us have no dead line, which God never drew!

The last catastrophe had been coming on since the sickness

on the Red Sea. Never did the pallor, which then settled on his face, leave it. Too self-forgetful and too considerate of others, his weakness revealed itself only to his intimates. In the spring of 1870 he left his home in Evanston to attend the Kentucky and Virginia Conferences. On the steamer for Wheeling he was taken with a chill. He was promptly removed from the boat to the Grant House. The proprietors and alarmed friends did all that was possible to rescue his life and then to solace his dying. He rapidly sank, and after five days died, ere his family, alarmed by a telegram, could reach him. It is said that a telegram was delayed, by his desire, to keep the Sabbath day holy.

The remains were carried to Delaware and laid in the church where his eloquence and sanctity had done so much to awaken the young university into life. Friends and faculty, students and citizens, were one in their grief. Among others came the blacks in groups, mournfully and softly, looking into the beautiful classic features of him whose lips had so eloquently pleaded the cause of their race.

A year later this writer, a transient guest at the Grant House, Wheeling, was assigned the room in which he died. Here were the walls which heard his dying words. Here was the Bible from which, by his request, were read to him those words: "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death." Here were realized the words of his poet friend Curry, so dear to him:

"In the far-off haven,
When shadowy seas are past,
By angel hands its quivering sails
Shall all be furled at last."

Shortly before him Kingsley had gone from the foot of Lebanon in a foreign land—each from a stranger's couch. And not very long afterward the last survivor of the three together chosen and consecrated to the episcopacy, Dr. Clark, was united with his colleagues in the "general assembly and church of the first-born." They were lovely in life, and in their death they were not long divided.

Art. II.—THE FRANCO-CHINESE IMBROGLIO.

Tonkin; or, "France in the Far East." By C. B. Norman, late Captain Bengal Staff Corps and 90th Light Infantry. London: Chapman & Hall. 1884.

Tungking. By William Mesny, Major-General in the Imperial Chinese Army. London: Sampson, Low & Co. 1884.

Les Francais au Tonkin, 1787–1883. Hippolyte Gautier. Paris: Challamel Aîné. 1884.

France and China are not, geographically, more antipodal on the surface of the round world than are the first and third of the volumes above enumerated. The French view is, of course, rose-colored; the British green, with more than occasional ebullitions of national spite and jealousy. Both volumes cover the hundred years of French negotiations and occupation in Further India. Recent events have called the attention of the world to this remote and hitherto obscure quarter of the globe. In his Preface, written at the close of 1883, Captain Norman says: "Within the last few months France has been deluged by a shower of books bearing on the Tonkin question." After having "perused almost every scrap of writing that has appeared on the subject," the captain has embodied, in a volume of three hundred and fifty pages, the "true history of the Tonkin question," and, that he "may not be accused of garbled translations," has given the "actual text of all his authorities," making his book about one fourth French, in dress, thereby improving its quality with those who understand the Gallic tongue, but lessening its value with all other readers.

As we write, no work has yet appeared on the Tonkin matter in this hemisphere, and only straggling copies of those published abroad have found their way to our book-stores and public libraries. Paragraphs in news columns, of telegramic brevity, have chronicled the movements of the French navy in the waters of the far East; and it has been known, as part of the current intelligence of the times, that France had dispute and conflict with some semi-civilized Asiatic tribes, but exactly what, or where, has been of too little interest to excite special curiosity or to enlist sustained attention. In August last the thunders of a naval bombardment that annihilated one fourth of the floating armament of China in ten minutes, in front of the arsenal in the river Min, aroused a general inquiry as to

what all this noise and fire and destructive demonstration was about. We propose to answer this question by drawing freely from the works named above, and adding thereto items of personal knowledge of the situation in the East, and information gathered from all available quarters.

The strife, an old and chronic one among the nations, had for its origin rivalry in a "land-grab." Let us first repair to the territory in dispute. A glance at the map of Asia shows that that mighty continent terminates on the south in three immense peninsulas intruding far into the Indian Ocean, Arabia on the west, Hindostan in the center, Indo-China on the east, supplemented by the long finger-like projection called Malacca, at the lower extremity of which is the British colony of Singapore. Indo-China has three grand divisions, Burmah and Siam on the west, and Annam, bordering on the Gulf of Tonkin, on the east. This Annam, as the French write it (Ang Nang in Chinese), more properly, ANNAN, is the land in dispute, a strip or tract with a coast-length, north and south, of a thousand miles, and an average width of two hundred, an area of two hundred thousand square miles, and a population vaguely estimated from nine to twenty-seven millions.

The empire of Annan has three political divisions—Lower or French Cochin China, embracing a portion of Camboja on the south; Cochin China or Annan proper in the central coast region; and Tonkin, the large, populous, V-shaped, alluvial delta of the Red River and its branches: a province, with thirteen subdivisions, whose northern boundary coincides with the southern boundary of China, having the same topographical relation to China that Mexico has to the United States. Ignorance of the Chinese language permits Norman to blunder in the outset, when he says: "Tonkin, as its name implies, is the northern portion of the realm." Mesny writes more correctly, "Tungking is Chinese, and means eastern capital," as Peking means northern capital, and Nanking southern capital. Tungking is also the proper orthography, printed Tonquin in old geographies, and in the modern, Tonkin. It is this fine region, inhabited by a teeming population, similar in most regards to the Chinese, covered with a net-work of canals and rivers, abounding in fruitful lowlands and uplands, fertile fields and magnificent forests, rich in mineral wealth and every

variety of tropical production that the French covet, not more for its own sake than because it affords, through navigable streams, promising routes of access to the immense inland provinces of south-western China, shut out, hitherto, from the commerce that prospers and rejoices the more favored maritime coasts of the Chinese empire.

But why are France and China quarreling about Annan? What right has either power to this independent territory? Simply that right of the stronger which has made the nations of the earth land-robbers from the earliest times; the same right that gave ancient Israel the land of Canaan, the right of conquest; the right that makes futile the assumption of Prince Kung, in a state dispatch, that "each nation has a right to guard and protect its own territory by any means that it alone deems best." Annan, the weaker power, has made China, the stronger, its ally and defender for a long period. In an interview with Prince Kung in 1870, Hon. William H. Seward asked: "Is the Annanite empire still tributary to China?" "It still continues to send tribute," was the reply. Norman says: "There is abundant evidence that until the year 1427 Annan was an outlying province of the Chinese empire," when, by a successful rebellion, it achieved partial independence, subject only to pay triennial tribute to the emperor, each new sovereign being required to recognize the rights of the court of Peking on ascending the throne. Other rebellions followed, but the general relation remained the same, and has so continued to the present time.

General Mesny commences his *brochure* of a hundred and fifty pages where Washington Irving begins his "History of New York," at the mythical forty-five hundred years ago. The first mention of the court of Annan sending tribute to the court of China occurred eleven hundred years before Christ, "cockatoos, peacocks, and ivory." Two hundred years before our era, the first emperor of China proper, the "Napoleon" who built the great wall, burnt the sacred books, and destroyed ancient feudalism, subjugated the Annanites. From that time to the present Annan has had a history. Mesny traces it through fifteen chapters, part of a book which he contemplates publishing: "The Chinese Empire." It is foreign to our purpose to reproduce it here. In 1790, the reigning king of

Annan visited Peking, and was feasted and entertained royally. Two years later he died, and his son, a youth of fifteen, ascended the throne. The accession of a minor was the signal for revolt, in which the rebel claimant of the throne is said by Chinese historians to have been "supported by a band of barbarian pirates"—"probably French and Spaniards," says Mesny, who assisted the usurper to gain the throne. The young king appealed to China for aid against this pirate horde; and the emperor "ordered his officials to keep a sharp watch over these hostile vessels, and to defend the coasts of China by a powerful fleet."

European adventurers followed Vasco de Gama around Good Hope and penetrated to every part of the East Indies. Two centuries ago English merchants established a factory, that is, a residence for commercial agents, in Tonkin. Dutch and Portuguese continued the trade after the English, owing to local difficulties, had retired. French and Spanish missionaries were early in the field, and so successful that half a million of converts to Christianity were claimed in the peninsula as early as 1774.

Modern French diplomacy in this region begins with the date on the title-page of M. Gautier's book, 1787, when a French Jesuit priest, missionary bishop at Bankok, induced an exiled king of Annan to apply to Paris for aid. Louis XVI. gave willing ear to the project of opening, by treaty, a commercial highway into Central China. The French Revolution followed, and the government could do nothing; but "a number of soldiers of fortune accompanied the Jesuit bishop on his return to the East, and, in 1789, he landed in Cochin-China at the head of a well-armed and fairly disciplined force. The semi-civilized hordes went down like grass before western troops," and the dethroned monarch regained his kingdom by their aid. Till his death, in 1820, French missions flourished and French officers were in favor. His successor, a younger son, hated foreigners, and bitterly persecuted both native Christians and foreign missionaries. In 1840 he died, and his successor pursued the same system of cruel persecution that his father had carried on. Several missionaries were killed, and several thrown into prison. In January, 1843, a French frigate anchored near the capital, and demanded the release of

the captive missionaries. They were released. The threats of a brace of frigates in 1847 procured another temporary mitigation; but no sooner had the squadron sailed away than the king recommenced his barbarities, which he kept up until his death, in 1848. His successor, Tu Duc, who died last year, proved a very Rehoboam, practically saying, "My father chastised you with whips, I will chastise you with scorpions." He instituted a war of extermination, and offered large rewards for the heads of European priests, and lesser sums for native Christian converts. Between 1851 and 1858 ten French missionaries were beheaded! In August of the latter year the emperor Napoleon III. dispatched an expedition to enforce toleration in Annan. In 1859 Saigon was bombarded and forced to surrender. The war by England and France with China, in 1860, suspended operations in Annan. No sooner was it closed, with the capture of Peking by the allies, than the French, flushed with recent successes in China and the Crimea, returned to make thorough work in Annan. In February, 1861, Admiral Charnier, with strong re-enforcements, appeared before Saigon, situated on a river of the same name, about twenty-five miles from the sea. Its capture was easily effected, and the Annanites were driven out of all their intrenchments in that and the adjacent provinces, so that on June 5, 1862, a second treaty of peace was signed between France and Annan. Of this, as well as the first, Norman gives the full text in French, occupying several pages of his book. The second article stipulated perfect freedom of worship; the third, that three entire provinces should be ceded to his majesty the emperor of the French, with the free navigation of the Camboja River and all its branches. By article eighth the king of Annan was bound to pay an indemnity of four million dollars to the representative of the French emperor at Saigon, to repay the expenses of the war incurred on the part of France.

Persecution ceased, but missionaries were forbidden to build churches, to open schools, or to preach openly, and were excluded from official stations in the Annanite government. Moreover, the king was suspected of stirring up enmity in the southern provinces; and, to put an end to this annoyance, Admiral Grandier, in 1867, occupied three additional provinces, comprising in all 21,000 square miles, a territory half as large

as the State of New York, with a million and a half of inhabitants. The king, exasperated, appealed to China for help to drive the monopolizing barbarians beyond the sea. The monopolizing barbarians would not be so driven, but began instead to cast longing eyes toward the northern limb of Tu Duc's already dismembered empire, when the war with Germany, in 1870, a second time suspended operations in the East. In 1872 these operations were renewed, and a pretext was found for French intervention in the pirates that infested the northern waters of the realm. These the Chinese and Annanite forces combined to repress, peremptorily declining the proffered assistance of the French. Nevertheless, Captain Senez, of the frigate "Bourayne," appeared before Touraine, announcing to the Annanite king his intention of visiting Tonkin and demanding the aid of the court in suppressing piracy. Starting for the mouth of the Red River without further ceremony, Senez destroyed several junks, assuming them to be piratical, steamed up the river, and finally (November 6) reached Hanoi, the capital of Tonkin, on the right bank of the stream, seventy or eighty miles from the sea. Here this filibustering French captain threatened to attack the citadel with a boat's crew of fifteen men. After some not remarkably creditable adventures he dropped down to the mouth of the river, and found there a small French flotilla, a half-mercantile, half-filibustering expedition, sent from Saigon, "with which," says Norman, "its leaders meant to force French trade down the throats of the people of Tonkin, much in the same way as Admiral Lapierre had supported the missionaries by the bombshells of his squadron."

The leader of this new invading force was a Frenchman by the name of Dupuis, who had contracted to supply cargoes of foreign arms to the western Chinese mandarins to enable them to crush out the Mohammedan rebellion in the province of Yunnan. An overland trip had satisfied the adventurous Frenchman that the Red River could be traversed at least two hundred miles of the distance between Hanoi and Yunnan by boats of light draught, and here he was, with his fleet, negotiating, by the aid of Captain Senez, for passage up the river to the Tonkinese capital, determined to ascend, under French colors if he could; if not, under the yellow flag of China itself.

The audacious impudence of these self-constituted country-openers was unbounded. Its animating spirit appears in a letter addressed by Senez to the Annanite mandarins. Dupuis's expedition was, with Senez, the materialization of a French idea. The government of Hué must no longer persist in isolating itself from "civilization." To-day it is Dupuis, to-morrow it may be somebody else, but all, and always, France will come to demand, in the name of "progress and civilization," liberty to travel and traffic. "All resistance, believe me, will be vain. Forts, cannon, tariffs [*barrages*], will henceforth be powerless to resist the incoming 'invasion of civilization' now directed toward Annan."

The authorities were inexorable in their refusal to sanction the violation of the treaty, and Senez reluctantly left Dupuis to make his own way up the forbidden river, which he accomplished by cool assurance, and anchored unmolested before Hanoi on December 22. Transferring his cargo of arms to junks of light draught, the hardy adventurer, leaving his steamers and a hundred and fifty men off Hanoi, started on the final stage of his daring voyage. On the 30th of April, loading his junks with copper and tin from the mines, he commenced his return, and a week later reached Hanoi. His next step was to occupy a fortified position on shore; the third, to load a flotilla of junks with salt, a government monopoly, and send it, duty free, up the river! This was too much. A mandarin of high rank was dispatched to Hanoi with orders to drive Dupuis out of the country. Large bodies of armed men were assembled, and barriers constructed on the stream to cut off the retreat of the squadron. Nothing but audacity could save the French. Dupuis was equal to the emergency. He ran up the tricolor, and sent his mate to Saigon for help.

The king also sent an embassy to Saigon demanding the assistance of the French admiral in compelling Dupuis to withdraw from the Red River, as his presence there was a distinct infringement of treaty rights. Admiral Dupré owned that the presence of the French ships in the Red River was a violation of the treaty, and yet an exultant telegram went to Paris:

Tonkin open, through the enterprise of Dupuis! Immense effect on commerce, English, French, American! Absolute

necessity to occupy Tonkin in advance of the double invasion threatened by Europeans and Chinese! It is ours to make sure of this unequaled route!

Permission came to dispatch a force to Hanoi, and the admiral wrote to Francis Garnier, at Shanghai, to join his expedition at once. Garnier was an enthusiast in the idea of opening up China to foreign trade. This enterprising young Frenchman, like his fellow-countryman Dupuis, had made a famous overland exploring expedition through the back or inland provinces of China, and written about it, and he fell in at once with the project of Dupré and Dupuis to get the Chinese out of the valley of the Red River, and to annex Tonkin to France. Norman devotes fifty pages of his book to a picturesque account of this naval, military, semi-political, semi-philanthropic, and clearly piratical expedition. I must condense his dramatic narrative here as much as possible.

While officially restricting their mission to the business of settling the dispute between Dupuis and the rulers at Hanoi, Dupré and Garnier evidently intended to act on a much wider scale. Garnier consults the French minister at Peking on the best means of preventing Tonkin from falling into the hands of the English, and, at the same time, writes enthusiastically to a friend:

I want to see a French garrison in Tonkin and a railroad connecting Yunnan with the Red River. The English will never get over that! I feel that if I am supported, Indo-China is French.

Presuming that the English were scheming to get at the back provinces of China by the way of Burmah, Garnier throws heart and soul into the counter-work of reaching them by the way of the Red River.

In order to understand the dash and gallantry of this brave man it will be advisable to dwell on the composition of his command, amounting in the whole to less than two hundred men.... Two small gun-boats were to be towed to the mouth of the Red River by corvettes, where a detachment of infantry of marine were to join them, and twenty gunners. . . . With this petty force did Garnier contemplate the subjugation of Tonkin.

We omit his letters and proclamations. Fortified and re-enforced by the arrival of other gun boats, Garnier formally warned the governor of Hanoi that he must submit to accept

the terms of a commercial treaty which he dictated: 1. Opening the Red River to commerce from Nov. 15, 1873; 2. Exclusive navigation by Chinese and French vessels; 3, 4, and 5. Regulation of customs. His terms were not complied with, and on the 20th of November, at day-break, he stormed the citadel. It is the old story of civilized and savage warfare.

> The Annanites, unaccustomed to artillery fire, and hitherto ignorant of the terrible effect of shells, took to flight, and soon the rice-fields were covered with fugitives, among whom the long-range cannon worked terrible havoc. By eight o'clock the French colors were hoisted on the citadel, which, with the town, was entirely deserted, and the utmost quiet reigned.

Before the end of the month the whole delta was in his hands. It was easier to achieve than to keep. Garrisoning the principal forts that maintained communication between Hanoi and the sea weakened his own force, and the enemy gathered in swarms. "On the 21st of December the storm burst. Chinese, Black Flags, and Annanites appeared on the Sontay road." Fire from the brave defenders of the citadel checked the advance for awhile. A sortie to drive back the masses of the enemy was successful for a brief space, but Garnier and his lieutenant, Balny, ventured too far from the fort (some two miles), and both fell at the head of their columns, which were thrown into confusion and retreat by the death of their leaders. The Chinese, contented with the heads of the two French officers as trophies, returned to Sontay in exulting triumph!

Admiral Dupré was not prepared to initiate war between France and China by indorsing these precipitate acts of the daring Garnier. M. Philastre, a diplomatist, was sent from Saigon to Hué, and on the 3d of January, 1874, reached Hanoi, withdrew the garrisons, and commenced negotiations with the Annanite government for a new treaty, which was made and ratified in August following. The French text of this document occupies eight pages of Norman. It opened the Red River to commerce, opened three new ports, allowed the French to locate consuls at these ports, with a military escort, and gave those consuls jurisdiction over all foreigners in Annan, with power to refuse permission to Europeans to settle in the country. A French Resident was to make his head-quarters at the capital, Hué,

and the customs service was to be in the hands of French officials. Norman notes that under the treaty of commerce, during the first eighteen months, not a single French merchant ship entered the Red River. Eleven English, six German, and a hundred and sixteen Chinese were all that availed themselves of the new route to western China, that, according to Garnier, was to revolutionize oriental trade. Admiral Dupré, governor of Cochin China, insisted on the necessity of explaining to China the new position occupied by France toward Annan. The French ministry refused for prudential reasons, and Dupré resigned rather than be party to a violation of the treaty. Philastre and Dupré were men of honor. Dupré's successor arrived at Saigon in 1878, armed with power either to strengthen himself in the Red River country or to withdraw altogether from Tonkin, if he thought the alliance was producing mischief in straining the patience of the Chinese government. Meanwhile the king of Annan, in open disregard of the exclusive French suzerainty, prepared and sent out the usual tribute-bearing embassy to Peking, under a salute of guns from the fortress, and under the very eyes of a French consul!

When, in 1875, it was suggested to China that she should withdraw her forces from Tonkin, the government answered that "imperial forces had been sent to Tonkin, 1. To succor a tributary kingdom; 2. To assure the safety of our frontiers." Prince Kung added, "China cannot refuse protection and aid to a vassal." The Chinese troops were not withdrawn. In 1879 fresh rebellion in Tonkin was suppressed without the aid of French troops, and the "Peking Gazette" of January 25, 1880, announced that peace had been restored in the dominion of those "whom our investiture has rendered our vassals." French prestige was being weakened in Annan, and the cabinet decided that it must take a step forward if it would not retire from Tonkin altogether. These warlike tendencies of the government leaked out, and the Chinese minister, Marquis Tseng, addressed a dispatch to M. Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire, in which the rights of China in Annan were very plainly alluded to. No notice was taken of Minister Tseng's communication.

A month later Marquis Tseng demanded an explanation of these bellicose rumors, but "it was not till the 8th of January,

1882, that he was put in possession of views which France and French ministers had studiously kept secret from China for seven years!" From that time the French government assumed that China had acknowledged the receipt of a copy of the treaty of 1874, and had not then objected to it, and, therefore, had virtually acknowledged the French protectorate over Tonkin! They claimed that the treaty contained the phrase, "a country *heretofore* tributary to China." Marquis Tseng insisted that the word "*autrefois*" was not in the original treaty, and that, in his letter acknowledging the receipt of the treaty and commenting on its contents, Prince Kung had used these words: "*Has been for a long time, and still is,* tributary to China:" which words were omitted by the French translator, and an omission which altered the whole gist of China's claim: an omission which, says Norman, "it is hard to believe was unintentional."

Every thing now drifted toward war. The French consul at Hanoi represented himself as seriously threatened by the Black Flags, and Captain Rivière was directed to proceed up the Red River and re-enforce the consular escort. In March, 1882, the Red River expedition was organized. It consisted of two sloops of war, eight gun-boats, one dispatch-boat, one steam-launch, and 620 men, all being under command of Captain Henri Rivière, "a writer of several excellent novels and more than one indifferent play." The governor of Cochin China, M. Vilers, enjoined pacific measures in a letter of instructions to Captain Rèviere, given in French, *in extenso*, on pages 192–196 of Norman. Captain Rivière was instructed to avoid all hostilities; to forward all prisoners to Saigon for disposal; not to execute any Black Flags taken captive; not to come in contact with Chinese imperial troops. On the 2d of April the hostile fleet (for such it proved to be) anchored off Hanoi. The mandarins naturally answered this display of force by similar show of force. Rivière remonstrated with them, saying that their hostile attitude was calculated to provoke war. He announced to the governor that his expedition had two objects: 1. To rid the river of pirates; 2. To get a new treaty, the terms of which were, (1) The abolition of all transit dues; (2) Free passage for all French ships through all the water-ways of Annan; (3) The transfer of the various forts

between Hanoi and the sea to the French; (4) The withdrawal of all Chinese troops from Tonkin.

On the 21st of April Captain Rivière forwarded his ultimatum to the hesitating mandarins, threatening to attack the citadel by eight o'clock the next morning if his demands were not acceded to. The rulers temporized and Rivière acted. On the 26th, at eight A. M., he opened fire on the citadel, and a storming column of 800 seamen and marines was forthwith landed. By eleven the walls were breached and the garrison flying, followed, as they fled, by the destructive shells of the gun-boats. By twelve the tricolor was floating from the citadel. The French loss, as usual, was trifling, that of the Annanites heavy, upward of 1,100 dead bodies being buried by the victors.

March 25, 1883, Rivière proceeded to Nam-Dinh, a place on the southern arm of the river, only thirty miles or so from the sea. With ten vessels, and 800 marines in addition to the vessels' crews, he appeared before the city and at once summoned the governor to surrender. The governor refused, and at day-break on the 27th the squadron opened fire on the forts, the marines landed, and by night-fall the tricolor floated over the bastions of Nam-Dinh, as it had done under Garnier ten years before.

The losses on the side of the French were slight, those of the Annanites put down at the usual figure, "a thousand killed and wounded," prisoners forty-nine, summarily executed at yard-arm on Rèviere's own vessel, in direct defiance of the instructions of Governor Le Myre de Vilers!

While Rivière was absent at Nam-Dinh, the Black Flags (reconstructed outlaws of the Robin Hood stamp) made a determined night attack on the French in the citadel at Hanoi. The opportune arrival of a gun-boat, armed with rifled cannon, drove off the invaders; but on his return to Hanoi, on the 2nd of April, 1883, Commander Rivière found the enemy annoying the garrison in every possible way, and he determined to make a demonstration in the direction of Sontay, a post twenty-five or thirty miles farther up the river, which for many years had been held by a Chinese garrison. The resistance of the Annanites was vigorous. Ten years before, 1873, Garnier, with 700 men, overran the whole peninsula; now, Rivière,

with 1.200 men, had to proceed cautiously. Every day the Black Flags grew bolder and more demonstrative, and Rèviere felt that some crushing blow must be delivered at once before the commencement of the hot season. On the 19th of May, though suffering from fever, he made a sortie from the citadel and pushed along the same fatal road which Garnier had pursued ten years before, to meet the same fate. The column was ambuscaded, and Rivière fell at the head of it, with three other officers and fifty men. The spot where Rivière fell in 1883 was not 1,500 yards from where Garnier met his death in 1873. Norman opines that "when the history of France in Further India comes to be written, the names of Garnier and Rivière will be found associated with the blackest deeds that ever stained the annals of European intervention in the East." They enacted Cortez and Pizarro on a small scale, it is true, but would not a French annalist easily find parallels in British armed interference in every quarter of the globe?

Since May 19, 1883, "France," says General Mesny, "has been continually sending re-enforcements to Annan to avenge Henri Rivière's death. The news of the disaster reached Paris on the 26th, and the Colonial Minister telegraphed over the wires, "France will avenge her brave sons," (*glorieux enfants.*) Smaller garrisons were speedily evacuated and beleaguered Hanoi strengthened. A squadron for special service was fitted out, and Admiral Courbet appeared on the field. Emboldened by their success in checking Rivière, the Black Flags drew a close cordon around Hanoi and determined to drive out the barbarians in 1883 as they had done in 1873. Heavy fighting was done in this neighborhood, the details of which we have not room to recapitulate. The emperor, Tu Duc, died on the 20th of July, and on the 18th of August Admiral Courbet appeared before the capital, Hué, with six vessels, a naval brigade of 1,200 marines, and fifteen light field-guns drawn by coolies. After sustaining heavy bombardment for two days, the forts at the mouth of the river surrendered, and two gun-boats steamed over the bar and cannonaded the town itself. On the 20th the Foreign Minister arrived under cover of a flag of truce and a treaty was forthwith demanded. Captain Norman says: "No quarter was given in the fight. All prisoners were summarily shot by the admiral's orders." The signature to the

new treaty was wrung from the new king at the point of the bayonet on the 25th of August. Annan was to recognize the French protectorate and to bind herself to hold no communication with foreign powers except through the French Resident at Hué. The southernmost province of Annan was to be added to the six already taken; forts on Hué River were to be garrisoned by French troops; the customs were placed in French hands; railroad and telegraph lines were to be constructed between Saigon and Hanoi; French residents, with garrisons, were to live in all the principal towns; Annan was to cede all her ships of war, and to furnish indemnity sufficient to pay the expenses of French occupation. Thus, Annan itself forced to become a dependency of France, as well as Cochin China on the south and Tonkin on the north, the French virtually took possession of the entire peninsula.

What could China do but protest and remonstrate? Admiral Courbet now assumed control over operations in the Red River. He demanded and obtained what he has since energetically maintained, absolute and unfettered freedom of action. His first objective point was Sontay. Reconnoitering showed that the fortress was strong, and with only 7,000 men he did not think it advisable to attempt its reduction. In November he had 9,000 men with fifty guns, and the addition of twelve Hotchkiss revolving cannon from the fleet. This M'Clellan policy of delay and calling for re-enforcements seemed to General Mesny "a policy of shilly-shally." Norman thinks it was dictated by "political reasons;" hesitancy on the part of the home government to involve itself in a war with China on account of Annan. Nevertheless, on the 14th of December, having drawn large re-enforcements from below, Admiral Courbet advanced against Sontay with a force 10,000 strong, including Annanite irregulars. On the 16th the town was reached, and the gun-boats shelled the works. By night-fall the outworks were carried, and the Chinese, in the ensuing darkness, evacuated the citadel. The boasting French declared that "Sedan was compensated in Sontay!" Norman gives the losses at 75 killed, 245 wounded, and these chiefly the dark allies of the French, and not native French born troops. Mesny, who draws his information from Chinese sources, says: "So desperate was the fighting that the French loss was over a thousand men, being especially

heavy in officers, while the loss of the enemy was slight, the dead in the town being chiefly non-combatant inhabitants."

In March of the present year (1884) Bac-Ninh, thirty miles north-east from Hanoi, was occupied; in April Hing Hoa, above Sontay, was captured; in May a provisional treaty was agreed on at Tientsin between Commander Fournier and Commissioner Li, which it was hoped might stay hostilities and prevent war, but on the 23d of June, collision at Langsong put an end to negotiations. The French claimed "infraction of treaty," and demanded from China $5,000,000 under penalty of immediate resumption of war and its transfer from Tonkin to the soil of China itself. Langsong is a hundred miles north-east from Hanoi and within twenty of the Chinese boundary line. The question "Who fired the first gun at Langsong?" has been mooted and never satisfactorily answered. Rev. T. H. Worley, of Central China Mission, in a letter to the "Central Christian Advocate," October last, says:

> There can be little doubt that the deliberate judgment of the civilized world will be that France was really the transgressor in the Langsong skirmish, as she was moving her troops northward near the Chinese frontier without warrant or right, while the preliminary treaty was pending for a final settlement between the two countries.

The Chinese refused to pay the heavy indemnity, and on the 11th of August the French fleet bombarded the defenses of Keeloong, a coaling station belonging to the Chinese at the northern end of the island of Formosa. Thence, crossing over 150 miles, they entered the river Min, steamed past its defenses without resistance by the Chinese, and anchored their whole force in the wide reach of the river used as anchorage ground by all foreign vessels, nine miles below the city of Foochow. It is noteworthy that this was the first point at which French operations and French methods came directly under the eyes of European spectators.

Foochow had never before been subjected to foreign attack. The people could hardly believe the French in earnest to visit on them revenge for reverses in a neighboring country so far away as Tonkin. In any southern river the forts at its mouth would have done their best to keep the intruders out of the stream. Yet here the whole fleet was permitted to ascend

twenty five miles and anchor quietly in the Min to renew, upon the local mandarins, their demand for indemnity. The local mandarins had no indemnity to pay, so notice was given that the next day the fleet would commence attack; the non-combatants, and foreign women and children residing on Pagoda Island, were warned to take refuge on shipboard, and the neutral vessels, thirteen in number, to get out of the way. Three English men-of-war, several merchantmen, the United States steam corvette "Enterprise," and other vessels were anchored, some above and the rest half a mile down the stream. On the east side of the river was the Chinese custom house, in front of which lay three Chinese gun-boats. Two miles across, diagonally, to the west, were the works of the Chinese Arsenal, "a dock, tall chimneys, rows of workshops, whence the clang of steam hammers and the hum of engines might be distinctly heard, looking in the distance like an English manufacturing village, with a row of steam hammers mighty enough to forge a shaft for the biggest steamer afloat, shops for practical engineering and ship-building, schools for mechanical drawing and modeling, the splendid works from which had been turned out a fleet of gun-boats that would not dishonor a ship-yard in Europe, formidable enough to native pirates, but not of much service in a combat with a powerful western armament." So wrote traveler Thomson in 1875. Saturday, August 23, 1884, this little Chinese fleet lay, till noon, calmly, *vis-à-vis* with nine ships of the finest navy in the world, each foreign vessel silently training its guns upon a selected victim on the other side, and waiting for the signal to open the terrible scene of carnage. The Chinese crews stood by their guns waiting for the French to begin. At five minutes to 2 P. M. the French began, and the broadsides of nine iron-clads rained a perfect storm and hail upon their respective targets in such an incessant shower that whole crews were swept away, their vessels being in a sinking condition or on fire before their surviving defenders had recovered from the first thunder-bolt crash sufficiently to return the French fire, which they did with some execution, while the infernal torpedo boat shot out for the Chinese flag-ship, made fast to her stern, and blew her out of water! It was a duel at ten paces; one of the parties armed with a Spencer rifle and skilled in its use, taking direct aim, and his own time to fire,

while the other was fumbling a match-lock which he discharged as he fell, sufficiently wide of its object! The demoralized crews jumped overboard; two of the gun-boats tried to escape up the river; but in an hour the arsenal was defenseless. The river was covered with burning fragments and strewn with dead and dying. "The pitiless French gave no quarter." On Sunday the French knocked the arsenal to pieces, one of the finest establishments of the kind in the world, said to have cost the Chinese government $150,000,000. Without attempting to land or hold the place, the French fleet, leaving one or two thousand natives dead and wounded, departed to renew their filibustering and piratical ravages elsewhere.* Filibustering and piratical we advisedly call them, because they were perpetrated, and, up to this writing, have been carried on, without declaration of war, being merely exhibitions of strategy and strength apparently for the purposes of intimidation and empty glorification! To openly declare war or proclaim blockade would shut their fleet out of the neutral port of Hong-Kong, whither the disabled resort to recruit and repair.

Reports from battle-fields lie like politicians. Each side conceals or minifies its own losses and magnifies those of the enemy. From every field the French report losses in killed and wounded. The Chinese take no care for census statistics of any kind, living or dead, much less of its coolie soldiery, and it will never be known how many thousands of them have been swept away by the murderous machines now in vogue in naval warfare. Mesny says, "The French allow no correspondents to accompany them to the scene of action," and the officers report only what will please the people, glorify the "*glorieux enfants*," and secure additional millions of francs from the French Chambers. Mesny's little volume, written in Hong-Kong and from a Chinese stand-point, is a serviceable corrective of Norman's in facts, tone, and temper. He points out that the Black Flags are not, as Norman assumes, the relics of banished Tai-ping rebels, and that, too, without having known of

* In a letter from Japan dated August 29, 1884, a week after the bombardment, the late Bishop Wiley wrote: "The general judgment of all parties out here is, that the course of the French is one of high-handed outrage, little better than a maraudiug expedition, wholly out of place in the nineteenth century, and only fitted to rank with the old Portuguese and Spanish brigandage of two centuries ago."

Norman's work when he wrote his own. Both works are in the same egotistic British vein, though so different in spirit. That France is actuated less by a national passion for glory than by jealousy of England, is Norman's key-note and refrain. Mesny's drift is to show that China's protectorate of Tonkin is centuries old, and that it has never been surrendered. Says Mesny:

> China and Annan both are well aware of the unblushingly piratical nature of the late French attempts in Tunis and Madagascar, and China is determined not to have France as a powerful and hostile state on the very borders of her wealthiest provinces. . . . *For every man France loses, China can afford to lose a thousand.*

Supposing her to be successful, what will France gain by the unequal struggle? She will merely incur the intense and undying hatred of both Annanites and Chinese. Chinese opinion of their foreign assailants may be gathered from a proclamation placarded on the walls of Sontay at the time of the filibustering raid of Rivière:

> You, French freebooters, dwellers by force in Europe, tigers in the world at large, venting your crafty schemes and evil deeds, there is no land for which your mouth does not water, no riches you do not desire to devour. Religious teaching you employ as a means to injure and undermine. International commerce is, with you, a pretext for swallowing up countries. Your cruelty is infinite, your wickedness extreme. On your strength you rely to debauch our women, crimes which excite the indignation of gods and men, unendurable in heaven and on earth. You would avail yourselves of an excuse to acquire Annan under pretext of international commerce, trying to befool the world, to give vent to your martial designs, seizing cities, storming towns, slaughtering officials, and robbing the revenue, killing the innocent and encouraging marauding bands. Your outrages and cruelties have reached far and wide. Rivers would not wash out your shame.

There is much more of the same sort, and all of it is sufficiently vigorous.

Trade cannot be *made* to flow down the Red River, while the West River runs from the same region direct to Canton.

> France will have, for years, to maintain a large European army in an unhealthy climate, and will require strong garrisons in every town she desires to hold. French power will cease when the rifle-bullet ceases to hum, or French artillery is no longer heard.....The only parties who will ultimately derive benefit from the success of the aggressive policy of France will be Britain commercially, and China politically, for Great Britain will

have the trade, whether Tonkin is Chinese or not, and China will heed the lessons taught by the recent imbroglio and prepare herself to cope with future troubles of the same or a similar nature.

France will teach China the art of war, as Bonaparte taught Europe the tactics by which he was ultimately overthrown.

The only American critic of Norman's work who has come under our notice, regrets that the captain did not stick to simple narrative, and omit his ultra-British opinions and objurgations. We have adhered to this plan, and presented the gist of his studies and collections in such form as to give readers the fullest idea of the situation in the East. It would add nothing to the value of this article to load it with the charges of duplicity, "tyranny, greed, cruelty, and unscrupulousness" with which the captain garnishes his book from preface to appendix.

As a specimen of many pages we quote a single paragraph from the former:

> The Republic is playing the braggart's game. She feels that her very existence depends on France being fed with "glory," and her ministers indulge in vain hopes that the grievous burden of taxation will be forgotten in the glamour of a successful campaign. But war breeds war, and defeat is the twin to victory. Sedan was the corollary to Mexico. Will Sontay be avenged in Paris?

There is no doubt that "jealousy of England is a national trait in the French character." We were greatly indebted to France for help to bring the American Revolution to a successful close; but our gratitude might have been slightly alloyed with the reflection that it was less to help a struggling people into national existence than to deal a staggering blow at her ancient rival and foe. Fifteen years afterward Frenchmen were ready to go to war with us for declining to second their insane efforts to overthrow all law and order. In 1862 France executed a flank movement in aid of the rebellion, and for the destruction of the very republic she had helped to create, by invading Mexico (just as she is now invading Tonkin), and setting up an empire under her protectorate on our southern borders. Mesny and Norman both point to the patent fact that France is a failure as a colonizer. Her greatest successes in this line were achieved in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when she owned all America north of the St. Lawrence and west of the Mississippi, and attempted to monopolize the Ohio.

England wrested Canada from her, and Bonaparte sold us her western possessions to prevent their falling into the hands of the British; and to-day France owns nothing in this hemisphere except a few insignificant islands and a fragment of Guiana in South America. She did the commercial world a service by subjecting the Algerine pirates, and holding on to them in spite of chronic insurrection, and the cost of the sustenance of a force of 75,000 men as a police necessary to keep 3,000,000 Mohammedans in order. Why she needed to add to this bill of expense the further change of a protectorate of Tunis the world is yet inquiring. Frank Vincent, author of "The Land of the White Elephant," visited Saigon and recorded his impressions of the French as colonists:

"France in the East" is, so far as my limited observation goes, a great farce, a travesty, a burlesque upon colonization in general. The French character is sadly wanting in many of the virtues necessary for successful pioneering in foreign lands. It lacks those sturdy, energetic, persevering traits which we see so ably displayed by the English in India and Australia and by the Germans in America. It must be that politics alone have to do with the retaining at the present day of so minute and oddly situated a province as Pondicherry, in India, or such a country as Cochin China, inhabited by so warlike and rebellious a people. After seeing the healthy, growing, and usually *paying* colonies of the British empire in the East, a visit to Saigon, "the infant capital of Asiatic France," leaves a ludicrous impression upon the mind of the observant and reflecting traveler. . . . The appearance of the Government House, an elegant modern palace of brick, with grand marble staircases, such as would grace London, Paris, or Washington, situated in the midst of a tropical jungle, surrounded by a few bamboo huts, is most droll.

Thomson, in his "Indo-China," says, in his remarks on Saigon, "The bulk of its commerce is in the hands of English and Germans; the French merchant carries on his trade with the polite ease and elegant deliberation" that characterize him at home, with little or none of the "weary toil, sleepless nights, and anxious days that enable the energetic trader to wrest a competency from the hands of fortune." Was there sarcasm in Governor Seward's remembrances of a visit to Saigon in 1871?

All eastern potentates and nobles maintain menageries. The public garden at Saigon proclaimed itself an appendage of the French Republic by a meager collection of leopards, tigers, bears, monkeys, birds, and reptiles.

He nevertheless devotes a page ("Around the World," p. 289) to philosophic reflections on the past and present of French colonization, west and east; thinks it sad that France has lost nearly all her colonial possessions, which she is now striving to replace in Cochin China in an Asiatic French empire, about forty miles square, which "figures so largely in the ambitious manifestoes of the government in Paris." Mr. Seward does not fail to note that the emperor of Annan "has two strings to his bow—concedes to France a protectorate [under treaty pressure], and at the same time, as titular vassal, claims protection from the emperor of China." That vassalship cropped squarely out, ten years after this, between the raids of Garnier (1873) and Rivière (1882–83) when the king of Annan sent to the emperor of China the customary triennial tribute, the articles of which were: Two elephant's tusks; two rhinoceros's horns; forty-five catties (60 lbs.) of betel nuts; forty-five catties of "grains of paradise" (a highly pungent aromatic); six hundred ounces of sandal-wood; one hundred pieces each of native silk, white silk, and raw silk; one hundred pieces of native cloth. "I, your vassal, in the torrid South, hasten to do my duty as befits my station." No mention of the "French protectorate" so strenuously insisted upon and vigorously enforced by treaties exacted by bomb-shells and bayonets for the preceding twenty years.

The suspicion of intentional omission in the translation of a treaty between France and Annan in 1874 recalls the charge made by Dr. Williams ("Middle Kingdom," vol. ii, p. 362) that the Chinese text of the French treaty with China in June, 1858, contained a paragraph not found in the French text of the convention, nor in any other foreign treaties, British, Russian, or American, namely, "It is permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure." Dr. Williams says:

> The surreptitious insertion of this important stipulation in Article III of the Chinese text made void the whole, and was a procedure unworthy of a great nation like France, whose army environed Peking when the convention was signed.

Those Chinese who remember the war of 1858 think they have reason to hate the nation that so ruthlessly destroyed the emperor's magnificent summer palace and garden at Peking,

the cost of the furnishings of which Lord Elgin estimated at $5,000,000; and who, instead of asking, like the British, for a slice of Chinese territory, insisted on indemnification for "all such churches, schools, cemeteries, lands, and buildings as were owned by the persecuted Roman Catholic missionaries generations before; an order which doubtless intensified the animosity that resulted in the Tientsin massacre of French missionaries in 1870, and produced such general revolt among property-holders that the project had to be quietly abandoned by French consuls and ministers. We may note, in passing, a sad exhibition of French jealousy of "perfidious Albion," in standing out last year in a world-convention to settle on a prime meridian because it was proposed that that meridian should run through the Greenwich Observatory!

Nevertheless, it would seem that we should look for some higher motive in a brave, intelligent people like the French than mere jealousy of a rival power. France might have a laudable ambition to provide homes abroad for a surplus population, if like her insular neighbor she were overcrowded at home. France has not had need, like Britain, to send out ten millions of colonists. France is one of the armed camps by which the surface of continental Europe is held. Every male must serve in the army twenty years; and by the time he is forty he is fixed at home, and all the inducements held out to young couples beginning life to begin it on foreign soil, have vanished, and he grows old where his youth and middle life have been spent. Passion for official life is universal in France, and "one half the populace is heavily taxed that the other half may wear shoulder-straps." In the colonies the "officials are ten to one of the resident French population." Laws remanding prisoners from distant colonies to France for judicial trial are out of joint with the times and subversive of the growth of independent governmental policy in the colonies themselves, The humane governor of Saigon would have had the Black Flags taken in war sent to Saigon for trial, but the naval commanders made pirates of all prisoners, and hung and shot and beheaded on the spot all that fell into their hands. Norman insists that France, like Spain in the fifteenth century, knows no modes of propagating the Roman Catholic religion in heathendom except by slaughter and conquest.

In possession of a magnificent navy, her crews and commanders naturally prefer action to repose. They would rather be at war than rotting idly in quiet harbors at home or dull stations at foreign ports. Crews get exercise as well as pay, and officers get experience and *gloire.* When opportunity offers to raid a semi-barbarian's summer palace all get "loot," the cheerful oriental designation of the fruits of spoliation and robbery, called among us "plunder," not by any means in the innocent western sense of personal luggage.

China and Annan waters are the training ground for a navy that by its magnificent equipments, splendid service, and formidableness is already exciting the jealousy, if not the fears, of England, who proudly remembers how she swept France from the seas in 1805, as her confederate cruisers did our merchant marine in 1863, '64. The terribly unequal contest between this well-appointed fleet and the ill-manned and worse officered Chinese vessels suggests to the imagination the picture of a future possibility of the collision of two such squadrons, French and English or French and German, with like armaments and similarly experienced and determined crews. The volcanic Paris commune, ever ready to burst into lurid eruption, needs constant vent. The attention of the mob needs to be distracted from Paris and home matters and fixed on the "glory" of French arms and French successes abroad.

Compte de Gasparin wrote, in 1881, of the French people:

> War amuses us, sons of ancient Gallic sires, who knew no pleasure superior to that of fighting; who burned the [Roman] capitol, and left their name in distant Galatia [Gaul-Asia]. We demand excitement! We have reached the reputation of *enfants terrible* [fearful fellows], dreaded as a source of constant danger! [A standing menace to the peace of Europe, the world inquires,] "What will France do next?" "What is she getting ready for now?" "Where will she attack?" "What is she most desirous of?" There are not fifteen minutes' peace, any way! Now, it is war, and Europe, armed to the teeth, asks each morning if France is not about to give the signal and begin the fray? Anon, it is revolution, and neighboring States ask anxiously if anarchy is about to run riot and infest the whole body politic? When a French dynasty has lasted fifteen years its days, as every body knows, are numbered. Paris will be in a blaze, and incendiary torches will light up the whole horizon! I have heard grave men seriously propose that Europe, jaded to death with

these constant alarms; should put France under bonds to end these ever-recurring dangers.

Revolutionary France is even more troublesome than warring France. France does not merely endure a revolution, she enjoys it; goes into it on a grand scale. The entire people take a hand in, and, under pretext of liberty, scatter its fires to the four quarters of the globe. Let us not deceive ourselves. A volcano is not a pleasant neighbor to any body.

While England, as a limited monarchy, and the United States, as a republic, have pursued the even tenor of their way for a century, uneasy France, an absolutism under Louis XVI., became a sort of republic in the first days of the Revolution; an imperialism under Napoleon I.; a Bourbon monarchy under Louis XVIII. and Charles X.; an Orleans dynasty under Louis Philippe; a republic in 1848; an imperialism under the third Napoleon, and a republic for the third time from 1870!

The national craze of the hour seems to be for "protectorates." Civilized governments and the Caucasian race assume that the semi-civilized and dark races are unable to take care of themselves, and generously proffer their protection. England has recently proclaimed a "protectorate" over the immense island of New Guinea; Germany a "protectorate" over Zanzibar; France over Tunis, with proffer of a rejected "protectorate" over part of Madagascar; another in the valley of the Congo; and another over the peninsula of Annan.

China is no match for France—has no adequate protection against the "armed intervention" so dear to military Europe. Her only sure protective policy is, that which she has pursued for centuries, the turtle hiding within its shell—a policy of isolation and exclusion. The allied world-protectors have beaten down her walls, broken open her barricaded gates, and forced their way into the presence of the yellow throne of the "son of heaven," a sacrilege like that of which Italy has been guilty in reducing the god of the Vatican to the status of a mortal and a citizen. They have said to the emperor, "Put iron-clads and steam frigates and corvettes in place of your clumsy, lateen-rigged junks; substitute breech-loading rifled cannon, Hotchkiss revolving and immense Krupp guns for the rusty smooth-bores with which the Jesuits manned your fortresses two hundred years ago." China took the advice because she was

compelled to; built half a dozen arsenals, under the direction of French engineers, the same nation that helped Annan to the forts and defenses a hundred years ago, and later, that has rendered the resistance in that country so much more stubborn than any as yet encountered in China itself. Now, when China has expended millions, wrung from her half-clothed, half-starved, opium-stupefied populations, and equipped arsenals that are a wonder and admiration with foreigners, at Canton, Ningpo, Foochow, Shanghai, and Peking, comes the very nation that helped her to these "modern improvements," and knocks them about her ears as French cannon knocked the bricks out of the old wall of Shanghai in 1856! The demand for "indemnity" to pay for the expense of giving China these lessons in Christian tactics has risen, in the minds of her assailants, to sixteen millions, now talked of as a proper offset to her stubbornness in declining to pay five! Soon a slice of territory will have to be added to the pecuniary compensation, and it would not be surprising if, in addition to Tonkin, China were called on to surrender Yunnan (the Cloudy South), with her immense territory and millions of inhabitants.

The Christian world of the nineteenth century has expended millions in the far East to introduce a religion that professes to be a religion of peace. Through that semi-political organization, Jesuitism, it has brought the Annanites nothing but disturbance, dismemberment, and chronic war. To China and India the proffer has been like that of the Arabs, the "sword or the Koran," bomb-shells and Bibles, Krupp-shot and crucifixes, priests and torpedoes, oratories and opium. Consistency is nothing to Caucasian ideal progressives, shouting "free country" and "free trade" with one breath; at the next, our politicians adopt China's own antiquated exclusion policy, and impose a tariff on labor, taboo "free labor" altogether, and give a monopoly of high wages and excessive "protection" to its own favored white citizens. Governmentally, China and France, like America, are Augean stables of official corruption. When and by whom these filthy purlieus of their respective capitals are to be purged does not clearly appear. How long must Christianity and pure civilization be disgraced and retarded by unscrupulous national ambition and sordid commercial interest?

Art. III. — SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE GREEK ARTICLE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The doctrine of the Greek article has attracted the attention of New Testament critics for generations, and is still an unsettled problem. An inquiry into its nature and the application of it to some disputed points in exegesis is not unworthy of attention. Some of the best grammarians hold that no definite rules can be laid down in relation to it, the exceptions being so numerous as almost to exclude the idea of a well-defined law. Buttman ("New Testament Grammar") says: *

> In reference to the definite article the rules and regulations given in the grammars hold good, so far as in a subject so delicate we can talk of rules. For the endeavor to lay down fixed laws respecting the use of the article many a learned and laborious inquiry has already come to naught; and the intention ought at length to be abandoned of forcing the use or the omission of the article under precise regulations which find the proof of their nullity and uselessness in the throng of exceptions which it is necessary to subjoin straightway to almost every rule laid down.

Such a statement practically excludes the article from any positive service, in disputed cases, to the exegete, by making it a matter of impossibility to show that the writer under consideration had any positive reason for its use or omission.

Language, however, is so subtle and, when employed by the careful writer, so accurate that such a view would be destructive of all satisfactory interpretation of the article. Every body almost involuntarily employs and omits the article, if not with a definite object, yet with a definite result. It is practically impossible that a writer, especially in an argumentative production, should use the article or any other element of speech so loosely as to create embarrassment on the part of the reader as to the true meaning intended to be conveyed. We shall in this discussion consider first what is the distinguishing feature of the employment or omission of the article in the New Testament, and then apply it particularly to some passages which may serve as illustrations.

It is conceded that it was originally a demonstrative pronoun, and that in the development of the Greek language it natu-

* Thayer's translation, p. 85.

rally assumed its present form and its distinct meaning. Curtius* says: "It seems to set forth an object, either as a single one (the individualizing article) or as a class (the generic article)." Crosby† says: "The article is prefixed to substantives to mark them as definite." Donaldson‡ says: "The chief employment of the definite article is to distinguish the subject from the predicate; for from the nature of the case the subject is considered to be something definite, of which something general is predicated or denied." Winer's New Testament Grammar§ remarks: "When ὁ, ἡ, τό is employed as strictly an article before a noun, it marks the object as one definitely conceived, whether in consequence of its nature, or the context, or some circle of ideas assumed as known."

It is clear from all these statements that the definite article has a meaning which cannot be ignored in any accurate exegesis of a Greek author. The grammars of the language abound in rules for its introduction and omission, showing thereby that there must be laws that control its insertion, even though they cannot accurately define what they are. Middleton's great work on the Greek article is a splendid exhibition of fine critical acumen employed on a worthy subject of scholastic and practical inquiry. It is, however, apparent from a study of the exegesis of the New Testament, as exhibited in our best commentaries, that the force of the article is still an unsettled problem. Two of the best of modern commentators, Alford and Ellicott, seem to have no clear conception of its use when employed, or of the significance of its omission. Alford on Romans, and Ellicott on Galatians, seem to employ the article with νόμος almost indiscriminately. The late revisers of the New Testament were evidently embarrassed in the same way, and have at times produced confusion in the translation from this very cause.

In order to make the discussion more specific, it is best to employ a word which gives full scope for variety of opinion and on which diversity of opinion is most marked, namely, νόμος. The earliest indication we have of the difficulty of explaining this word is found in the changes of text which have evidently arisen out of the tendency to make νόμος, whether with or without the article, mean the same thing. Let Rom. ii, 13,

* Sec. 370, Harper's edition. † Sec. 520.
‡ Sec. 394. § Thayer's translation, p. 105.

serve as an example. The *Textus Receptus* reads, *οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται.*

It will be seen that Alford, Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, as also our late revisers, omit the article before *νόμος* in both cases. That it should be omitted is manifest from the most cursory examination of the manuscript authorities. The Sinaitic, the Alexandrian, the Vatican, are unanimous in its omission. The only question is, Why was it ever inserted at a later date, and why was it retained so long, when the evidence against it is so overwhelming? The readiest and most satisfactory solution is that *ὁ νόμος* was regarded as meaning the Mosaic law, and as they supposed that the apostle had in mind that law in this verse, it was necessary to insert the article so as to express it properly.

The different views of this subject will most clearly appear by quoting from two of the most distinguished of modern exegetical scholars, their view of the same passage of Scripture, namely, Gal. ii, 19: *ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον ἵνα Θεῷ ζήσω.* Ellicott translates, "For I truly through the law died to the law," etc. He remarks in exposition:

> (1.) Νόμος in each case has the same meaning. (2.) That meaning, as the *context* requires, must be the Mosaic law (verse 16), no grammatical arguments founded on the absence of the article having any real validity.

On the other hand Lightfoot translates, "I through law died to law." His view is:

> The written law—the Old Testament—is always *ὁ νόμος*. At least, it seems never to be quoted otherwise. Νόμος without the article is "law," considered as a principle, exemplified no doubt chiefly and signally in the Mosaic law, but very much wider than this in its application. In explaining the passage, therefore, we must seek for some element in the Mosaic law which it had in common with law generally, instead of dwelling on its special characteristics as a prophetic and typical dispensation.

A difference in interpretation so marked as that just shown could not exist if there were a grammatical law for the use of the article which had universal acceptance. Such agreement does not now exist, and until it takes place we cannot have a settled exegesis of many passages of Scripture, especially those

in which the article is omitted. The best putting of the use of the Greek article is that of Mr. T. S. Green, in his "Grammar of the New Testament," page 6. His language is:

> In that form of language which has been taken as a standard, the article is prefixed to a word, or combination of words, when there is intended to be conveyed thereby, in the particular instance, an idea already, in some degree, familiarized to the mind: it points to a previous familiarity, real or presumed. Definiteness attaches to the general idea which is conveyed by a word or combination of words, when the idea is to be identified with one which has either been already impressed upon the mind or is suggested by another that has been so impressed; and the article, as a sign of this identification, is closely and consequentially, but not primarily, connected with definiteness.

It will be seen that this definition of the meaning of the article differs materially from that ordinarily given by grammarians, and that Winer maintains the old idea. The point made by Green, however, can be maintained, as he has done by numerous instances, both in the classics and in the New Testament writings. When *ὁ νόμος* is employed we understand by it the well-known law, the law of Moses, familiar to those to whom the Scriptures were originally written.

It does not follow, however, that because the article always means that which is familiar to the speaker or writer, the same is not true sometimes of the employment of the same word without the article. It often occurs that, in ordinary and colloquial style, the article is omitted even when referring to that which is understood to be well known and familiar. We need not hesitate to admit that, in a number of instances in Paul's epistles, Paul uses the word *νόμος* without the article for the Mosaic law, but with a breadth of meaning which would be lost if the article were inserted.

It becomes, then, a matter of considerable moment what is the significance of the absence of the article. This point has not been so carefully treated by grammarians as it deserves. Its absence is explained in various ways, and meanings have been assigned to its omission growing out of the requirements of the passage, but a law of meaning does not appear to have been laid down with precision. In this connection a remark of Rev. C. J. Vaughan, D.D., in his notes on the Epistle to the Romans, (ii, 25,) is worthy of attention: "The absence of the

article directs attention to the *quality, nature, character*, etc., of the thing spoken of, not to its mere substance." In further application of it to νόμος, he says:

> The presence of the article would have restricted to the Jewish law, in particular, that which without the article is general in its application, however deeply tinged with Jewish thought and experience.

With the conception, then, that the *presence* of the article indicates that the thing mentioned is *well known* both to the reader and the writer, and that its *absence* calls attention to the word with which it is connected in its *qualitative aspect*, we have a sufficient groundwork to proceed with the inquiry into the usage of the New Testament, especially of Paul's writings, in its relation to νόμος. At least, we have secured a working hypothesis which can be tested by application to a number of passages where this word is employed.

We will take for consideration some of the passages mentioned in Winer's Grammar (Moulton's translation, p. 152) to show that νόμος without the article means the Mosaic law. Let it also be borne in mind that no exception is here taken to the statement that it does sometimes mean the Mosaic law, even without the article; but it is here maintained that when the article is absent from νόμος, the Mosaic law is not the exclusive or main idea in the writer's mind, and which he desires to convey to his readers. We will begin by a passage which indicates Paul's stand-point, one in which the νόμος without the article is referred by him to the Mosaic law—Phil. iii, 6. It is well known that the law of Moses most naturally occurred to Paul's mind, seeing that it formed an essential part of his early training. He was a "Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; . . . as touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless." His thought had usually turned to the law in which he had been reared, and this gave color to his modes of expression. We note that the νόμος is without the article in both places in the above passage, and yet the revisers translate it *the law* in both instances. Ellicott, with his tendency to undervalue the force of the article, says: "Νόμος is here the 'Mosaic law;'" and he translates, "*in respect* of the law (of Moses) a Pharisee." Again, in the next clause which employs the word, δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν

νόμῳ γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος, he translates, "righteousness that is in the law," and adds, "All limitations of *νόμος*, for example, 'specialia instituta,' 'traditionem patrum,' are completely untenable." The meaning of the apostle seems rather to be, *legally a Pharisee;* and, as touching *legal righteousness*, *blameless.* He was not a Pharisee according to the law of Moses, and he proves sin against all men so far as keeping the law perfectly was concerned. He is here speaking of law in its broader aspects, and hence the article is properly omitted.

The Epistle to the Romans opens a broad field of investigation as to the employment of *νόμος* with and without the article. Rom. ii, 12, 13: "For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law; and as many as sinned under law shall be judged by law; for not the hearers of the law shall be just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified." It will at once be recognized that the late revisers have omitted the article before law, in conformity with the Greek, whereas the *Textus Receptus* inserts the article in every case. It is evident that Paul did not omit the article without reason. The law in the apostle's mind was, no doubt, the Mosaic law; but if that had been mainly, or solely, in his mind, he could readily have inserted the article, and his meaning would have been clear. By its omission he indicates that the word "law" is applied in its qualitative aspect, such a thing as law, "by the application to this case of the rule laid down for them in any particular revelation under which they live."* He is speaking of any law which they regard as a duty. The Mosaic law was fundamentally the law in connection with which his argument originated; but his mind here takes a broader range, and he affirms of all law that which he has elsewhere affirmed of obedience to the law of Moses. The context demands this broader view. He affirms "wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek; but glory and honor and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek: for there is no respect of persons with God." He follows it by the great principle, that men shall be judged by the law under which they are placed, and that it is universally true that "not the hearers of a law are just before God,

* Vaughan, *l. c.*

but the doers of a law shall be justified." Here clearly the omission of the article indicates this broader application of the word "law." With the article inserted, as it is in the *Receptus*, this broader meaning, which was evidently in the apostle's thought, is excluded from the view of the reader, whereas its absence illumines the whole reasoning of the apostle.

The next passage which Winer applies to the Mosaic law without the article is Rom. ii, 23. We insert the Greek from the late revisers' text: ὃς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι, διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου τὸν Θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις; The revisers' translation is: "Thou who gloriest in the law, through thy transgression of the law dishonorest thou God?" It will be seen that the revisers insert the article in the first clause before "law" when it is not in the Greek. They felt, however, the force of its absence, and in the margin, as an alternative rendering in that clause, read *a law* for *the law*. This is certainly one of the strongest cases for the use of νόμος without the article meaning the Mosaic law which can be found in all Paul's writings. Two explanations of the absence of the article with the first νόμος, and its presence with the second, are possible. One is to give to the first νόμος the broader meaning, law in general, a law, and to regard the second article as inserted to call attention to that law, by way of emphasis: "Those who gloried in a law, by the transgression of that law dost thou dishonor God?" (Vaughan's translation.) The other is to regard both as referring to the Mosaic law, but regarding the absence of the article with the first νόμος as showing its qualitative aspect. "Thou that gloriest in *law*," meaning thereby not in the possession of *the law*, but thou that gloriest in *such a thing* as law. Paul, for the moment, allows the Mosaic law to sink from his mind, and calls attention to their legal glorying by the omission of the article. He then returns in the next clause to the Mosaic law, of which he is at this point specially treating. It does not seem possible that Paul should use the same word with and without the article in such close juxtaposition with precisely the same meaning. If, however, the principle with which we started is accepted, namely, that the presence of the article marks that which is familiar and well known, and its absence gives a broader and qualitative aspect to the thing with which it is connected, we

have a clear elucidation of these passages without resort to any arbitrary employment of it.

The next passage cited by Winer in support of his proposition is Rom. iii, 31: *νόμον οὖν καταργοῦμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ νόμον ἱστῶμεν.* Here again the revisers waver as to the article, translating *the law* in the text, but inserting *law* in the margin: "Do we then make the law of none effect through faith? God forbid: nay, we establish the law." Neither *νόμος* in this verse has the article, and yet in both cases they insert it in the translation. The reason for it is, no doubt, because both before and immediately following the apostle is writing of the law of Moses; hence, at first view it seems out of harmony to introduce law in general so abruptly. It must not be forgotten, however, that Paul abounds in abrupt transitions, and such a change, from the special to the general, and conversely, ought not to be a matter of surprise. There is no necessity for that explanation here. The verse is introduced by the post-positive particle *οὖν*, which, according to Hadley, ("Grammar," sec. 886,) means "*therefore, consequently*," stronger than *ἄρα*. It may fitly be regarded, therefore, as the conclusion of a previous discussion and broader in its application. He means by the omission of the article to say, "Do we, then, by means of *the* faith which we preach as necessary to salvation, make *law* of no account? On the contrary, we by this very means establish law." He thus speaks of all law as a revelation of duty, and not exclusively of the law of Moses.

Rom. iv, 13–15, is another passage cited to prove the use of *νόμος* without the article to mean the Mosaic law: *Οὐ γὰρ διὰ νόμου ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ἢ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμου, ἀλλὰ διὰ δικαιοσύνης πίστεως· εἰ γὰρ οἱ ἐκ νόμου κληρονόμοι, κεκένωται ἡ πίστις, καὶ κατήργηται ἡ ἐπαγγελία· ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὀργὴν κατεραζέται*, etc. Here again the revisers insert the article when it is not in the Greek: "For if they which are of *the* law be heirs, faith is made void," etc. Suppose, however, we translate literally, "If they which are of *law* be heirs, faith is made void," how much more expressive the passage becomes. It makes a direct antithesis between law and faith as a ground of heirship. In the apostle's argument there were but two grounds of heirship—works and faith. He is here treating of great fundamental principles, the antagonism between works and faith

as a basis of salvation, and hence *νόμος* is most properly without the article, and the apostle here has no direct reference to the Mosaic law. The last clause of the fourteenth verse, however, does insert the article with marked significance. *The* law—the Mosaic law with which you are so familiar—worketh wrath. He proves the general law which he is maintaining by the specific case of the law of Moses. Thus the absence and presence of the article are rich in significance, as is shown in the fifteenth verse, where the article is again omitted: *οὗ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος, οὐδὲ παράβασις.* "But where there is no law, neither is there transgression." A more literal rendering is, "But where a law is not, neither is there transgression." It does not mean where the law of Moses is not there is no transgression, but where law does not exist transgression does not exist. Here again the absence of the article has a clear significance.

Rom. vii, 1, is also cited as a proof that the absence of the article does not invalidate the use of the *νόμος* for the Mosaic law: *Ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε, ἀδελφοί, (γινώσκουτι γὰρ νόμον λαλῶ,) ὅτι ὁ νόμος κυριείει τόῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐφ' ὅσον Χρόνον ζῇ.* The revisers translate: "Or are ye ignorant, brethren (for I speak to men that know the law), how that the law hath dominion over a man for so long time as he liveth." The first *νόμος* is without the article, but is translated *the law*, with an alternative rendering in the margin, namely, *law*. How accurately the absence of the article indicates precisely what Paul is intending to say! He is apparently commending their readiness to understand his argument, and he incidentally remarks, "I am speaking to men conversant with law." They are therefore prepared to comprehend the illustration he is about to use. The absence of the article seems to be as necessary for the thought of the apostle with the first *νόμος* as its presence is with the second. He shows the accuracy of his writing in this delicate use of the article.

A passage from First Corinthians will further illustrate that there is a distinction between *νόμος* with and without the article more clearly marked than is admitted by Winer. 1 Cor. ix, 20: *Καὶ εγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω· τοῦς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, μὴ ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσκω.* The revisers translate: "And to the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews; to them

that are under the law as under the law, not being myself under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law." It is to be observed here that the article is not employed at all in this verse in connection with *νόμος*, and yet the revisers have inserted it in every case. It will also be observed that in each instance *νόμος* is directly preceded by a preposition. "Middleton on the Greek Article," chap. vi, sec. 1, regards the omission of the article following prepositions as anomalous. His assumption is that following a preposition the noun becomes anarthrous. It is well to examine this, for if it be so, an element of uncertainty is thereby added to the exegesis of important passages. Middleton says, in this same connection: "Hence it is evident that the absence of the article in such instances affords no presumption that the nouns are used indefinitely. Their definiteness or indefiniteness, when they are governed by prepositions, must be determined on other grounds."

This anomaly, if it be one, in linguistic criticism should only be allowed under the pressure of great exegetical necessity, and hence the inquiry may properly be raised whether a more correct explanation will not follow a literal rendering, assuming that the presence and absence of the article are intentional. Let us first look at the passage last mentioned: "And to the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews." That much of the translation is literal; that is, it is *τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις* in the first clause and *Ἰουδαίους* in the last. He means to say that he became to the Jews a Jew, that he might gain Jews. The article indicates that he refers to the well-known Jewish people, and its absence to such as are Jews. The absence indicates the qualitative aspect which is in his mind.

The view of the revisers' translation seems to be that the next clause is co-ordinate with the first and adds nothing to the thought, for they translate, "To them that are under the law, as under the law," etc. Who were those who regarded themselves as under the Mosaic law but the Jews? Is it not more in consonance with the apostle's meaning to regard the article as not omitted because of the preposition which precedes it, but because he has advanced beyond the thought of the Jews, and is now considering all that are under law, whether they be Jew or Gentile. Was it not the practice of Paul to eat with the

tiles, and thus, by conforming to their customs in things indifferent, gain them for Christ? Stanley ("Notes on Corinthians," *l. c.*) regards those under law as "Jewish proselytes, or Jewish converts to Christianity," while Alford ("Commentary," *l. c.*) takes another view. He says:

> These again are not Jewish converts, nor proselytes, who would not be thus distinguished from other Jews, but are much the same as Ἰουδαῖοι, only to the number of them the apostle did not belong, not being himself under the law, whereas he was naturally a Jew.

He affirms that the ἄνομοι are the heathen. Far more reasonable are the remarks on the passage in Olshausen's Commentary:

> It is best to regard the Jews and the ἄνομοι, that is, Gentiles, as the leading contrasts, and the οἱ ὑπὸ νομον, *those under law*, as a modification of the Gentiles. By the ἄνομος cannot be meant one who acknowledges absolutely no law; such a one would be designated ἀσεβής, *impious*, but merely one to whom the Mosaic ceremonial was unknown.

This view gives to the absence of the article a distinct meaning, and removes largely the embarrassment in the exegesis of the passage.

This distinction will appear in connection with υἱος in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Heb. i, 1, the revisers translate as follows: "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in *his* Son," etc. The margin reads *a Son*. The Greek is ἐν υἱῷ, *in a Son*. The revisers again show their uncertainty by placing *his Son* in the text and *a Son* in the margin. The insertion of *his* before Son is entirely gratuitous, for although the personal pronoun may be a proper translation of the definite article, as Acts xvii, 28, τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν, "for we are also *his* offspring," it cannot be claimed as the proper translation of its omission. This passage is one where the explanation of the omission of the article as an anomaly will not answer. The importance of this passage, and its bearing on the doctrine of the omission of the Greek article after prepositions, will justify the insertion of Alford's observations, as found in his Commentary, on the phrase ἐν υἱῷ.

The omission (of the article) would not at any time surprise us after a preposition; but here, after *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*, we should expect as an antithesis, *ἐν τῷ υἱῷ*. Hence we must seek a reason beyond that usual idiomatic omission. Emphatic position will often dispense with the article, and this may be alleged here. But even thus we do not get at the final cause. If the position of *υἱῷ*, wherever anarthrous, is emphatic *to this extent*, it must be for some reason still latent. Some have suggested official denomination, making *υἱός* into a quasi-proper name. But this again is only an introduction to the final reason. *Why* is such an anarthrous name here used as designating our Lord? Now, then, we come to the word itself, as we must do in all such cases, for an account of the idiom. And that account here seems to be found in the peculiar and exclusive character of that relation to God which *υἱός* expresses. We may say that Jesus is "the Son of God;" by this is definitely expressed the fact, and the distinction from other sons of God implied: but we may also say that he is "Son of God;" and we thus give the predicate all fullness of meaning and prominence, and even more emphatically and definitely express the exclusive character of his sonship.

In Alford's view the breadth of the predication involved in the omission of the article affirms the exclusiveness of Christ's sonship.

The difficulty in the translation of this phrase is shown by Peile in his Annotations on Hebrews, in a note on this verse. He says:

'Εν *υἱῷ*, improperly rendered in our English version "by *His* Son," cannot (although nouns, even when most definite, may be anarthrous after a preposition) have been intended by one who had just before written *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*, to convey *by the Son*, assumed to be known by that name. . . . We understand *ἐν υἱῷ*, *ὃν ἔθηκε κληρονόμον πάντων* to express the Eternal God's *Personal Revelation of himself, as* in man's form and on man's behalf standing in the relation of Son unto himself.

It is sufficient for our purpose to show from these scholarly authorities that they distinctly recognize, what is apparent on the surface, that it will not do to trust the rule of the frequent omission of the article after prepositions, as laid down by Middleton and Winer, in a crucial case of exposition. The idea of the sonship of Christ runs through the whole passage, a sonship that involves divinity. The writer in this series of wonderful thoughts contrasts the communication of the old covenant by *τοῖς προφήταις*, the well-known prophets whom he need not mention, with the new Revelation made known not

in prophetic messengers, but in "*a Son*, whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the world." Here again the absence of the article indicates the qualitative aspect under which the Son is viewed. It is in his character as Son, and not as servant or prophet or apostle, that he speaks to men from God.

The remarks which have been made have been confined chiefly to the use of the article with νομος. That word seems to be the most embarrassing. Winer takes pains to give the specific passages in which νομος without the article is employed for the Mosaic law. We have already indicated that is a disputed question, and cannot be disposed of without extensive and careful investigation. Prof. Moulton, in his note to Winer, says: "There is still difference of opinion on the proper interpretation of νόμος without the article." It has been shown that the revisers had no rule on this point, but that they often translated it as if it were present when it was not in the Greek, but did not omit it when it was present. They were careful, also, to place the literal meaning in the margin, so that the difficulty might be manifest, and the reader might take his choice. Their translations are cited, not to call in question their high scholarship, which is beyond criticism, but to show that the scholarship of the world is divided on this point, and to raise the question whether there are not rules which govern the article as well as other parts of speech.

There is a necessity for more definiteness in this matter arising out of the very nature of language and the necessity for an accurate understanding of its meaning. Arbitrary or traditional interpretation should, as far as possible, yield to fixed grammatical laws. It is safe to affirm that there is no part of linguistic expression which cannot be reduced to scientific rules, if men have the patience and insight to discover what they are. The laws are there; it is the work of the student to find them.

The words of Alford on Heb. i, 2, already referred to, are worthy of consideration in this connection. He refers to the language of Prof. Stuart to refute it:

> So far is this or any other usage of the article from being arbitrary, as Stuart here maintains, I will quote his sentence for a caution to tyros: "After all the rules which have been laid down

respecting the insertion or omission of the article in Greek, and all the theories which have been advanced, he who investigates for himself, and is guided only by *facts*, will find not a little that is arbitrary in the actual use of it. The cases are certainly very numerous where Greek writers insert or reject it at pleasure." The direct contrary of this assertion is the fact, and cannot be too much impressed on every Greek Testament student. The rules respecting the article are rigid, and are constantly observed; and there is no case of its omission or insertion in which there was not a distinct reason in the mind of the writer—usually, but not always, discernible by the patient and accurate scholar among ourselves.

To this view scholarship must come, and out of such investigations are to come some of the most precious thoughts of the New Testament.

It is fitting that we should now turn attention to some considerations favoring the view of the article thus far insisted on. As already seen, it gives a clear and consistent explanation to a large number of passages of Scripture which without it are confused and almost contradictory. In order to a harmony of revelation there must also be a harmony of interpretation. This was one of the strong points made for the late revision. They made uniform laws for the guidance of all, and they insisted on giving the same meaning to words and tenses so far as practicable. It is interesting to notice how often the necessities of translation led them to discard their own rules, especially in the translation of the tenses and the meaning of prepositions. The rules, however, were necessary, and the influence of them of unspeakable importance in securing an accurate translation. When laws are rigidly followed, and all books are subjected to the same analysis as to language, the harmonies and the discrepancies at once appear.

The accurate translation of the article gives a train of thought more in accord with the breadth of the views of Paul. Whoever would study Paul carefully must remember that he was the apostle of breadth. He it was that conceived of the Gospel most fully in its relations to all mankind. It was as the apostle to the Gentiles that he magnified his office. He regards his call to preach to them a grace. It is natural, therefore, to expect that he would have a broader terminology than some of the others. The word *νόμος*, in its relation to the article, affords one of the best illustrations of this breadth. He employs the

word without the article more frequently than any of the others. While the danger to the Jew lay in his dependence upon the Mosaic law for justification, he recognizes the danger of the Gentile in dependence upon his self-righteousness also. He strips the mask from both, and shows the whole world guilty before God. In the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans he portrays the fearful condition of the heathen world, and in the second the equally wicked condition of the Jewish world, even greater in its guilt, because they were in the possession of the published revelation of God. What is the conclusion which he reaches? It is found in Rom. iii, 20: *διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας*: "Because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for through the law cometh the knowledge of sin." Such is the translation of our late revisers, inserting the article in both cases before "law" where it is not in the Greek. Such has been the uniform usage of our translators, Wiclif and Tyndale and Rheims; in brief, it has been assumed that Paul meant the Mosaic law only.

Does not this view do injustice both to the breadth of the apostle's views and to his argument? What is meant by his strong statement of the iniquities of the Gentile world? What is meant by his terrible arraignment of Judaism? Was it not to reach a conclusion vital to his discussion, namely, to show that the whole world was guilty before God? Now, why does he assume that the whole world is guilty before God? The verse under consideration is the answer. I use the language of our recent revisers' translation, omitting only the article, which, according to the view here advocated, is inserted without authority: "Because by works of law shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for through law cometh the knowledge of sin." The omission of the article in the translation following its omission in Greek gives a clearness and application to the reasoning which the insertion of it cannot give. How incongruous to affirm that the whole world was guilty before God, and then give as a reason that by the deeds of the law of Moses no flesh shall be justified in his sight! What he declares is, that by works of law, either the revealed law or the law written in the heart, no flesh can be justified. It is a universal proposition, Law cannot justify; its primary and

necessary function in respect to all sinners, is to produce a knowledge of sin.

The next verse confirms this view. I quote again from the revisers' translation: "But now apart from the law a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets." A reference to the Greek will show that the first *νόμος* is without the article, while the second *νόμος* retains it. The translation, however, inserts it in both cases. The omission of the article makes the meaning clear. "But now 'apart from law,'" in any law whatever, "a righteousness of God hath been manifested;" it is a righteousness whose essential condition was faith and not works.

Until one has entered into a comprehension of Paul's accurate use of the article, he is to a certain extent hindered in his comprehension of the world-wideness of the apostle's thought. It gives a revelation of the breadth of his views the more effective because it seems so incidental.

It would be too much to claim for the general principle here advocated that it will explain all cases. It is safe, however, to assume that when a law can be found which will explain nine out of ten of the instances, it may well be regarded as a safe guide. There are elements which enter into the composition of New Testament Greek, which must not be overlooked in an investigation like this. The old controversy between the purists and Hebraists has passed away, and no one will venture now to claim for the Greek of the New Testament an exact conformity to classic usage. It is an idiom, however, which has assumed a definite form and which has become closely studied, owing to the successful researches of Winer as seen in his very valuable Grammar.

The influence of Hebrew on New Testament diction, though not so great as the early Hebraists claimed, is yet considerable, and affected the article as well as the other elements of language. Care must be taken, therefore, to discriminate between a usage which is purely Greek and one which had its origin in Hebrew. In this particular the influence of the Septuagint needs to be carefully traced. The genealogies in the first chapter of Matthew afford an illustration of its influence. The article is omitted with the subject, and inserted with the object. Matthew i, 2: *Ἀβραὰμ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰσαάκ· Ἰσαὰκ δὲ*

ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ. This use of the article is found in the genealogy in the Septuagint, to wit, the fifth of Genesis. There are also phrases, idiomatic usages, which are readily recognized in all languages, but which do not come under any general law. It is sufficient if there can be found a general significance to its presence or absence which may always be recognized by the careful student.

We have considered thus far the writings of Paul, who was skilled in classical Greek, as shown by his quotations, and whose style would be formed on Greek rather than on the Hebrew models. The Gospel of John may show us how carefully the article was employed by a Palestinian Jew whose theology is based upon the Old Testament, who seems to have known Hebrew, whose language though Greek is strongly tinged with a Hebrew vocabulary and Hebrew modes of expression. (See Plummer on St. John. Introduction, p. 28.)

The commentator just mentioned calls attention to the significance of the article as used by John, who would not be supposed to be as accurate in this regard as those more conversant with classical Greek. John v, 35, has been literally translated by the revisers with added force: "He was the lamp that burneth and shineth," a great improvement over our authorized: "He was a burning and a shining light." John was the lamp, not the light. He was not merely *a* lamp, but *the* lamp, the well known herald of the Messiah, whose lamp was kindled at the true light, which was Christ. How much the rendering of the article adds to the force of the thought!

In John vii, 51, notice the force of the article with νόμος in calling attention to the special Jewish law with which they were familiar: "Doth *our law* (ὁ νόμος) judge a man, except it first hear from himself and know what he doeth?" The translation of the article by the possessive pronoun gives a good rendering of the force of the article and is material to the argument. Again, John xii, 36: "While ye have the light, believe on the light, that ye may become sons of light." The absence of the article with "light" and "sons" in the last clause is noteworthy. It teaches the close relationship between the light and him who believes on it. It shows the qualitative aspect of the predicate. A similar force is given by the absence of the article in John xvi, 21, when "She remembereth no more the anguish, for the

joy that a man is born into the world." A man (ἀνθρωπος), such a being as a man, a human being, is born into the world. It is the characteristic of that which is born which is thereby indicated rather than the birth of the individual child.

There is another realm of New Testament expression which shows the importance of the proper understanding of the force of the article, namely, those which bear upon the names given to our Saviour, especially in his relationship to God. As an example of the presence and absence of the article in close connection take Eph. i, 3: Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, etc. Revisers' translation: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." Ellicott translates: "God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is unnecessary to discuss the law of the grammarians on the repetition of the article with nouns joined by the conjunction καί, as the object is to show the value of the absence and presence of the article. It is a rule of classic Greek that Θεός with the article means the particular God, but without it divinity in general. Here Paul recognizes by the article with Θεός the personal God. But is the next word the same or a different person, and why is the article wanting with the word Father, if it refers to the same person? Has not the noun πατήρ a predicative force, and makes thereby a strong affirmation concerning God, namely, that the relation to our Lord Jesus Christ is that of Father? The relationship of God to Christ is that of father and son, not that of master and servant.

Such a rendering is applied by T. S. Green (Grammar, p. 48) to John i, 14: δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός.

> In this place μονογενοῦς is virtually a substantive; and it is also clear that the language might have been τοῦ μονογενοῦς παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. Now, there can here be hardly any plea of license, and therefore the absence of the article is designed, and the object is to give the most effective expression of the characteristic circumstances of the mission of Jesus, standing in unapproachable contrast to that of all other divine messengers, such, in fact, as is best expressed in the words of the parable, ἔτι ἕνα εἶχεν, υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν. . . . (Mark xii, 6), "And we beheld his glory, glory as of an only-begotten one come forth from a father, and, as such, contrasted with a mere servant, like Moses or the prophets."

If a further example of this mode of interpreting the absence of the article is needed, it will be found in John vii, 45: "The

officers therefore came to the chief priests and Pharisees." Pharisees being without the article shows that the latter involves some explanation of the former, or involves some predication concerning the chief priests. Plummer (comment on passage) says: "The omission of τούς before Φαρισαίους shows that the chief priests and Pharisees are now regarded as one body."

At this point we may pause, the object of this paper being to set forth an exposition of the Greek Article in the New Testament, not novel, but which has not yet taken its place among the accepted theories on that subject. The recognized view is represented by Winer in his incomparable "Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament Greek." It is also proper to add, that the majority of interpreters have not explained the force of the omission of the article, especially with νόμος, as here advocated. That so many eminent biblical scholars have employed the more literal mode of rendering it, and that our late revisers have not entirely discarded it, but have shown how often the exact translation gives clearness and force to the argument, may be employed to prove at least that the tendency of modern scholarship is in the direction here indicated. Whatever may be the conclusions reached, the careful investigation of the minutest forms of expression in the Holy Scriptures must be a matter of permanent interest to all lovers of the truth as it is in Jesus, the Saviour.

It has thus been attempted to place before the reader some observations on important passages of Scripture growing out of the laws governing the Greek article. As shown in the beginning, it is a matter which is regarded by some of the best grammarians as beyond the reach of our investigations, and that we must therefore be content with a few general principles. If we must come to that conclusion let it only be after constant application to the study of the word of God. It will be found generally that the nearer we come to literalness in our interpretations, the more we aim to be governed by what the word says, and not by what we think it ought to say, the more consistent will be our interpretations with each other, and the more surely, with the divine guidance, may we attain the "mind of the Spirit."

Art. IV.—REV. SYDNEY SMITH.

Edward Everett, writing of his "delightful visit" at Combe-Florey, the rectory of Rev. Sydney Smith, said: "The first remark I made to myself after listening to Mr. Sydney Smith's conversation was, that if he had not been known as the wittiest man of his day he would have been accounted one of the wisest." This epigrammatic observation is equivalent to saying that Mr. Smith's wit was so brilliant that it eclipsed his sagacity. His wise thoughts, of which his speech was by no means barren, were like small jewels incased in settings so large and so curiously wrought as to divert the observer's attention from the gems they were meant to display. Hence it came to pass that, as one of his admirers has recently remarked, his memory is kept green, not so much by his really "great services to rational freedom" as by his humorous sayings, many of which have become current coin in the speech of the reading world.

Perhaps there is a modicum of poetic justice in this. Mr. Smith resembled Democritus, the laughing philosopher of antiquity, of whom Juvenal said, that he laughed at the world whenever he stepped across his threshold. Smith did more, for his jocund laughter at men and things constantly rang out both within and without his threshold. And this sportive laughter was every-where contagious. All men enjoyed it and joined in it. But could they, on reflection, help suspecting that the weed of contempt grew close by the sources of those streams of amusing speech which flowed so constantly from his lips? That shrewd observer, Montaigne, remarks, that "things we laugh at are by that laughter expressed to be of no moment." How natural it was, therefore, that the wisdom of our modern Democritus being so lightly expressed, so apparently lacking in earnestness not to say sincerity, should float unheeded from the memories of men, and that he should be remembered more as a "remarkable buffoon" than as a reformer of many social abuses. Mr. Stuart J. Reid's new biography,* which aims to

* "A Sketch of the Life and Times of the Rev. Sydney Smith, Rector of Combe-Florey, and Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's. Based on Family Documents and the Recollection of Personal Friends." By Stuart J. Reid. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 20, 409. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1884.

bring the best side of Sydney Smith's character into bolder relief, may be accepted as evidence that the interest of the public in his career is still sufficiently strong to justify the publication of a fresh contribution to his memory. It may therefore be presumed that a brief outline of his history and a glance at his life-work may not be unacceptable to the readers of this Review.

The parents of Sydney Smith were neither rich nor titled. In allusion to his somewhat plebeian origin, he used to say in his jocose way "The Smiths never had any '*arms*,' and have invariably sealed their letters with their thumbs." His father, Mr. Robert Smith, inherited a small property which he was not sufficiently a man of affairs to increase. A vein of eccentricity ran through his character. He was odd and gloried in his oddity. He was nevertheless possessed of some rare intellectual qualities. He was fortunate in his marriage to a lady of French descent and Huguenot blood, who was endowed with both beauty of form and nobility of mind. From her Sydney Smith inherited his remarkable vivacity, geniality, and energy; and his father's oddity was reproduced, though considerably chastened, in those queerly expressed exaggerations which characterized his wit.

Sydney Smith's early life was not on the whole very enjoyable. He was born in 1771 at Woodford, Essex, the second of four brothers and one sister. In their childhood these precocious brothers preferred books and bookish discussions to the sports of the play-ground. When only six years old, Sydney was sent from home, first to a private school and then, with his younger brother Courtenay, to the Winchester Grammar School. In this latter institution he suffered extremely, as John Wesley did at the Charter-House, through lack of sufficient food and the rough semi-brutal conduct of his senior school-mates. To the day of his death the recollection of this abusive treatment roused him to sharp resentment. His progress in learning, however, was so rapid that he became captain of the school. He and his brother were so successful in winning prizes that the boys of their form wrote to the head master, saying, "We will not try for the college prizes if the Smiths are allowed to contend for them any more, because they always get them."

Sydney's scholarship was rated so high that he left Winchester captain of the school, and, as such, entitled to a scholarship and to a subsequent fellowship in New College, Oxford. Little is known of his career in that institution beyond the fact that in due time he gained his fellowship, and that, owing to his pecuniary disability to live after their expensive fashion, and to his pride of character, he associated very little with his fellow-students. Singularly enough, this young man, so uncommonly gifted with social qualities, formed no intimate college friendships. His wit, up to the time of his graduation, was an "unknown quantity," and respecting any special influences which may have contributed to the formation of his character during his college life no light is gathered.

Sydney Smith felt no call to the ministry of the Gospel. His inclination was for the bar, for which the character of his mind eminently fitted him. But his impecunious father, unable to furnish the means necessary to his study of the law, insisted that he should enter the Church, saying, with blunt sternness, "You may be a college tutor or a parson." Not choosing to be a tutor, and seeing no other opening, Sydney, after much hesitation, consented to enter the Church, was ordained, and, having no wealthy patron to present him to a desirable Church living, was forced either to half starve on the five hundred dollars per annum derived from his fellowship, or to accept the curacy of an insignificant parish at Nether Avon, a mean hamlet situated in the midst of the solitude of Salisbury Plain.

Alas, that such a man should be forced into such an uncongenial situation! A lover of natural beauty, yet placed in a spot naked of every thing that gives charm to a landscape; a tolerably ripe scholar compelled to live among peasants whose mental stolidity was only exceeded by the sterility of the surrounding plains. A man made for society immured in a "spot of dull stagnation," and shut out from association with intelligent and cultivated minds; an ambitious man driven by stress of circumstances to minister to one of the starvation parishes of a rich National Church; a man of the world, professing no conviction of ministerial duty, reluctantly undertaking the care of souls! Such was the unpromising situation of this brilliant man at his first entrance into public life. He was somewhat in the position of Swift's Gulliver among the pygmies of

Lilliput, bound with the rigid cords of circumstances, which, notwithstanding his inborn strength, he was unable to burst asunder. No wonder he wrote, after being fairly settled there, "Nothing can equal the profound, the immeasurable, the awful dullness of this place, in which I lie dead and buried, in hopes of a joyful resurrection in the year 1796."

But as every desert has its oasis, so did this dreary parish afford one alleviation to the situation of our wrongly placed curate. Mr. Hicks Beach, the squire of Nether Avon, was a gentleman and a man of culture, who enjoyed his pastor's spicy after-dinner talks in his drawing-room on Sunday afternoons. The sparks from the curate's wit soon warmed his generous heart into friendship for the poor Oxford scholar; and after enjoying his pleasant company during his occasional residence in the parish, and assisting him in his earnest endeavors to instruct the semi-barbarous rustics of the hamlet, he persuaded him to resign the curacy at the end of two years and to proceed with his eldest son, as his friend and tutor, to the University of Weimar in Saxony. Gladly bidding adieu to his unprofitable parish, the young parson prepared to start with his pupil-friend for that seat of learning; but hearing that Germany was disturbed by Napoleon's wars, he conducted the young man to Edinburgh. In that city Mr. Smith soon found congenial society, with an entrance to the path along which lay his way to literary celebrity, social distinction, and, finally, to Church preferment.

To Smith, now twenty-six years of age, this transition from the doleful dullness and rustic stupidity of Nether Avon to the literary circle composed of such brilliant talkers as Jeffrey, Horner, Brougham, Walter Scott, Archibald Murray, etc., must have been like the flight of a soul from Dante's purgatory into paradise. These men, destined soon to stand among the first of the age in their respective departments, were as yet far from being rich or arrogantly aristocratic. Hence the poverty of Smith was no bar to his acquaintance with gentlemen who were quick to take the measure of his mind and to enjoy the raciness of his witty conversation, which seems to have been developed for the first time by his contact with those great men. They received him cordially, and were soon bound to him by the tie of a friendship which proved lasting as their lives.

Long years after, Smith, writing of his experiences in Edinburgh, said: "When shall I see Scotland again? Never shall I forget the happy days passed there amidst odious smells, barbarous sounds, bad suppers, excellent hearts, and most enlightened and cultivated understandings." Yet, despite this friendship for Scotland, he never could help jesting over the foibles of its people, who were so slow to comprehend his jests that he sometimes said: "It requires a surgical operation to get a joke well into a Scotch understanding. Their only idea of wit . . . is laughing immoderately at stated intervals. They are so imbued with metaphysics that they even make love metaphysically. I overheard a young lady of my acquaintance, at a dance in Edinburgh, exclaim in a sudden pause in the music, 'What you say, my Lord, is very true of love in the *aibstract*, but'—here the fiddlers began fiddling furiously, and the rest was lost." This scene was probably little else than a joke, since he never hesitated to sacrifice truth on the altar of his wit, as he indirectly confessed when, speaking of his friend Francis Horner, he said, "Horner loved truth so much that he never could bear any jesting upon important subjects."

Mr. Smith, though still without pecuniary prospects sufficient to justify his marriage at the bar of prudence, ventured to become a Benedict two years after his arrival in Edinburgh. Miss Pybus, his chosen bride, had a small property, which he honorably insisted should be settled upon her and her children. His own resources were represented in six old silver tea-spoons, with which he one day rushed into the room, merry as a school-boy on a holiday, and flinging them into his bride's lap exclaimed, "There, Kate, you lucky girl, I give you all my fortune!" To these spoons a generous gift of £750 from the squire of Nether Avon for directing his son's studies was a timely addition to his meager resources. He also took two other pupils, from whom he derived a moderate income. But seeing no prospect in Edinburgh of gaining a position in the Church, he removed to London in 1803, where he hoped his gifts and attainments would procure him a presentation to some desirable Church living.

About a year before this removal he and his friends had originated the "Edinburgh Review," which was, as Coleridge subsequently remarked, the commencement of "an important

epoch in periodical criticism." It was first suggested by Smith to Jeffrey and Brougham when in the midst of a lively conversation in Jeffrey's modest parlor. Sydney half jestingly said, "Let us set up a Review!" This proposal, so lightly made, struck his companions so favorably that they accepted it at once with acclamation. He then laughingly suggested that the motto of the Review should be, "*Tenui Musam meditamur avena*" ("We cultivate literature on a little oatmeal"). This was objected to as being too truthful a confession of their actual poverty, and after some discussion they agreed to take a line from Publius Syrus, of whom Mr. Smith says, "none of us had read a single line." The motto, which is still retained, "*Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*" ("The judge is condemned when the guilty is acquitted"). When Sir Walter Scott saw this pugnacious motto, he remarked, "The motto is as if the adventurers had hung out the bloody flag on their title-page."

The spontaneity of this singular beginning of the Review shows that the gentlemen concerned had previously thought of the need of such a publication. There was a "Monthly Review" in existence which was not critical, but only a collection of essays, poems, etc. The literary interests of the age demanded a periodical of a higher character—a Review aiming, as Smith well said, "to make men wise in ten pages who have no appetite for a hundred; to condense nourishment, to work with pulp and essence, and to guard the stomach from idle burden and unmeaning bulk."

Clearly perceiving this public need, these gentlemen soon set to work in good earnest to supply it. Mr. Smith appears to have taken the lead in the preliminary business arrangements, and in editing the first three numbers. Its first number appeared October 10, 1802, and caused a marked sensation in the literary world. The first edition of seven hundred and fifty copies was quickly bought by the hungry public. So also was a second. Other and larger editions quickly followed. It was a success from the start, and when it reached its third number it had a circulation of twenty-five hundred, which in later years rose to some twelve thousand copies.

Sydney Smith informally edited the first three numbers; but on his removal to London, Jeffrey was regularly chosen its

editor, with an allowance of two hundred and fifty dollars per number, and fifty dollars for each sheet of sixteen pages—about three dollars per page. After a few years the editor's allowance was doubled, and over five dollars per page was paid for contributed articles. Jeffrey was strongly supported in his editorship by Mr. Smith, who ranked first among his coterie of accomplished contributors, which included Francis Horner, Brougham, Mackintosh, Dr. Thomas Brown, and Hallam. Later on, that master of historical criticism, Macaulay, made its pages sparkle with his brilliant essays. Sydney Smith's articles probably did more to draw popular attention to the Review in its early years than those of any other writer, because he wrote on questions in which the general public was practically interested. He assailed social barbarisms, unjust laws, cruel usages, and ecclesiastical abuses with such clearness of statement, such telling appeals to common sense and conscience, and such satirical denunciations, that he won the ears of intelligent readers, capturing the convictions of all but those stubborn conservatives in Church and State who, unable to repel his attacks, were exasperated by his boldness.

But while Smith made the Review popular with the many, Jeffrey gave it greater strength and higher critical reputation than his chief contributor. Jeffrey had less wit, but nicer discrimination; less vivacity, but more correct literary taste; less transparency of statement, but profounder thought and richer, though not more abundant, illustration; less sympathy with the practical side of things, but superior intellectual power and brilliancy of style. Hence, while the Review owed very much of its first success to Smith, it was more indebted in the end to Jeffrey, because he wrote for the cultivated classes who loved literature of the highest qualities for its own sake, and upon whose patronage such reviews must finally depend.

On his arrival in London, Mr. Smith was warmly greeted by his friend Horner, whom he had playfully dubbed the "Knight of the Shaggy Eyebrows," by Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir James Mackintosh, and other kindred spirits, who knew and prized his worth. They did their best to introduce him to society, and to encourage his hopes. But his poverty pinched him so sorely at first that his noble wife felt compelled to take a pearl necklace, left her by her mother, then recently deceased,

and sell it to the jewelers for twenty-five hundred dollars. Besides his actual poverty, he had to face the discouragement arising from the freezing coldness, not to say avowed hostility, of the dignitaries in Church and State who were the dispensers of Church preferments. His connection with the Review, already universally admitted to be "uncommonly well done, and perhaps the first in Europe," was now known. But it stood, as Jeffrey said, on the two legs of literature and Whiggery; hence its literary and progressive opinions were obnoxious to the Tories, who were then in power. Had it been a feeble thing, conservative leaders might have despised it; but being a thing of power they feared it, and therefore treated Smith, its most outspoken advocate of reform, and a man considerably in advance of his age, with such studied neglect that, at first, he could rarely find a London pulpit in which to preach. After being admitted to one, he wrote with characteristic playful exaggeration: "I thought I perceived that the greater part of the congregation thought me mad. The clerk was as pale as death in helping me off with my gown, for fear I should bite him." This prejudice reached even to the throne. George III., after reading some of his papers, had said, "Mr. Smith is a very clever fellow, but he will never be a bishop" —an ominous prediction, which was too literally fulfilled.

But in spite of these chilling mists of prejudice Sydney did not despair. He had faith in himself, and his friends were eager to assist him. An introduction from his brother Robert to Lord Holland led to his intimate friendship with that noble man, happily described by Lord John Russell as "a man who won without seeming to court, instructed without seeming to teach, and amused without laboring to be witty." Henceforth Smith had free access to those famous assemblies at Holland House where many of the most eminent men of England were then accustomed to meet and to enjoy what Lady Holland describes as "the perfection of social intercourse, a sort of mental dram-drinking, rare as it was delightful." To this brilliant conversation Smith contributed not a little genuine Attic salt. His vivacity, independence, and sagacious observations, "weighted with wisdom and winged with wit," made him one of the most fascinating talkers in those literary assemblies. Superior to him in wealth and position as were

most of his associates there, he never failed to speak his mind freely and fully, and when the imperious mistress of Holland House, with a rudeness not uncommon with her, said to him, one evening, "Sydney, ring the bell," he replied, "Yes, and shall I sweep the room?" The fact that she remained his friend after this sharp, witty rebuff illustrates both the suavity and the self-respect of our poor young clergyman. Had there been the least touch of chagrin in his reply her proud ladyship would have become his life-long foe, since she was capable of being "a good hater."

But this social disposition did not prevent Mr. Smith, when at his own fireside, from wishing that "smiles were meat for children, or kisses could be bread." He needed a friend who could introduce him to clerical employment. Such a friend he soon found in the generous Sir Thomas Bernard, who chanced to hear one or more of the few sermons he had been permitted to preach in London. Charmed with his discourses, as Dugald Stewart had previously been in Edinburgh, this large-souled man secured him the appointment of "alternate evening preacher at the Foundling Hospital." His success in attracting a large congregation of fashionable people to the hitherto neglected church of this institution, led to his appointment as morning preacher at Berkeley and Fitzroy chapels alternately. His fame then spread, and, through Sir Thomas Bernard, he was invited to deliver two courses of lectures on Moral Philosophy at the Royal Institution. His original and witty method of treating this topic drew such crowds that, writing to Jeffrey, Smith could say: "My lectures, just now, are at such a high pitch of celebrity that I must lose a good deal of reputation before the public settles into a just equilibrium respecting them." From his preaching and from these lectures Smith derived an income barely sufficient, with the strictest economy, for his family needs; until, after struggling with poverty three years, a brighter day began to dawn. The death of Pitt, succeeded by the ministry of Grenville and Fox, put it into the power of his Whig friends to assist him. And then, at the request of Lord Holland, he was presented to the living of Foston-le-Clay, in Yorkshire. This parish, though not such a one as he would have chosen, was worth twenty-five hundred dollars a year, which he gladly accepted, not because it was

ample for his needs—for it was not—but because it was a certainty. For some time he left its duties to a curate, but when a change in the law respecting the residence of the clergy compelled him to either resign or reside within his parish, though reluctant to leave London, he chose to remove to his living, which he did in 1809. Writing to Jeffrey of this flitting to the country, he said, with characteristic quaintness, "I shall take to grazing as quietly as Nebuchadnezzar."

Before going thither, however, he had written a series of letters, under the assumed name of Peter Plymley, on the legal disabilities of the Irish Catholics, which had been to public opinion in England as a spark to gunpowder. Ireland, too, was moved to enthusiastic admiration. Since Swift, no Protestant clergyman had so ably pleaded in her behalf. Lord Murray, writing of these letters at a later period, said: "After Pascal's Letters it is the most instructive piece of wisdom in the form of irony ever written, and had the most important and lasting effects." Their authorship was kept secret a long time, but Smith had his reward in that his liberal sentiments, though a rank offense to the then dominant party, fell like fruitful seed into the popular mind. And when, in 1829, the Catholic Emancipation Bill swept those disabilities into the limbus of dead enactments, he had the satisfaction of knowing that his caustic pen had contributed not a little to that grand result. And since his death his opinions have found their crowning expression in the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church.

Mr. Smith was rector of Foston twenty-two years. His parishioners had not been favored with the labors of a resident minister for a hundred and fifty years, but only with the Sabbath services of a curate whose home was at York, some twelve miles distant. When Sydney arrived among them, driven in a four-wheeled carriage and dressed in broadcloth, they stared at him as at a visitor from a distant planet. Their ignorance of society, and, indeed, of almost every thing worthy to be called knowledge, appeared when he met the venerable parish clerk, who looked more ancient than the ruined parsonage house, and was the most important man in the village. After conversing awhile with his new minister, the wrinkled old man, with the natural shrewdness of a Yorkshireman, said, as he struck his crutch-stick on the ground: "Mees-

ter Smith, it often stroikes moy moind that people as comes frae London is such *fools*. But you, I see, are no fool!"

The clerk made no mistake in thus judging Sydney Smith, who was, indeed, no fool, but a man fully bent on acting the part, if not of an evangelical pastor, yet of a benefactor to his utterly uncultivated flock. It certainly is a pleasing picture to view this man, so eminently fitted by nature and education to shine as "a bright particular star" in the most refined social circles of the British metropolis, cheerfully going to work among those ignorant rustics, teaching them to improve their hard outward circumstances and to become wiser and better men. To do this he had first to become his own teacher in many things. To cultivate his glebe, consisting of three hundred acres, he had to study agriculture, cattle breeding, and dairy management. There being nothing but a mere hovel for a parsonage, he had, after considerable delay, to build a house with his own scanty means. In doing this he was his own architect, and while eschewing every principle of architectural beauty in its external appearance, he made its interior a model of coziness and convenience. To promote the material comfort of his parishioners he became their instructor in gardening and in matters relating to domestic economy. Hence this merry-hearted man, in addition to his own many family cares, was, as he described himself, "village parson, village doctor"—he had attended medical lectures in Edinburgh—"village comforter, village magistrate, and Edinburgh Reviewer."

That the rude inhabitants of Foston parish were benefited in mind and morals by Mr. Smith's labors is not to be questioned. His benevolence also won their affectionate regards. But concerning the spiritual results of his ministry his biographers are silent.

To most clergymen Foston would have proved the grave of their expectations of preferment. The ear of the great busy world could have caught no echoes from their humble and secluded pulpit. But this master of good-natured satire—this sagacious humanitarian—this prince of conversationalists—could not be hidden forever from public view even in the deep obscurity of that out-of-the-way spot. His fame as a witty talker and writer drew many distinguished visitors to his hospitable fireside, and, after the first six years of his rectorship, he

became a frequent and welcome guest in the mansions of the most aristocratic families in Yorkshire and Cheshire. Even some of his political opponents were attracted to him, and, despite his unflinching liberalism, became his personal friends. To know Sidney Smith was to love him. Lord Lyndhurst was one such friend, and, braving the resentment of his own party, he presented him, in 1828, with a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Bristol. His lordship did him still further service by procuring him an exchange of his Foston parish for Combe-Florey, near Taunton, from which beautiful location, really a valley of flowers, he could readily reach Bristol. In 1831, the Whigs being again in office, Lord Grey appointed him to a prebendal stall in St. Paul's, London, in exchange for the one he held in Bristol. This was his highest preferment. His liberal opinions, especially his witty attacks on abuses in the Church, no doubt prevented his appointment to a bishopric. Dean Swift's wit had cost him a similar loss, albeit it is supposed that, if Lord Grey's administration had continued longer than it did, that liberal statesman would have defied existing prejudices and offered Sydney Smith a miter.

Mr. Smith's duties as canon of St. Paul's requiring him to reside in London part of each year, he was able once more to indulge his fondness for cultivated society. Holding honorable place in the Church, being in easy circumstances and in the enjoyment of good health, he was never more animated and brilliant in conversation. "It is hardly possible," said Lord John Russell, "to describe his manner or convey the slightest idea of what his powers really were, in their most brilliant moments, to those who have never witnessed them. In his peculiar style he has never been equaled, and perhaps will not be surpassed." When Sydney said to a lady, "Ah, you flavor every thing; you are the vanilla of society," he paid her a compliment which, applied to himself, would have been sober fact.

About three years before his death, Mr. Smith became a rich man by the death of his younger brother, Courtenay, who left him a third of the large fortune he had acquired in India. It came too late, however, to do him much other service than to enable him to enlarge his benevolences. He grew old cheerfully, and retained to the last his habit of uttering

fantastic jests. In the autumn before his death he said: "I feel so weak both in body and mind that I verily believe if the knife were put into my hand I should not have strength or energy enough to stick it into a dissenter." And when nearing his end, and alluding to the spare diet ordered by his physician, he smilingly said to General Fox: "Ah, Charles! I wish I were allowed even the wing of a roasted butterfly." In his last hours he spoke very little. On the 22d of February, 1845, he quietly passed into the realm of the departed.

Macaulay, giving his estimate of Sydney Smith, said: "He is universally admitted to have been a great reasoner, and the greatest master of ridicule that has appeared among us since Swift." In calling him "a great reasoner," Macaulay does not imply that he was either a deep or an original thinker, since a great reasoner is not necessarily a deep thinker, nor is a profound thinker always a great reasoner. Every student of Sydney Smith's published sermons and of his seventy-six Review articles knows that he was neither original nor profound in thought, but that the distinguishing feature of his mind was its marvelously quick and clear perceptive power. To this faculty he was indebted for the rare transparency of his statements and his remarkable proficiency in "the art of putting things." His mind was logical, therefore he generally reasoned correctly; but, always excepting his witty forms of speech, he invented little or nothing. His articles mostly dealt with questions of fact, with social and legal barbarisms which offended both his strong sense of "justice and his uncommon common sense." Seizing on what was cruel or unjust in the then existing laws on poaching, on the trials of prisoners, on the exclusion of Romanists and dissenters from state offices, on the use of man-traps for the protection of property, etc., he first stated the facts in each case so clearly as to almost render argument unnecessary. He then proceeded to denounce the wrong with such pitiless invective, and to hold up its absurdity with such rasping, yet mirth-provoking satire, as almost compelled his readers to laugh at the latter and to feel indignant at the former. His favorite logical weapon was the *reductio ad absurdum*, and with his keen sense of the ridiculous he made it irresistible. He also treated prevailing barbarous usages, such as the cruelties practiced on boy chimney-

sweeps, etc., in the same way. Most of the evils he assailed being repugnant to men's sense of justice, and to the spirit of kindness which the great religious revival of the preceding century had begotten in the public mind, his strong reasoning, no doubt, contributed to their overthrow. Because of this vigorous use of his powers he deserves honorable place among the political and social reformers of his times.

Macaulay's estimate of his wit challenges a comparison between him and Dean Swift, whose claim to the first place in English literature as a witty writer few, if any, will dispute. He ranks Smith in this quality next to the irascible Dean. We are not disposed to dispute this claim, nor to compare him with Sheridan, Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Thackeray, or other modern men of wit. But it cannot be denied with truth that Smith's humor winds like a belt of light through his essays, and glimmers mildly in his sermons. And to cite Mr. Reid, "his talk was like a stream of fire-works, brilliant, incessant, and perfectly harmless. His wit, though less incisive and keen than that of Swift, was superior to it in its spirit. Swift's wit was bitter and malignant; Smith's, except when leveled at the evangelical party of his times, was genial and good-natured, the outflow of his heart, which was a perennial fountain of cheerfulness. It was also in the main free from coarseness and vulgarity, while Swift's was often coarse and even filthy. Smith's wit was often grotesque, as when anticipating the birth of his first child, he said, "I hope it will be a girl, and that she may be born with one eye that I may never lose her;" and as when at a dinner table, while discussing liberalism, he said, "I must confess I have one little weakness, one secret wish—I should like to roast a Quaker"—a jest intended to excite the wonder of a very simple-minded guest whose dullness prevented him from seeing that the mirthful parson was only jesting. Sometimes his wit was a shaft of keen, though good-natured, sarcasm, as when, while canon of St. Paul's, discussing the question in the Chapter of placing a wooden pavement round St. Paul's, he said with innocent gravity of tone and expression, "If my reverend brethren here will but lay their heads together the thing will be done in a trice." Exaggeration was also a large ingredient in his wit, as when on being told that his friend Jeffrey had been made Lord Advocate of Scotland he

remarked, in allusion to the judge's diminutive size, "His robes will cost him little; one buck rabbit will clothe him to his heels." One of his best witticisms flashed from his lips when, remarking on his many battles for reform, he said, "The whole of my life has passed like a razor—in hot water or a scrape." This was genuine wit, in that, by using two words in a double sense, he disclosed a relation between the uses to which a razor is put and the conditions under which his life had been passed, which no ordinary mind could have perceived, and which excited an emotion of pleased surprise because it was so unexpected and yet so real.

Smith's wit did not smell of the lamp, but was spontaneous, as all true wit must be. He was, as Leigh Hunt said of Rossini, "the genius of animal spirits," out of which his jests bubbled like water from a perennial spring, though he no doubt unconsciously cultivated it, by training his mind to look for occult relations between things apparently unrelated. Hence, he was always full of it, and it flowed from his lips as freely at his own fireside as in the gay assemblies at Holland House. Said Lord Macaulay, after spending a few days with him at Foston rectory: "He is not one of those show talkers who reserve all their good things for special occasions. It seems to be his greatest luxury to keep his wife and daughters laughing for two or three hours every day."

To his credit it must be said that, as a rule, Sydney used this gift in the interests of humanity and as "the vehicle of his wisdom."

> "Laughing to teach the truth—
> What hinders? As some teachers give to boys
> Junkets and knacks that they may learn apace."

His only serious abuse of this endowment was, as hinted above, his persistent tirades against spiritual religion, upon which he leveled his bitterest jokes, in doing which he illustrated the Greek proverb, "Mirth out of season is a grievous ill." Never, perhaps, did a clergyman more significantly illustrate Paul's assertion, that to comprehend spiritual things one must possess that "discernment" which is the exclusive possession of a "spiritually minded" man. Sydney Smith was not such a man. He did not profess to be one, but persistently denounced experimental piety,

believing it, as he said, "to be very possible to be a good Christian without degrading the human understanding to such trash and folly as Methodism." No doubt he was as good a Christian as mere belief in Christianity, without that trust which begets spiritual affections, can make a man. He was eminently moral, intellectually religious, observant of the forms of Christian worship, but apparently not the possessor of that inner spiritual life which is begotten and sustained by what Paul described as "Christ in you the hope of glory." On no other ground can one harmonize his bitter and even profane attacks on evangelical churchmen and dissenters with his honesty. And it is one of the creditable features of Mr. Reid's book that he not only does not defend Mr. Smith in this thing, but squarely censures him:

> He was a man who never approached certain subjects without displaying the fact that his mind was warped, so far as they were concerned, by invincible prejudice. But although he completely misunderstood the Wesleyan revival and grossly caricatured the splendid efforts of the non-conformist churches to awaken the religious enthusiasm of the people in the work of foreign missions, it cannot be questioned, in spite of such blemishes on his reputation, that his influence as a whole was given steadily and at much personal cost to the advocacy of the very principles of toleration which have now triumphed to such an extent that his own essays on the dissenters and their missionary schemes are little more than a magazine of exploded fallacies, and read like the record of an archaic period. Sydney Smith misunderstood the evangelical enthusiasm, and refused to separate the chaff of fanaticism from the wheat of self-sacrifice, but his sweeping tirades have long since been refuted by experience, and aggressive work in heathen lands forms now a recognized sphere of activity among Christians of every shade of conviction, and, judged by its fruits, is unassailable.

This is frank and honorable. It was due to the parties Smith so ruthlessly assailed, and does no injustice to the memory of Mr. Smith, who, despite his faults, will long be remembered for his humor, admired for his courage, respected for his abilities, and esteemed for his benevolence. Despite the inconsistency of his excessive, frolicsome, incessant humor with his clerical office, one cannot help loving the merry-hearted man. Neither can one who believes Christianity to be not only a doctrine and a code of ethics, but also a life having its seat in

the affections, help regretting that this highly gifted man, whom many "wise men loved, and even wits admired," did not add to his humane benevolence, his unquestionable moral courage, his obvious sincerity, his manly independence, and his unique literary ability the crowning glory of a "life hid with Christ in God." Had he done so, his reputation as a minister might have been equal to his fame as a reviewer.

Mr. Reid's sketch of Sydney Smith's "Life and Times" is very entertaining reading. As a biography, it is more complete, more satisfactory, and more artistically constructed than Lady Holland's "Memoirs." It gives a clearer view of Smith's happy domestic life, of his clerical labors, of his opposition to Puseyism, and of his influence on his times. While it does not do away with one's impression that, for a clergyman, he lived far too much in an atmosphere of merriment and laughter, and was too tolerant of worldly amusements, it nevertheless so portrays the serious work of his life, while keeping its playful side somewhat in the background, as to give him a more assured place in public opinion among men who have honestly and successfully wrought for the improvement of society. Mr. Reid has also given variety and value to his work by his graphic notes on many of the distinguished men with whom Sydney Smith was associated. It is a charming volume, a valuable addition to our biographical literature, and a desirable addendum to its subject's "Memoirs" by Lady Holland.

Art. V.—"THE DOCTRINE OF THE FATHERS."

The question whether there is an order of bishops distinct from and superior to the order of presbyters has long agitated the Christian Church. This question is not devoid of real interest, and in view of the practical matters involved, it is a very important one, and especially so as to what views the Methodist Episcopal Church holds, and has held, upon the subject. In its ecclesiastical use, the word "order" has a very different meaning from the word "office." An "order" has certain rights and privileges that inhere in itself—are its *prerogatives*, and therefore are exclusive and inalienable; while an "office"

is endowed with only such *functions* as may be vested in it by the authority that created it. Nor is any one of any given order, if elected to an office within the scope and sphere of his order, thereby elevated to another and higher order.

No one who is familiar with the history and organism of the Methodist Episcopal Church will deny that it recognizes the clerical order, and also a distinction between order and office. Its one complete ministerial order is that of an elder; but it has also the office of presiding elder, thus practically discriminating between office and order. It recognizes the presiding elder as in office over other elders, but of the same order, and from this fact may be started the inquiry, whether the episcopacy is not of the same order, though superior in office to all other elders?

Our study of the question will be historical, and the main purpose will be to ascertain how the episcopacy was viewed by those who originated or first received it. Of the teaching of the Founder of Methodism, Dr. Abel Stevens gives the following summary:

> That Wesley, while he believed in episcopacy, belonged to that class of Episcopalians who contend that episcopacy is not a distinct "order" (in the usual technical or ecclesiastical sense of the term), but a distinct office, in the ministry; that bishops and presbyters, or elders, are of the same order, and have essentially the same prerogatives; but that for convenience some of this order may be raised to the episcopal office, and some of the functions originally pertaining to the whole order, as ordination, for example, may be confined to them; the presbyter thus elevated being but *primus inter pares*—the first among equals—a presiding officer.*

Before the war of the Revolution, the Rev. John Wesley was the governmental head of the Methodists in America as well as in Europe. He was the supreme authority, and his word was law. After the war, the American Methodists still acknowledged his authority, and in 1784 Mr. Wesley asserted it by appointing the Rev. Thomas Coke, D.C.L., who was a presbyter of the Church of England, and Francis Asbury, who was a preacher in America, to be Superintendents, as before he had appointed Thomas Rankin and Francis Asbury to be his General Assistants in directing the work of Methodism in America.

* Stevens's "History of Methodism," vol. ii, p. 221.

Mr. Wesley, though only a presbyter, set apart Dr. Coke to his designated work with prayer and imposition of hands. This act has been severely criticised and denounced as an absurdity, but the Rev. Richard Watson has justly remarked,

> This "absurdity" could not arise from the principle which Mr. Wesley had adopted, namely, that the orders were identical, and the censure, therefore, rests only upon the assumption that bishops and priests were of different orders, which he denied. He never did pretend to ordain bishops in the modern sense, but only according to his view of primitive episcopacy.*

His action in setting apart a presbyter to the work of a Superintendent could not, therefore, mean the conferring of a higher order. In appointing these Superintendents, Mr. Wesley did not mean to give up his authority over the American Methodists any more than he did when he previously appointed his Assistants. He now uses a different name—that of Superintendent—for his "Assistants," to whom he delegated larger powers, but it is evident that he still intended to control the Superintendents as formerly he had the Assistants.

Now that Mr. Wesley, a presbyter, considered himself superior to the Superintendents he had appointed, including Dr. Coke, whom he had solemnly set apart, shows that he did not deem a Superintendent to be of higher ministerial order than a presbyter, as manifestly it would have been inconsistent for one of a lower to exercise authority over one of a superior order. The fact that he appointed them, directed them, and himself set one of them apart, was an assertion of his superiority in authority, and, of course, his not inferiority of order. Acting under Wesley's orders, and armed with his commission as Superintendent, Dr. Coke came to America in the autumn of 1784. At Asbury's suggestion, the preachers in the United States were called together, and met in Conference on the twenty-fourth of December; and this Conference, which lasted about ten days, has been called "the Christmas Conference," on account of the season in which it convened.

Superintendent Coke presided, and his first official act was the presentation of Wesley's Circular Letter, which was read to the Conference. This letter was, so to speak, the charter under which the Conference acted. It declared in unmistakable

* Watson's "Life of Wesley," American edition, p. 247.

terms the parity of bishops and presbyters as to order, for in it Mr. Wesley said: "Lord King's Account of the Primitive Church convinced me many years ago that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain."

With such a declaration so explicitly made, the members of the Christmas Conference could not have supposed Wesley was giving them an episcopacy which was higher in order than the eldership. That there might be no doubt as to Mr. Wesley's relation to the American Methodists and their relation to him, this Conference formally adopted the following:

> During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel, ready, in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands.

Having thus acknowledged him as the supreme authority in ecclesiastical affairs, they must have accepted his doctrine as to the episcopacy.

The Christmas Conference, in acknowledging Wesley as supreme "in matters belonging to church government," recognized a presbyter as the chief authority in the Church. That they so recognized a presbyter as supreme, even over the Superintendents, shows that they did not esteem their superintendency or episcopacy an order above the eldership, for certainly they would not make one of an inferior order superior in authority to those of a higher order.

This Conference also made and placed in the Minutes this resolve: "We will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of Superintendents," etc. As they accepted the very title Superintendent, which Wesley had given, as well as the men he had appointed, the only reasonable supposition is, that they accepted the superintendency in the sense Wesley intended; and, as his declaration was "that bishops and presbyters are the *same order*," they could not have understood that he was giving and they were receiving any officers of a higher order than that of presbyters; and, if so, they must have understood the word Superintendent as indicating, not an order, but an office.

This is further indicated by the fact that they voted Asbury to be a Superintendent before he had become either elder or

deacon. Both Coke and Asbury were Superintendents, so far as Mr. Wesley could make them such, without any vote of the Conference. This was not disputed by the Conference, and Asbury did not deny the legality and sufficiency of his appointment by Wesley alone, who was the supreme head of Methodism; but he desired the indorsement of the preachers whom he was to superintend. So he was unanimously chosen, and Coke was unanimously accepted by the Conference; which was also a recognition by the Conference of some kind or degree of authority over the case.

That Wesley should make a man not in orders a Superintendent, shows that he did not consider the position an order; and the action of the Conference in electing a man Superintendent before he was in orders, shows that the Conference did not look upon the superintendency as an order.

That they so understood it, in connection with the points already given, is plain, because they officially defined it to be an office, while they never speak of the *order* of bishops or superintendents. Jesse Lee, the first historian of American Methodism, and well-informed respecting all these transactions, says: "At this Conference we formed ourselves into a regular Church by the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church, making at the same time the episcopal office elective." * The early Minutes (1785) also use the same word "*office*," and speak of the position as the "episcopal *office*." Indeed, as Lee and the Minutes show, the early Church never spoke of the episcopacy as an order, nor as an order *and* an office, but solely as an *office*, which they made elective; and the only conclusion which can be drawn is, that they did not consider their episcopacy a distinct and higher order, but simply an office of superintendency.

Not only did they organize by "making the episcopal office elective," as Lee and the Minutes say, but, as the same authorities declare, they made "the elected Superintendents amenable to the body of ministers and preachers." Now it is to be remembered that this Conference, and all the early General Conferences, were composed of all the preachers, whether they were elders or not. When the Christmas Conference opened there were only three, including Superintendent Coke, who had received elder's orders; and even after others were ordained at

* Lee's "History of the Methodists," p. 94.

this Conference, "the body of the ministers and preachers" was composed mainly of unordained men. That they made "the elected Superintendents amenable to the body of ministers and preachers," many of whom had no orders at all, shows that they could not have regarded their superintendency in the light of a ministerial order, but rather as an executive office. On the idea of simply an office there was some reason in all having a voice in the election of a Superintendent, because all were to be superintended by him; and so, for the same reason, there was propriety in his being responsible to them; but the thing would be an ecclesiastical absurdity, if the superintendency were a higher order, for the Superintendent to be amenable to those of a lower order and to those who had no orders at all.

Even if the Conference had been composed entirely of elders, this amenability would imply that the Superintendents were not of a higher order, and such amenability could only be on the ground that the superintendency was merely an office of an executive or jurisdictional character, and hence, responsible to the body which created it.

But it may be objected, that writers of that day say that Mr. Asbury was "ordained" Superintendent, and that the American Methodists had received from Mr. Wesley a service entitled "The Form of Ordaining a Superintendent." That the word "ordain" was used may be admitted, but the nature of the service is not to be interpreted by the name so much as the name is to be interpreted by the declared intention of the service; and the question now at issue is not about words, but whether this service was intended to place the presbyter in a higher order.

Mr. Wesley, who gave the service, could not have intended it in that sense, for he held that there was no higher order than the eldership, and said, at the very time he gave them the service, that "bishops and presbyters are the same order." That the Christmas Conference held Wesley's view is asserted by Bishop Simpson in his "Cyclopedia of Methodism." Referring to Wesley's ordination of Whatcoat and Vasey as elders, and his setting apart of Coke as Superintendent, he says:

> This ordination was performed because, according to his view of the primitive episcopacy, bishops and presbyters were of the same order. This view was entertained by the ministers who met in

conference or convention in 1784, and organized the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

So the Conference, accepting this view from its supreme ecclesiastical authority, could not suppose that in using such a service they were giving any order above the eldership when they did not believe there was any higher order. With this view, even if they did use the word "ordain" in this connection, they could only have used it and understood it in a peculiar sense as qualified by the idea that no higher order could be conferred, and, therefore, they could look upon the superintendency only as an office—"the episcopal office," as they termed it—and the ceremony simply as a formal service of installation inducting the elected person, in an appropriate and solemn manner, into that office.

It may be said that the service which does not place in a higher order is not an ordination, and, therefore, the word should not have been used. To that objection we reply, that a writer has a right to use a word in a peculiar sense if he so qualifies it, as Wesley did in this case, that his meaning is manifest. The word is to be defined by the thing, and not the thing by the word, especially when it is guarded and qualified by a precise declaration.

The most that can be made out of the use of the word "ordination" in this connection, by those who would restrict its meaning, is, that those who so used it were not exact in their language. Indeed, we are not to be surprised that even Mr. Wesley should lack precision in this very thing, for the service for the American Methodists was evidently prepared in haste. Their intention in using the word is to be explained in the light of clear and positive declarations. As they held that "bishops and presbyters are the same order," it cannot be supposed that any service they applied to a presbyter, even if they called it an ordination, was an ecclesiastical ordination in the sense of conferring a higher order. It must have been a qualified "ordination"—using the term in a lower sense—and so did not give any higher order to one who was already a presbyter.

Dr. Coke, in a foot-note to his sermon delivered when Asbury was formally inducted into the superintendency, says in reference to his use of the phrase, "bishop of the Church

* Art. "Methodist Episcopacy."

of Philadelphia," "I here use the word *bishop* in its present sense, as signifying an officer of the Church superior to the presbyters." * In his mind a bishop is an *officer* who is superior as such to the presbyters, as may also be seen by the fact that in the certificate he gave Asbury, Coke, though Superintendent, styles himself "a presbyter," showing that he recognized that to be his *order*, while the superintendency (whose functions he was then exercising) was his office. So in the certificate there is not a word about an episcopal order, but the simple statement that he "did set apart the said Francis Asbury for the office of a Superintendent."† All these facts show that Coke, and the Conference which organized the Methodist Episcopal Church, held views that harmonized with the teaching of Wesley, that bishops were the same in order as presbyters, and viewed the episcopacy as a superior office.

Leaving the first, we pass to a subsequent General Conference. Mr. Wesley had written to Dr. Coke requesting him to call a General Conference to meet at Baltimore on the first of May, 1787. The call was issued, and the Conference convened at that time.

In the same letter to Dr. Coke, Mr. Wesley indicated his reason for desiring the Conference, namely, "that Mr. Richard Whatcoat may be appointed Superintendent with Mr. Francis Asbury." Thus the presbyter who was at the head of the Church issued his orders and named the man he desired to have act as Superintendent. Mr. Wesley considered this his right, and the Conference at which the organization had been made had agreed, "in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands."

The Conference understood Wesley to direct that Whatcoat be made Superintendent, though Wesley's order was couched in courteous terms. Lee says: "Mr. Wesley also directed that Richard Whatcoat should be ordained a joint Superintendent with Mr. Asbury." ‡ Dr. Coke also understood Mr. Wesley as ordering the selection of Whatcoat as Superintendent. As Lee says: "Dr. Coke contended that we were obliged to receive Mr. Whatcoat, because [of what] we had said in the Minutes taken at the Christmas Conference."

* "Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review," July, 1840.

† Bangs's "History of Methodism," vol. i, p. 157. ‡ Lee's History, p. 126.

Most of the preachers, however, objected to having Whatcoat made a Superintendent, and the strongest reason seems to have been that given by Lee: "That they were apprehensive that if Whatcoat was ordained Mr. Wesley would recall Mr. Asbury, and he would return to England." * This was another recognition of the fact that Wesley claimed supreme authority over the Superintendents, and a clear implication that Asbury could not have been in order above a presbyter when he was under a presbyter's control.

Wesley had evidently in some way given an intimation of an intention of removing Asbury from the superintendency and recalling him to England. Asbury, in a letter he wrote the Rev. Joseph Benson some time after this, said of Mr. Wesley:

> He rigidly contended for a special and independent right of governing the chief minister or ministers of our order, which in our judgment meant not only to put him out of office, but to remove him from the continent to elsewhere that our father saw fit.†

This shows not only Presbyter Wesley's estimate of his authority, but also his opinion that a Superintendent occupying the "episcopal office" could be removed from the position at his pleasure and that without any cause, such as crime or improper conduct, being alleged,—a view which cannot be harmonized with the notion of the superintendency as a higher order, but which is compatible with the idea of the episcopacy as an office.

In this letter to Benson, and in this very connection, Mr. Asbury speaks of "the right of electing every Church officer, and more especially our Superintendent," which shows that Asbury looked upon the superintendency as an office and the Superintendent as an officer, and his remark that Wesley's claim "meant to put him out of office," implies the same idea.

The outcome of the whole matter was, that notwithstanding the agreement made at the Christmas Conference to obey Mr. Wesley "in matters belonging to Church government," the General Conference of 1787 refused to have Whatcoat as a Superintendent. Recognizing the apparent awkwardness of their position they went further, and struck out the record of

* Lee's History, p. 126.

† Atkinson's "Centennial History of American Methodism," p. 57.

the agreement, and also removed Mr. Wesley's name from the Minutes.

It is not in the line of our theme to discuss the wisdom or propriety of thus cutting the Gordian knot, but good came out of it. The spirit of the American Revolution evidently seemed to be on the Conference. It was another declaration of independence. It was a revolution, and to Wesley it seemed as a rebellion. It was an emphatic declaration by the General Conference that it meant to be above him who was superior to its Superintendent, and that the General Conference would not permit any executive power or official authority to be above itself; and in making their decision, they actually deposed Wesley, their chief Superintendent, and this assertion by the ministers implies that they recognized no higher order than that which was possessed by the members on the floor of the Conference.

This action was a heavy blow to Wesley, who complained because Asbury did not exert himself to avert it, saying that "Mr. Asbury quietly sat by until his friends, by common consent, voted my name out of the American Minutes."

Another troublesome question before the General Conference of 1787 was one raised in regard to Dr. Coke. The doctor had been out of the country, and while abroad had undertaken to exercise his functions as Superintendent in America. The preachers were dissatisfied with this, and, at this Conference, vigorously expressed their discontent. Lee says:

> The preachers complained of Dr. Coke, because he had taken upon himself a right which they never gave him, of altering the time and place of holding our Conferences, after it had been settled and fixed on at a previous Conference. . . . At that time the doctor saw that the preachers were pretty generally united against him; he acknowledged his faults, begged pardon, and promised not to meddle with our affairs again when he was out of the United States. He then gave a certificate to the same purpose.
>
> The preachers then agreed to forgive what was past, provided this condition should be expressed in the Minutes, which was done thus:
>
> "*Q.* Who are the Superintendents of our Church for the United States? *A.* Thomas Coke (when present in the States) and Francis Asbury." *

* Lee's History, p. 124.

This shows that the General Conference held that it was superior to the Superintendents—that while they were Superintendents of the Church the General Conference superintended them. That presbyters, and preachers who had not attained even that order, could call a Superintendent to account and direct his official action, shows that they did not look upon the superintendency as a higher order, with its higher *prerogatives*, but as an office, with only its definite *functions*. That Dr. Coke acquiesced in their procedure would seem to show that he admitted their right and held the same view as to his position.

That the General Conference took a Superintendent to task "because he had taken upon himself a right which they never gave him," shows not only that a Superintendent had no right to do any thing that was not specified in the Discipline, but also that to his position attached no power excepting that which the General Conference expressly and explicitly delegated (and which they could at any time recall), which is quite consistent with the idea of an office, but not so with that of a hinher ministerial order.

This General Conference asserted also the right to limit a Superintendent's jurisdiction, and to limit the exercise of his functions after he had been elected, and that though for years he had occupied the "episcopal office." It declared Dr. Coke a Superintendent only in the United States; that when he went out of the United States he lost all power of superintendency, and if he stayed out he ceased to be a Superintendent. Now, if the superintendency had been an order, Dr. Coke must have carried it with him every-where, for this is one of the peculiar characteristics of an order as contrasted with an office. Thus a presbyter is a presbyter always, and the order goes with him upon whom it has been conferred wherever he goes, unless he be entirely deposed from the ministry. That they limited the superintendency, as in the case of Coke, shows that the General Conference did not look upon it as an order, but as an office.

One educated as Coke had been, and knowing the rights of religious orders, would not have so yielded had he considered the superintendency to be an order. That he considered it simply an office appears also from the fact that in the written agreement he gave in this matter he uses the expression,

"By virtue of my office as Superintendent of the Methodist Church." *

Subsequently to the General Conference of 1787, but in the same year, "Mr. Asbury reprinted the General Minutes; but somewhat changed from what they were before." In these Minutes the title of Bishop was first used. Lee says:

> This was the first time our Superintendents ever gave themselves the title of Bishops in the Minutes. They changed the title themselves, without the consent of the Conference; and at the next Conference they asked the preachers if the word *Bishop* might stand in the Minutes, seeing that it was a Scripture name, and the meaning of the word Bishop was the same with that of Superintendent. Some of the preachers opposed the alteration and wished to retain the former title; but a majority of the preachers agreed to let the word *Bishop* remain; and in the Annual Minutes for the next year the first question is, "Who are the Bishops of our Church for the United States?" †

Admitting that both titles mean the same thing (which, however, is not the case in their relations to ecclesiastical affairs), nevertheless it was an act of usurpation for Asbury, or Asbury and Coke, to change a title which had been adopted by the Church, without first obtaining the consent of that Church. Had the title Superintendent remained unchanged, in all probability the question as to whether the Methodist episcopacy was an order above the eldership never would have been raised, for the name Superintendent would not have suggested the idea of order, but of office.

Still it is to be remembered that the change of the name did not change the thing, and it was expressly declared that "the meaning of the word Bishop was the same with that of Superintendent," so making the latter interpret and limit the meaning of the former, as used in this case. So the equivalent title Superintendent still stands in some places in the Discipline; and since the change of title the Bishops have frequently referred to themselves as the General Superintendents, and the Conference which assented to the change explained its action by inserting in the Minutes the following note:

> As the translators of our version of the Bible have used the English word *Bishop* instead of *Superintendent*, it has been thought by us that it would appear more scriptural to adopt their term, Bishop.

* Bangs's History, vol. i, p. 257. † Lee's History, pp. 127, 128.

When the official designation was changed from Superintendent to Bishop, Wesley expressed his dissatisfaction in a most emphatic manner. Probably because he supposed or knew that Asbury was the prime mover in the matter, he wrote him a most scathing letter. In this letter Wesley says to Asbury:

> One instance of this [your greatness] has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called Bishop?... Men may call me a *knave* or a *fool*, a *rascal*, a *scoundrel*, and I am content; but they shall never by my consent call me *Bishop*. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this! *

It may be that Wesley's preference for the title Superintendent was to avoid the danger of prelatical notions which many attached to the word Bishop, and which had become inseparably associated with it in ecclesiastical literature and in the public mind; but the change of the name made no change in the thing; it was confessed that it here represented the same kind of superintendency that the Church had before.

The Rev. Richard Watson, referring to Wesley's objection to the change, says:

> The only objection he could have to the name was, that from long association it was likely to convey a meaning beyond his own intention. But this was a matter of mere prudential feeling confined to himself: so that neither are Dr. Coke nor Mr. Asbury to be blamed for using that appellation (bishop) in Mr. Wesley's sense, which was the same as presbyter as far as order was concerned, nor the American societies (as they have sometimes inconsiderately been), for calling themselves, in the same view, "The American Methodist Episcopal Church," since their episcopacy is founded upon the principle of bishops and presbyters being of the same *degree*—a more extended *office* only being assigned to the former, as in the primitive Church.†

In the Discipline of 1787 another change of some importance was made, probably by the person or persons who changed the official title. The question and answer in which it was said "We will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of superintendents, elders, deacons, and helpers," etc., were stricken out, and a section "On the Nature and Constitution of our Church" was introduced. In this a reason is given why the American Methodists are no longer connected with

* Wesley's Works, vol. vii, p. 187.

† Watson's "Life of Wesley," American edition, p. 247.

the Church of England, and why they do not unite with its successor.

In this section a contrast is drawn between the kind of Church they propose and the Church of England and its successor in the United States, and especially between the Methodist episcopacy and the episcopacy of the aforementioned Churches. It contains a positive rejection of the doctrine of apostolic succession, and states that "as we are persuaded that the uninterrupted succession of bishops can be proved neither from Scripture nor antiquity, we therefore have constituted ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of bishops, elders, deacons, and preachers," etc. It also affirms that "the most excellent mode of Church government, according to our maturest judgment, is that of a moderate episcopacy."

The whole tenor of the passage is a contrast between the episcopal government they had chosen, and that of the Church of England and the new Protestant Episcopal Church; and, in the light of this and of other facts before mentioned, the legitimate inference must be, that that which they called their "moderate episcopacy" rejected all notions of a higher order.

The main point in view at that time, however, was a denial of apostolic succession. Others claimed, that to be a Church it was necessary to have the succession from the apostles; but they claimed that this doctrine was untenable, and therefore could not stand in the way of their forming a new Church. They evidently conceded the divine right of the order of elders, and they recognized no order above this.

Two years after this, in 1789, this declaration was stricken out and another statement in the form of question and answer was substituted. This change, which was made probably by the same party or parties, had a new purpose, namely, to show the source of the episcopal authority in the new Church, and to declare their belief that it was proper and valid. The question propounded was as follows: "Ques. 1. What is the proper origin of the episcopal authority in our Church?" and the purpose of this question is to be kept before us in interpreting the answer. The answer states, in substance, that they trace its origin to the Rev. John Wesley, "the father of the great revival of religion now extending over the earth by the means of the Methodists;" that he sent over "three regularly ordained clergy,"

and, hence, even in a churchly sense, their ordination was not irregular, but had a "proper origin;" that he solemnly set apart by the imposition of his hands and prayer one of them, namely, Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, late of Jesus College in the University of Oxford, for the episcopal office."

It will be noticed here, and throughout this paragraph, that the office in question is not called an order, but "the episcopal office," which phrase occurs no less than three times.

It is to be observed, further, that the source of their episcopacy to which they point is presbyterial. No one of any higher order than that of a presbyter takes part. Wesley is a presbyter, and so is each one who assists him in setting apart Dr. Coke to "the episcopal office," and the American Methodists declare they are "fully satisfied with the validity" of this procedure by presbyters. No one ordained to any higher order than that of presbyter took part, and, consequently, according even to higher order ideas, no higher order was conferred.

Dr. Coke could not have been admitted to any higher order, though he was set apart for the work of an office, for Wesley, who set him apart, affirmed that there was no higher order than that of presbyter. So Superintendent Coke remained a presbyter, and, as this paragraph states, Wesley "commissioned and directed him to set apart Francis Asbury, then General Assistant of the Methodist Society in America, for the same episcopal office; he, the said Francis Asbury, being first ordained deacon and elder." This was done, Dr. Coke officiating, and "other regularly ordained ministers assisting in the sacred ceremony."

It will be observed that the point here is, that Asbury received his episcopal ordination "in regular succession" from Wesley, and his jurisdiction from the Conference; and it is to be noticed that in this paragraph a distinction is made between an ordination and the service inducting one into the superintendency. Of Asbury it is said, that he was "ordained deacon and elder," but it is not said he was "ordained" Superintendent, but that he was "*set apart* for the said episcopal office." This change of the form of words suggests an incidental recognition of a difference between ordaining one a presbyter and setting apart a presbyter for the "episcopal office."

The statement in relation to Dr. Coke, that Wesley, "having

delivered to him letters of episcopal orders, commissioned and directed him to set apart Francis Asbury," should receive some consideration. The question may arise whether the phrase "letters of episcopal orders" means that the episcopacy is a higher order than the eldership?

It has been clearly shown that the Methodist Episcopal Church from the first regarded the superintendency as an office, and not as an order different from and higher than the eldership, and this cannot be neutralized by any doubtful phraseology. They had accepted the Wesleyan doctrine, that as to ministerial order a bishop was merely a presbyter, and here they speak of the episcopacy as an office. This phrase cannot be construed according to higher-order notions, for that would make the writers of the paragraph guilty of falsification in asserting that which was contrary to the facts; for the fact is, that Wesley never did give any letter certifying to a higher order, or calling the episcopacy an order at all. The Protestant Episcopal Church has, at the head of its form of certificate, the words "Letter of Orders," but no such phrase is connected with Wesley's testimonial letter. In the body of its form that Church says of one made a bishop that he was "*ordained* and consecrated" a bishop, but nothing of the nature of an order in Coke's superintendency is intimated in Wesley's letter.

In the testimonial letter there is nothing about an episcopal order or episcopal orders. Even the word "ordination" is not used in connection with Coke, but the phrase "set apart;" neither is bishop or even "episcopal office" used, but simply "Superintendent." Its form is, "I have this day set apart as a Superintendent," etc.* Thus the letter itself shows that it is not in any higher-order sense "letters of episcopal orders," but simply a testimonial letter given by Wesley certifying that he had set Coke apart as a Superintendent.

To be consistent with himself, this is all that Wesley could have intended; it is all that could fairly have been meant by those who used the phrase in question, and this is evidently what the paragraph shows it to mean. The whole purport is, not to show whether the episcopacy is a higher order, but merely to designate the "origin of the episcopal authority in our Church;" and so it affirms that Wesley, having appointed

* Bangs's "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. i, p. 155.

and set apart Coke as Superintendent, gave him a letter to that effect. The phrase, therefore, must have been used in a modified sense, and as a warrant of supervisory authority.

The concluding part of the paragraph may also demand a passing notice. It says that the Conference "did unanimously receive" Coke and Asbury, "being fully satisfied of the validity of their episcopal ordination;" but there is in this nothing that teaches that the episcopacy was a higher order than the eldership, any more than there was in Wesley's giving a service for the "Ordaining of Superintendents," which he qualified by saying, "bishops and presbyters are the same order," or the use of the same word in regard to the setting apart of Superintendents by the Christmas Conference when its members accepted the same qualification.

As we have seen, the so-called "ordination," as it was qualified, amounted to nothing more than a formal induction into official duty, and, for the same reasons, it must be so understood here. Even in this paragraph the word "ordination," as used at the close, is qualified by its equivalent "set apart" "to the episcopal office," which is used in every instance in regard to Coke and Asbury's entrance into their special work, and of course it fails to give any legitimate support to the higher-order idea.

We conclude, therefore, that when Wesley set apart Coke, he did not mean to confer on him any higher order; and when Asbury was set apart, the doctrine of the parity of bishops and presbyters, as to orders, was admitted; so that the use of the word "ordination," here, in regard to Coke and Asbury, can mean nothing more than it meant when Wesley used it, and it must therefore be understood with the same limitation.

Again, it must be borne in mind that the discussion is not as to whether the episcopacy is an order or an office, but as to the source of the "episcopal authority of Coke and Asbury," thus involving the idea of office rather than of ministerial order. The object is to assert the validity of the Methodist episcopacy, that though presbyterial in its origin it is just as valid as any other, and its Bishops are just as legitimately and genuinely bishops as are those of any other Church. They were properly appointed, properly elected, and properly set apart; and

though all this was done by presbyters and not by bishops of a so-called higher order, and claiming apostolic succession, the members of the Conference were satisfied of its validity, and fully believed that it had a "proper origin."

At this Conference (1789) the name of Mr. Wesley was restored to the Minutes, evidently to mitigate his displeasure on account of its omission; and though there may be room for doubt as to what is meant by "the regular order and succession" in which they are placed, there can be none respecting "the episcopal office."

Wesley was in order a presbyter, and nothing more, for in the testimonial he gave Coke he calls himself a "presbyter of the Church of England." Surely these early Methodists could not have understood the episcopacy to be an order higher than the eldership, or they would not have placed or recognized a presbyter, as Wesley certainly was, in that position. Yet here they recognize "Presbyter" Wesley as in the "episcopal office," and place his name before the names of "Bishop" Coke and "Bishop" Asbury.

Further, it is evident that they laid no stress upon the service which had been styled an ordination, and that they did not consider that Wesley's setting apart of Coke, or that the so-called "ordination" of Asbury, gave any higher order, for they recognized Wesley, who never had been so set apart by any "sacred ceremony" for the episcopacy, and who never had received any ordination above that of the eldership, as not only the equal but the superior of Coke and Asbury, who had been specially set apart with religious service. The service of setting apart, or the so-called "ordination," was not, therefore, considered as having any virtue as to giving any higher order, but must have been looked upon as a not essential though appropriate ceremony, which left the presbyter to whom it was applied as to ministerial order neither more nor less than "an elder in the Church of God."

With them, a bishop was a presbyter in authority over other presbyters; and if the superintending presbyter exercised such power, he was a true *episcopos* whether he had or had not been subject to a special setting apart, and whether he had or had not been formally elected to that position. Wesley had neither been formally elected nor set apart to a higher order; and so,

the ruling idea must have been that the bishopric was not an order, but an office occupied by a presbyter.

This single fact, that in the very year the aforementioned paragraph was introduced, Mr. Wesley was recognized as the chief *episcopos* of Methodism, relieves any obscure expression it may contain, and dissipates any doubt such an expression might create; so that "letters of episcopal orders" cannot be understood as implying any higher order than that of presbyter, for no higher order was recognized.

At the Conference of 1792 occurred the schism led by James O'Kelly. Though he did not withdraw on account of the nature of the episcopacy, he soon began to call it a "spurious episcopacy." Lee says of the seceders:

> The name of bishop they abhorred. They acknowledged that the word *bishop* and the word *elder* in the Scriptures meant the same thing; yet they showed great indignation against the word bishop, and were well pleased with the word elder.*

This incidental allusion by Lee shows that at that day the Methodists understood the words bishop and elder to mean the same order. [As they do in their scriptural, but not in their ecclesiastical, use.—ED.]

Another Methodist preacher who started an independent movement about the same time was the Rev. William Hammett. Both of these leaders were men of ability, and their attacks upon the Methodist Episcopal Church and its episcopacy led to more careful statements and a more guarded phraseology.

One who defended the Church against Hammett's attack was the Rev. John Dickins, the first American preacher to whom Coke imparted the plan for the new organization. He was a member of the Christmas Conference, and consequently knew the original intention, as well as the understanding, at the time he wrote.

Emory, in his "Defense of our Fathers," quotes from a pamphlet written by Dickins in 1792, and says:

> The late Rev. John Dickins, in his remarks on the proceedings of Mr. Hammett, says, in relation to the superiority of our Bishops as derived not from their "separate ordination," but

* Lee's History, p. 204.

from the suffrages of the body of ministers: "Pray, when was it otherwise?" and "How can the Conference have power to remove Mr. Asbury and ordain another to fill his place, if they see it necessary, on any other ground?" Mr. Hammett had said: "Let your Superintendents know, therefore, that their superiority is derived from your suffrages, and not by virtue of a separate ordination. Gain and establish this point, and you sap the foundation of all arbitrary power in your Church forever." Mr. Dickins replies: "Now, who ever said the superiority of the Bishops was by virtue of a separate ordination? If this gave them their superiority, how came they to be removable by the Conference? If, then, what you there plead for will sap the foundation of all arbitrary power, it has been sapped in our connection from the first establishment of our constitution." (P. 31.) Again he remarks (p. 32): "We all know Mr. Asbury derived his official power from the Conference, and therefore his *office* is at their disposal." *

This father of the Church calls the episcopacy an office. He states that the Bishops have no superiority "by virtue of a separate ordination;" and it follows, therefore, that if the so-called "ordination" gave no superiority, it gave no higher order. He declares that the Bishop "derived his official power from the Conference," and that the "separate ordination" had nothing to do with his superiority, and that there is not "any other ground" on which the Conference has "power to remove" a Bishop and "fill his place, if they see it necessary," with another. Finally he affirms that this view, that there is no virtue in the "separate ordination," and that the Bishop derives his superiority solely "from the suffrages of the body of ministers," has been held "from the first establishment of our constitution," and he boldly asks, "Who ever said the superiority of the Bishops was by virtue of a separate ordination?" †

Emory, commenting on this quotation from John Dickins, says:

> The pamphlet containing the above sentiments was published by the unanimous request of the Conference held at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1792; and may be therefore considered as expressing the views both of that Conference and of Bishop Asbury in relation to the true and original character of Methodist episcopacy." ‡

Four years after Dickins published his pamphlet, Coke and Asbury, by request of the General Conference, prepared and

* Emory's Defense, pp. 109, 110. † *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 110. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

printed explanatory notes to the Discipline, and they were appended to the Discipline of 1796.

We turn to these "Notes," and ask Coke and Asbury whether they understood the service of setting apart a Superintendent or Bishop to be an ordination in the same sense that the service for elders was an ordination. Their answer is substantially that it was not an ordination in the same sense, but that when the word "ordination" was used in reference to Bishops it was in the sense of consecration. Thus they say that Mr. Wesley "first *consecrated* one for the office of a Bishop." Again, they say Mr. Wesley "*consecrated* two Bishops, Thomas Coke and Alexander Mather, one before the present episcopal plan took place in America, and the other afterward, besides *ordaining* elders and deacons."

This section has the heading, "The Election and *Consecration* of Bishops," while other sections have "The Election and *Ordination* of Traveling Elders," and "The Election and *Ordination* of Traveling Deacons." Here, then, when they come to contrast the services, they make a distinction, and show that the service for Bishops, though termed an ordination, was not an ordination in the sense in which the word was used for elders and deacons, and they endeavor to express the distinction by the use of the word *consecration*, which indicates the setting apart to an office; and so, while they use the word "ordain" for elders and deacons, whose ordination is recognized as conferring orders, they use the word "consecrate" in reference to the bishopric, which they call an office.

They group the episcopacy with "the presiding elder's office," and ask, "Is it not strange that any of *the people* should complain of *this* or of the *episcopal* office?" and go on to speak of them as "these offices," so that with them the bishopric was an office the same in kind with the presiding eldership, though superior in authority. Now, no one pretends that the presiding eldership is an order, and according to Coke and Asbury's grouping neither is the bishopric. So, having a service of installation for presiding elders would not make the office an order, and neither would any definite or indefinite extension of the term. The characteristic of both is official authority mainly of an executive nature, and so they are both fitly grouped together as offices.

The "Notes" also declare that the Bishops "are *perfectly subject* to the General Conference"—"that their power, their usefulness, themselves, are entirely at the mercy of the General Conference," which is consistent with the idea of the bishopric being an office, but totally inconsistent with the idea of bishops being of a higher order than presbyters.

At the General Conference of 1796, it was proposed, on account of Asbury's ill health and Coke's frequent absence, that an assistant Bishop be elected, but Dr. Coke offered his services. To this offer there was strong objection in the Conference until Asbury interposed, and said, "If we reject him, it will be his ruin," etc.* The matter then was left to Asbury's judgment, and Coke gave an agreement in writing, in which he, the first Superintendent or Bishop, is reduced, or reduces himself, to the position of an assistant to Asbury; and agrees, as he says, "not to station the preachers at any time when he is present," and only "to exercise episcopal duties when I hold a Conference in his absence, and by his consent."†

Such control of a Bishop which the Conference claimed, and which both Asbury and Coke conceded, is not at all in harmony with the idea that the bishopric is a higher order, but it agrees perfectly with the idea that it is an executive office.

In the year 1800, Mr. Asbury "proposed to *resign* his *office* as Superintendent," and "take his seat in the Conference on a *level with the elders*," but the Conference took formal action on "his intention of *resigning his official station*," and requested "a continuation of his services as one of the general Superintendents."‡ This shows that Asbury and the Conference, as well as Lee, the historian, understood the episcopacy to be an *office*, and that when the Bishop resigned "his *official station*" he resigned all that he had above that which the ordinary elders possessed.

At this Conference of 1800, Richard Whatcoat was elected Bishop "on an equal footing" with Asbury, and Coke "obtained liberty to return to Europe again, upon the condition that he should return to America as soon as his business would allow; or, at farthest, by the next General Conference."§ Some

* Kobler's letter to Dr. Lee in "Life and Times of Rev. Jesse Lee."

† Bangs's History, vol. ii, p. 56

‡ Lee's History. p. 265. § *Ibid.*, p. 266.

years after this, the Wesleyan Conference in England requested the return of Dr. Coke, and the General Conference of 1804 passed a resolution permitting Dr. Coke to return to Europe "subject to the call of three of our Annual Conferences to return when he is requested, but at farthest, that he shall return, if he live, to the next General Conference." * All of which was an assertion of power, certainly not as dealing with an order whose *prerogatives* are indefeasible, but as controlling an officer as to the use or disuse of his *functions*.

Dr. Coke was not present at the General Conference of 1808, but he wrote to that body, giving reasons for his absence and making certain propositions as a condition for his return to episcopal duty in America. Referring to his visit to America, four years before, he said: "I was not sure whether you would, in your circumstances as they respected Bishop Asbury, receive me as an *efficient* Superintendent or Bishop among you *in any degree or manner*." † He now wants them to define what powers he would have should he return to America, so conceding, by a necessary implication, the complete power of the Conference over him in respect to his position; and the Conference, taking him at his word, resolved that "he is not to exercise the office of Superintendent among us in the United States until he be recalled by the General Conference, or by all the Annual Conferences respectively."

A distinguished authority has said: "The action of the Conference was, to all intents and purposes, a deposition of the Bishop, though it was so expressed as to give him as little offense as possible." The same authority remarks that the Discipline "as acted upon by the General Conference . . . established the right of the General Conference to depose or suspend a General Superintendent, for any cause which that body may believe renders that deposition or suspension necessary, without the process of trial or impeachment." ‡

In another letter to the General Conference of 1808, Dr. Coke says: "I am of our late venerable father Mr. Wesley's opinion, that the order of bishops and presbyters is one and the same." This restates Wesley's opinion, and, coming from the

* Bangs's History, vol. ii, p. 154. † *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 197.

‡ Editorial in "Christian Advocate and Journal," T. E. Bond and G. Coles, Editors, August 14, 1844.

man who was said to have received "episcopal ordination" and "letters of episcopal orders," shows that these phrases were used in a qualified sense, and that he did not consider that he or Mr. Asbury had received any higher order than that of presbyter, for "the order of bishops and presbyters is *one* and the *same*." That he made such a statement to the Conference, without objection, may also be taken as reflecting the sentiment of that body.

Bishop Asbury died on the last day of March, 1816, and, on the twenty-third of the following month, the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper delivered a funeral discourse on the deceased Bishop. Mr. Cooper was present at the first meeting of Coke and Asbury, and was familiar with the views of the early Church. In this sermon he affirms that "our church government . . . is founded on . . . the Scriptures, and also the usages of the primitive Church;" and in the Appendix he speaks of the Methodist episcopacy as a "presbyterial episcopacy," and maintains that bishops and presbyters or elders are "the same order." *

Thus we are brought down to the death of Asbury, which may be said to close the first period of the history of the Methodist episcopacy. Through all this time the identity of bishops and presbyters as to order is in numerous cases both positively and tacitly affirmed. It may be admitted that there was, especially at one period, some confusion in the use of terms, and it is possible that some may have misunderstood the nature of the episcopacy; but the prevalent tenor of the transactions of the General Conference, as well as the statements of prominent individuals, demonstrate that the early Methodist Episcopal Church understood that a bishop had no order above that of presbyter or elder, and that the bishopric—"the episcopal office," as they called it—was not an order, but an office of an executive character, and that he who filled it, though he was in *office* a Superintendent or Bishop, was in *order* only a presbyter or elder.

* Cooper on Asbury, pp. 109 and 115.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

REVIVALS.

To the minds of most evangelical Christians there is something both pleasant and sobering suggested by the thought that is indicated by the rather indefinite term *Revivals.* It naturally calls up the idea of increased religious quickening, and the uplifting of united hearts and minds in faith and hope and holy endeavor, and also of the increase of Christ's kingdom by the conversion of souls. These ideas are common among religious people; but beyond these generally accepted notions there are not a few others in respect to which there is not equal unanimity. There is no such agreement in respect to the proper answer to the question, whether or not revivals should be considered the normal condition of church life, or special and occasional seasons of grace; nor, whether or not they should be labored for by direct efforts for their manifestations, or waited for in prayer and faith and the performance of moral and religious duties; nor, whether or not they have any relations to times and seasons, or are chiefly subject to human agencies and endeavors. All these questions are worthy of serious consideration, for they are potent in practical church work; and yet there are in many minds uncertainties respecting them, which may become prejudicial to religious interests.

If it shall be conceded that the religious state indicated by the word "revival" is the normal condition of the living Church, then it should also be expected that that state will be continuous and perennial, not occasional, with intervals of subsidence and cessation. But the commonly accepted form of language used in speaking of these things indicates that they are not so perpetual, as when we say *a* revival,—so giving it a segregated individuality, which would be absurd were the thing indicated continuous; and also because it is *one*, the idea of plurality becomes possible, and so we speak of revivals. In this case, as is usual, the common speech is no doubt agreeable to the facts, because revivals are special and exceptional phenomena in church life, but not therefore in the popular sense of the word abnormal. The alternations of the seasons and the changes of the wind are all normal, though the events of the one class occur according to an unalterable succession, and the other apparently without law, since "the wind bloweth where it listeth." The ordinary processes of nature are carried on in a well-regulated order, and yet it is well known that these may be either hastened or retarded, and also deflected into other forms; and so in spiritual things very much is clearly dependent on human actions. While, therefore, we recognize the ultimate subjection of the spirit of revivals to "sovereign grace," we

may also hold that its practical manifestation is not entirely removed from human influences; that while the residue of the Spirit is with the Lord, he also assures his people that for these things he will be inquired of.

The New Testament idea of the Christian life, whether in the individual or the Church, is that of an elevated spiritual estate—a walking in the light and abounding in all the graces of the Spirit, with the fruits following. That the life of the believer so walking with God should have its variations and spiritual crises seems to be according to the divine economy of Christian experience; and in like manner it might be presumed, apart from the evidence of facts, that there will be varieties in the operations of the Spirit in and through the Church. And such, it is known, has been the order of things in the Church, especially during its most spiritual periods, and changes from a lower to a higher state, from relative dullness to earnest vitality, and especially the outgoings of the Spirit's quickenings to the hitherto unsaved, constitute the gracious manifestations that we call *revivals.*

If, then, it should seem not quite correct to say that revivals constitute the normal state of the Church, they are certainly the normal products of the indwelling life of the Spirit, which is about equivalent to saying that if the Church is faithful to God he too will be faithful to his own promise to pour out of the abundance of his Spirit. It seems also to be the divine method that while the gifts of grace are continuous as the sunshine of the day and the dews of the night there shall also be occasional and exceptionally abundant "showers of blessings."

The duty of the Church in the matter of revivals is not only very serious, but also especially delicate, often presenting perplexing difficulties. Revivals are so far essential to the Church's welfare, that without them it will in almost any case decline in spirituality and lapse into worldliness, and also fail of its power to promote conversions. The Church that has no revivals will soon cease to be a soul-winning and soul-saving Church. These are the early and latter rains which irrigate the spiritual lands, so as to carry them still flourishing through other and less signally favored seasons, and by their influence the dormant seeds of grace in unrenewed souls are quickened and developed into spiritual life. And because revivals are so desirable, and indeed necessary, they should be sought for by all legitimate means; but great care should be exercised that only such shall be employed. It is a fearful thing to offer strange fire before the Lord. It is not for the minister or the Church to "appoint" a revival, nor for the evangelist to "get one up." Seasons for special and united prayer and other spiritual exercises may be of great value, even if not followed by unusual results; but for a revival there must be a patient, but not inactive, waiting upon God, in devout expectancy, but with all diligence in well-doing. As the mariner does not cease his efforts when the tide and the winds are against him, no more should Christians cease to labor and pray with all diligence in the most unpropitious seasons. It is always right and good to desire and work for a revival, but it is not good to try to force it, and it is impious to attempt to counterfeit it.

Genuine revivals are not only seasons of present refreshing, but they send their influences forward in blessings for after times. A revival Church is to those that abide in it the house of the Lord, stored with grace and adorned with the beauty of holiness; to those that are without, it is as a city set on a hill, and as a light shining in the world's darkness; but spurious and counterfeit revivals are a blight and a curse, both to the Church and the unsaved world. The religious fervors awakened by this kind of spiritual galvanizing, even though not consciously hypocritical, are unproductive and evanescent, and after they have passed by, the last case of their subjects is worse than the first. A sadder spectacle is not often seen than is presented by a social community that has been thus swept over by a religious sirocco, leaving behind it blighted souls and a wide-spread spiritual desolation. It is a fearful truth that should never be lost sight of by those who watch for souls, that every one upon whom the influence of a revival, genuine or spurious, is exercised, is either profited or damaged by it; that to be subjected to such spiritual influences without being made better is fearfully perilous, and these evil results may follow, in cases where there is not much of the true spirit of revival. A revival that comes by the power of the Holy Spirit is the bringer in of a renewed and lasting spiritual power to those who accept its benefits; and just the opposite results flow out of and accompany the spurious or artificial excitements that are called by that name.

The use of revival methods among young people and children, though a desirable work with large capabilities of good, is an exceedingly delicate duty, and not without its perils. Granting, as we certainly do, that there can be no spiritual life without regeneration, effectuated through penitence and prayer and faith, and also that children may be converted at an early age, seven to ten years old, we must also insist that parents and pastors and Sunday-school workers should be very careful how they handle such delicate and tenderly sensitive subjects; for the plastic docility which yields so readily to right instructions is also especially liable to be misled and perverted. To become religiously excited only to subside into indifference is to suffer great damage. To go forward for prayers, or in any way to be recognized as a seeker, without any deep and intelligent conviction of sin, or a settled purpose to lead a new life, whatever doing so may cost, is not a trifling error; and to pass through a Sunday-school revival without attaining to a scriptural conversion is to take a wide step in the wrong direction. These are momentous considerations, to which all who are charged with such interests should give heed.

The high estimate that is put upon revivals as phenomena in church life, and forms of Christian activity, is by no means in excess of their true value, and for that reason they should be not only diligently employed, but also carefully guarded from abuses. In and through them the ascended and glorified Christ has in all the ages of the Church fulfilled his promise of his perpetual presence, to the end of the Christian age. They have sometimes been given in the darkest seasons, and among conditions when it seemed that the light of spiritual life had gone out

and the Church had failed of its great design. But they are especially frequent and refreshing, and gloriously powerful, when the Church is walking in the obedience of faith and fulfilling its high calling, praying, watching, and working for the coming of the Lord.

THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT.

It is an old remark, about equally trite and true, that the beginnings of great popular movements are usually occult, and often past finding out. That now so rife against intemperance and the liquor traffic is not absolutely new, but it has lately assumed broader proportions, and passed from the condition of a quiescent conviction to an active and aggressive propagandism; and though there is abundant reason for even greater zeal against the rum demon than has before been brought into action, yet no special cause for its revival at this time is apparent. But the fact is not to be denied that the conviction is every-where deepening, that the desolations of intemperance are fearfully alarming, and that the trade in intoxicants is a nuisance that should be abated, and a public wrong calling for immediate and complete suppression. The presence of this feeling is patent, however it may have come to be. It is in the air, and can neither be ignored nor practically disregarded, and it may be well for all interests that may be affected by it, economical, social, or political, to recognize it as a factor in all their future calculations. This incoming flood is not the result of some temporary local storm, but of the rising tide of convictions that have come to possess the public mind in the forms of pity for the suffering, and of indignation against those who, for sordid gain, willingly become the agents of all this ruin. It is plain, too, that the force of these convictions has as yet only very partially expressed itself; and it is safe to anticipate that, instead of the present ripplings of the waves, a mighty ground-swell of awakened purposes will sweep over the land.

The presence of this movement was manifested in the late general election chiefly as a disturbing force, but quite sufficiently so, not only to indicate its existence, but also to suggest that it was backed by an unmeasured reserve of power. The votes cast for what was called the "Prohibition ticket" can, in no just sense, be taken as a measure of its extent and influence. The interests of the people were drawn away, with almost unprecedented intensity, to other issues, and uncounted thousands of the most determined Prohibitionists were saying, "Not now; the contest for the presidency is now the great issue, and for the time being the paramount one." Whether or not they acted wisely in this is a matter of less importance practically than is the fact itself; and this uncounted reserve force of the prohibition army, which refused to come to the front, is neither dispersed nor demoralized, but they are resting on their arms, and waiting for the reveille and drum-beat, to call them to go forward. If was believed, indeed, that the so-called National Prohibition party, to

which Governor St. John was the standard-bearer, was not in any proper sense the representative of the intelligent and unselfish temperance sentiment of the country. Its proposed methods for the suppression of the liquor traffic were believed to be fundamentally wrong, as well as inexpedient and impracticable. The only alternatives presented were "Constitutional Prohibition," or absolutely free trade in liquor; and as the most sanguine must allow that years will elapse before the former can be secured, in all the interval there must be a jubilee of Free Rum. The leaders of the party refused to recognize the fact that a License Law is a partial prohibition, and also to consent to mitigate the liquor evil during the processes for its complete removal.

But these mistakes of those who have assumed to represent the cause of Prohibition, and who undertook to be its leaders, however egregious and lamentable, do not affect the real merits of the case. It will not be so misunderstood by the public, whether its friends or enemies. In the changed condition of the politics of the nation and of the two great parties brought about by the late election, the prohibition movement stand-forth disentangled and with a comparatively open field for its action. During the next three years the contest for the presidency will be in abeyance, and the people of the several States and cities and minor civil divisions will be at liberty to care for their local affairs, in respect to which party allegiance is much less exacting than in national elections. To men of practical rather than visionary methods of thinking to begin the attack upon the liquor traffic through a canvass for the presidency, and by aiming at its suppression by Congressional legislation, seems very much like an attempt to mount to the house-top without the use of the stairway, or like rejecting the use of scaffolding in erecting a lofty edifice. The first work to be done, and that nearest at hand, and the most readily practicable, is in each one's own municipality or political locality, and the enforcement of laws already on the statute-book against the unrestrained freedom of the traffic—which may well form an issue in the election of local officials—would be the best possible preparation for further suppressive legislation, or for the election of legislative and executive officers of the State on that issue. This kind of work may not so well meet the requirements of men of very lively imaginations, but in practically beneficial results it will commend itself to plain common-sense people.

In the present state of this subject two facts of commanding importance must be taken into the account. The first is, that there can be only two great national parties in the country, one or the other of which will have the control of public affairs. A third party, if attempted, must necessarily be narrow in the range of its purposes, and also temporary as to its continuance, and usually local in extent. It must ignore all other public interests, except its own specialty—which the great body of the citizens will not do, and ought not. No party based on any single issue ever achieved success at a general election, and from the necessities of the case it cannot be done. It may operate as a disturbing force and a menace,

and, by compelling one or both of the great parties to grant its claim, it may achieve success at second-hand. But to withdraw from both the parties those who favor some specific changes would be to render them powerless in the contest, and to reduce that element in the body politic to zero. The second fact referred to is, that as the two chief parties are constituted, as to the character of their adherents, the withdrawal of the Prohibitionists from both would result in the hopeless defeat of that party from which alone there can be any possibility of success for their cause.

In the three States of Maine, Kansas, and Iowa the principle of Prohibition has been incorporated into their fundamental law, but in each of them it was done by, not a third party, but the Republicans. But, left to its own leaders, the Republican party cares nothing for Prohibition, nor for any other moral issue. It simply asks for votes, and is ready to purchase them by concessions made to those whose suffrages are sought for. It came into existence and attained supremacy in the nation by responding to a great popular demand; and so long as the issues so raised were unsettled, but still pursued, it was secure in the popular favor. But of the hundreds of thousands of free citizens who, during its struggle against the slave power, voted steadily with the Republican party, a contingent much larger than its majority never belonged to it in any such sense as to feel bound to follow its leadings contrary to their own personal convictions. It is because that party has failed to retain the confidence of those men who have both convictions and conscience that its splendid majorities of former years, after growing beautifully less year by year, have at length disappeared. Nothing seems more certain than that the Republican party must either satisfy the Prohibitionists by making their specialty a "plank" in its platform, and so stand or fall on that issue, or be hopelessly defeated and go out of existence,—as did its predecessor, the Whig party, because it would not accept the antislavery issue. Should it accept that issue, it would probably be defeated for more than a single year; but there would be hope in its case, because the moral forces of the country would be on its side. Apart from this liquor question, neither of the great parties can make any special claim to the favor of the moral and religious portion of the community; and while the Democrats may hope to succeed without it, the Republicans are sure of defeat without their cordial support. They have, therefore, these alternatives between which to choose—adopt Prohibition or go into liquidation.

Those who favor the organization of a political Prohibition party with the required agencies and appliances, and the necessary expenditure of money for carrying on a campaign, seem not to duly appreciate the greatness of the undertaking. It is not an extravagant estimate that puts down a million of dollars as the aggregate expenditure of each of the parties at the last election—probably twice that amount would not cover all the direct and indirect outlays and expenditures in various forms. Who, then, may be relied on for such contributions to the Prohibition party?—and without money, and a large amount of it, too, a political campaign

cannot be successfully conducted, even in so good a cause as that of Prohibition. Good and true men will give their own votes without other compensation than the sense of a duty performed; but beyond that their services must be paid for, which is all right. In the great parties the payments and contributions are expected to be compensated by political preferments, not entirely disregarding the profits of official jobbery. Will these motives prove effective in the new party? and, if so, will there not be danger of jobbery there also? Evidently, the formation of a great national party, based upon the single idea of Prohibition, to be organized and engineered so as to give even the most distant assurance of success, is simply impracticable, and also undesirable. The attempt, if made, would only result in impotent endeavors and abortive attempts, assuring their own defeat, while the party itself would be made the retreat of cranks and visionaries, and of hopelessly unsuccessful aspirants for place—the rejected material of the other parties. Without a party organization, for the distribution of offices, the Prohibitionists can compel one or both of the great parties to grant all that they ask, which is the only possible way by which to succeed.

AN UNSOLVED SOCIAL PROBLEM.

It is the commonly accepted opinion that a people or nation of a lower civilization, brought into close contact with a higher, tends toward extinction. This opinion, however, though seldom called in question, may not be so invariably correct as is usually supposed, and yet a large array of facts may be presented that seem to sustain it; but no reasons that appear altogether satisfactory for this order of things have been assigned. Those that are usually offered, and which seem plausible enough at first sight, soon become either greatly weakened or fairly broken down under a more critical and searching examination. There are, however, enough of facts, that are not to be denied, to make out a *prima facie* case, and so to afford an occasion for an inquiry after their cause.

A writer in the "Popular Science Monthly" for December, treating of this subject, concedes the general correctness of the prevalent opinion, and attempts to assign reasons for the recognized facts, which, however, with all the advantages of a skillful putting, only partially sustain his positions, and still leave ample space for questionings ending in uncertainty. A very considerable array of facts may be presented which, taken alone, and without considering other and opposing ones, would seem to sustain the popular opinion, and to indicate that the supposed tendency is founded upon some universal law of life; but the number of unquestionable facts that refuse to conform to that law is so considerable that the universality at first so plausible is rendered very doubtful. The case of the Northern nations that overran Middle and Southern Europe in the times of the decline and dissolution of the Roman Empire, which the writer referred to adduces in proof, will scarcely apply in this case, for the old

civilization had already lost its vitality; nor did the invading nations die out in the contact, but they largely coalesced with the people among whom they came, and became assimilated to them in character and manners.

In our own times three test cases have been wrought out, each one on an extensive scale; these are, those of the South Sea Islanders, the American Indians, and the Afrieo-Americans. The history of the aborigines of the Spanish American States—to whom that writer makes no reference—would also afford abundant materials for illustrating the subject, and the result of the consideration of its facts would not at all strengthen the popular opinion. The South Sea Islanders have been, within the last hundred years, in a large portion of their tribes or kingdoms, civilized and Christianized by Protestant missionaries, and, simultaneously with that transition, there has been a steady and rather rapid decline in their population. In the Sandwich Islands, where the work of transformation has been very rapid, and comparatively thorough, this decline has been especially marked. The work of Christianization began with them in 1820, when the population of these islands is supposed to have been not much less than 150,000 souls. In 1830, there were over 130,000; and from that date the decline continued till 1872, when there was found to be less than 57,000. The next six years showed a gain of about 1,000, but during that time more than 2,000 immigrants had been introduced. "The history of the Hawaiian Islands for the last sixty years," the writer concludes, "might be almost condensed in three words—Christianization, civilization, extermination." But looking beyond this group of islands, and considering the cases of other but kindred races, it will be found that among the Maoris of New Zealand, who surely have not suffered from either Christianization or civilization, the process of extermination has gone forward no less certainly and fatally.

It was our good fortune, some ten years ago, to make the journey from San Francisco to Omaha, in a palace car, with a highly intelligent gentleman from the Sandwich Islands, a native of Connecticut, but who had resided for thirty-five years in those islands—first as a secular agent for the American Board of Missions, and later in mercantile business, and also as a member of the government. He recognized the fact that the population seemed to be dying out, and also that the decay affected about equally those most thoroughly Christianized and civilized and those least affected by contact with foreigners—for the people of some of the outlying islands are still but little removed from their primitive heathenism. In answer to our inquiry for some explanation of a phenomenon at once so strange and so sad, he confessed that he could assign no natural cause for it, but declared his belief that it was not at all due to their contact with the strangers that had come among them, whether bringing the virtues or the vices of civilization. His only theory of the case was expressed in the simple but fearful words, "It seems to be God's will." These things, and especially the fact that the whole Polynesian races, Christian and pagan alike, and whether in contact with the higher civilization or quite isolated from it, appear to be dying out, seem to indicate

that its cause must be sought for in some other direction than contact with foreigners.

In our own country we have two races of men, wholly distinct and widely dissimilar, who have been all along in near or more distant contact with the whites—the Indians and the Negroes. Respecting the former, the common opinion, no doubt, is that they are steadily, and not very slowly, dying out; but the foundation for that belief is much less certain than is usually supposed. We have no trustworthy evidence respecting the number of the aboriginal inhabitants of the territory of the United States three hundred years ago. Some have estimated it as high as half a million, and others, about equally uninformed, have set it down at little more than half that aggregate. In 1830 it was written down, rather by a guess than from duly ascertained facts, at about 313,000, and ten years later, 400,000; in 1855, 350,000; in 1872, 300,000; and in 1879, nearly 253,000. The evident uncertainty of these estimates renders them almost entirely unavailable for any accurate comparison; but they leave the general impression that, on the whole, there are somewhat fewer Indians within the national territory than there were two or three hundred years ago—though the diminution has not been so great as has usually been supposed. It is also believed by some, well informed in such matters, that the dying out had begun before the white man came among them. The eastern and northern tribes have certainly declined, partly, no doubt, by the excess of deaths over births, and partly by the absorption of individuals into the larger and more prosperous tribes; but the southern tribes have steadily increased, and especially so since their settlement in the Indian Territory. It is now also pretty clearly ascertained that among the tribes that reside east of the Rocky Mountains the decadence has been arrested, and that the tide is setting in the opposite direction. Their closer contact with the civilization and religion of the whites appears to be no longer so fatal as it has been assumed that it must be.

The African race present a set of facts that entirely fail to sustain, but rather contradict, the popular theory. They were certainly, at first, as completely savage as any others, and yet they have steadily flourished in the presence of the white man, and they have also readily yielded to both his civilization and his religion. While in slavery they increased like Israel in Egypt, and in freedom they are even more prolific. As a race they have taken kindly to their new environments, and are as completely naturalized and nationalized as any of the people of the land, and evidently they are numerically the coming sub-nationality of the country.

The race problem in the United States is certainly as yet unsolved, and the wisest among us are very slow to predict what must be its outcome; and yet we think there are signs of promise in the face of the political and social heavens. Quite possibly the Polynesian races may be destined to become extinct—if so, because God wills it; but for the aboriginal American races, and still more for the Africo-Americans—already Christianized citizens of the Great Republic, and also the most thorough Protestants, as well as most intense patriots—the outlook is full of promise.

There is also a correlated deduction, suggested by the conditions of the problem that we are considering, respecting the probable future of the original American stock that first settled the country and built up its frame-work of social and political life. Not only has this stream been sadly diluted by foreign admixtures, by which its outward characteristics are becoming effaced; but statistics seem to indicate that the older populations are relatively less productive than are the new-comers. The ante-Revolutionary families are steadily diminishing relatively, and that quite beyond their numerical proportions, and their places are being filled by the newly arrived, or their children of the first or second generation. But there remains this consolation, that such is the assimilating power of the original American character, that all that come into contact with it yield to its energy and are unconsciously changed into its likeness. And if that be so, what need for any concern for physical ancestry of race or color? With such characteristics wrought into his very being, whatever the race or condition of the citizen, he is a man "for a' that," and what more need be desired?

ABOUT EVOLUTION.

The epidemic of "evolution" has made its appearance in a new quarter, and that about the last place that might have been suspected of liability to so great a danger. In two theological seminaries of the staid and conservative Presbyterian Church there have lately been signs of its presence, and the requisite measures have been adopted to prevent its spreading, and for stamping it out effectually. The Southern Presbyterians have a seminary at Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, in which there is an endowed Professorship of Natural Science as related to Theology, of which Rev. Dr. Woodrow is the incumbent; and quite legitimately, and in pursuance of the manifest design of his "foundation," the good doctor discussed his designated specialty from his professorial chair. In doing this he brought out certain rather fanciful speculations respecting the genesis of the parents of our race, which, of course, were not in harmony with the traditional orthodoxy and Presbyterianism, especially that of the Southern type, which is nothing if it is not conservative. The result has been that the whole body, within the entire region to the south of Mason and Dixon's line, has been thrown into a ferment. Its papers have wept over so sad a dereliction, and have fulminated terrible things against the recusant teacher, and presbyteries and synods have voted, by large majorities, that the doctrine of evolution is a pestilent heresy that must not be tolerated in either the pulpit or the seminary. And so, to the extent of the authority of those grave bodies, that matter is disposed of—though possibly some one may be reminded of the Pope's bull against the comet, or the burial of Sir John Barleycorn.

Before the bruit of the Southern conflict had fairly settled into silence, the announcement was made that Professor Kellogg, of the seminary

at Allegheny, had expressed himself in a way to occasion uneasiness among the especially cautious defenders of the faith, as defined in the Westminster documents. But now that wise teacher makes haste to set himself right with his brethren, by roundly denying that he is an "evolutionist;" but he follows this with certain professions of belief, which but for his disclaimer might have indicated his near affinity with those who are not so careful as he seems to be to purge themselves from the suspicion of favoring the deprecated heresy, so-called. He does a sensible thing, however, when he says that the evolutionists have never demonstrated their theory: he might have gone further, and declared that they never will do it—simply because the facts that would be necessary for its proofs are not within reach, nor can it be certainly demonstrated that they exist. But after all, Professor Kellogg gives away the case of his co-religionists when he concedes that there is nothing in evolution, as a scientific hypothesis, that need give the least possible alarm to any believer in the Bible and in the God of the Bible.

The manner in which this whole subject has been treated is very far from edifying. First, the infidel scientists, from a few partially ascertained and very imperfectly collated facts, leaped to the conclusion that they had effectually overthrown every possible form and degree of supernaturalism, and they so proclaimed with undisguised pleasure. And then the friends of the Bible, taking the alarm, began to discredit, not simply the conclusions of their assailants, but their indubitable facts, and the few clearly ascertained principles deduced from them. The result has been a war of words, not at all creditable to either party. But a third class—neither infidels nor blinded followers of traditional opinions—have dared to look into these things in order to find what they do really teach. The full report of their studies and examinations has not been published—probably it never will be made so full and complete as to be no longer susceptible of additions and emendations; but this much is clearly determined—that all that has been proved by the researches made in the science of nature has failed to cast the shadow of a doubt upon any of the great and saving truths of religion, as they are revealed in the Scriptures, and cherished in the hearts of believers, and conserved by the living Church. Nor is there any cause for misgiving in respect to any thing that science may hereafter demonstrate—for the plane of its operations and that of the supernatural truths of religion are not the same, and by no possible extension can the former come into collision with the latter. The highway of faith is all its own: the eagle's eye has not seen nor the lion's whelp trod it.

The worst service that can be done for religion, in this business, is that rendered by its incompetent would-be defenders, who, with more zeal than discretion, rush into the contest against more expert antagonists, either to be discomfited in attempting to defend what is not true, or to give away their cause by false concessions. A large share of the discussions of these matters, heard from the pulpit or found in the newspapers, come within the range of this criticism. Only those thoroughly learned in

the points at issue can discuss them in the pulpit, except to betray the cause they would defend, and the best learned will not be apt to bring them there at all. There is reason to believe that this folly is not much less in fashion than it was a few years ago.

The history of ecclesiastical proceedings in respect to the findings of science is not altogether an honorable one, as may be seen in such cases as that of Galileo. The literalistic theory of biblical interpretation which controlled the thinking mind of Christendom from a very early age of the Church down to the immediate past—and it is still powerful to mislead—has compelled the Church, first to antagonize the progress of science, and then to retreat before it. So it fought the Copernican system, but was compelled at last to yield the point; and so, for a long time, it held on to the six solar days of creation, till for very shame it could hold out no longer. Perhaps it has not yet fully given it up. But a better method of thinking is now almost universally accepted by those who must dictate the opinions of the Church of the future, which demands that spiritual Christianity shall not be subjected to scientific tests or modes of thought. Such subjects as the methods of creation, the age of the world, the genesis of living things, and the development of species, all belong to the same class with the laws of gravitation, the motions of the heavenly bodies, and the precession of the equinoxes; and none of them fall within the sphere of theology. They are all of the earth earthy, and should be left for secular men to deal with. "We have a more sure word of prophecy."

LESSONS FROM THE CENTENNIAL.

The great Methodist "Centennial" of 1884 has passed into history, and so is brought within the field of vision of the reviewer. We are careful to indicate its date, for this is the third of its kind that has occurred within the memory of many now living. Forty-five years earlier, in 1839, came the Centenary of the founding of the first "Societies" by the Wesleys, which event was duly commemorated, especially by the Methodists of Great Britain. In 1866 was celebrated the Centenary of American Methodism, which, it was assumed, without overmuch regard for historical and chronological accuracy, belonged to that year, and this was chiefly an affair of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by which it was turned to good account historically, religiously, and financially. That now just passed was entirely American, but was more comprehensive than either of the former, because it included all kinds and forms of Methodists on the continent. This comprehensiveness, while abating somewhat its ecclesiasticism, indicated the essential unity of the many varieties of the common genus, and also displayed the magnitude of the proportions to which the "plant" has attained. The statistics presented would seem almost alarming to any one at all distrustful of vast concentrations of power, were it not that the

lack of organic unity and the exceeding flexibility of all its forms of government fully guard against any possible danger from that source. The unity of Methodism, like that of "the Holy Catholic Church," is spiritual and not organic, religious and not ecclesiastical, all of which the occasion abundantly illustrated and emphasized; and in proportion as the organic and ecclesiastical conditions were kept out of sight, the oneness of essential Methodism became all the more manifest; and accordingly the assembly so brought together and constituted found itself free to devote its opportunities to social and congratulatory expressions, to reminiscences of past achievements, and to the glorification of its "heroes," instead of earnest deliberations on measures and methods of action; and within its purposes the "Conference" seems to have been a decided success.

These things are, however, still in the condition of passing affairs, and scarcely sufficiently matured to be considered in their completed results; and for their making up we must await the publication of the volume that shall give the proceedings in detail, with the papers read and considered. But some of the principal facts of the case were manifest and complete in themselves, and these are, perhaps, the most significant and suggestive of all that appeared on the occasion, and these fall within the range of our appropriate discussions.

To the thoughtful observer the most notable fact of the gathering was the *bigness* of the constituency represented. Each delegate had behind him more than twenty thousand church members, or fifty thousand persons, of various ages and relations. And besides these, with a less direct and more distant, but still somewhat effective, relationship, as many more. Reckoning the population of the country as one half, that is, twenty-five millions, really and effectively Protestant,—including in the other half the Romanists and all kinds and classes of quasi-religionists and the entirely irreligious,—it is not too much to claim for Methodism ten millions of these as of its type, and most nearly subject to its influences. To this estate it has attained, in very little more than a hundred years, by its aggressive energy, for it is at once the youngest of the great divisions of American Protestantism, and it has won its way against the opposition of all others, rather than with their favor; which facts certainly speak well for the effectiveness of its methods. But to the serious and conscientious Methodist observer these wonderful facts must suggest the most sobering reflections. They show to what a condition of responsibility the divine Providence has brought this body of Christians, and how great is the duty that comes with such opportunities; and they suggest that while there may be a degree of fitness in looking back and pausing to recount the wonderful things that God has wrought out for this people, there is also great need to remember the admonition against boasting before the victory is achieved. For a hundred years Methodism has been gathering her recruits, and preparing for the impending campaign against the powers of darkness; but the heaviest battles are yet to be fought, and the victory, already assured, must be won by mighty faith manifesting itself in indomitable labors and self-denials.

As in military affairs mere numbers are not a certain guarantee of success, quite as much so does this consideration apply to church work; and, therefore, in estimating the power and availability of Methodism, other properties and conditions must be taken into the account. And here, while we must freely confess our great and sad deficiencies, and our lamentable failures to measure up to the required conditions for realizing the high ideals of Christian aggressiveness, it is due both to the cause and to ourselves to properly appreciate all the advantages that we have. The place of Methodism in American Protestantism is a decidedly advantageous one. Its numerical greatness is a fact not to be despised, for it gives both strength and opportunities, and compels the respectful recognition of the other divisions of the "grand army." Its theological atmosphere has extended itself over the whole evangelical host; its spiritual tone and life has permeated it and become its own; while its liberal and flexible organization adapts it to all emergencies, and its aggressive methods fit it especially for the work most needed to be done. The key-note struck by Wesley, in his sermons "Against Bigotry" and "On a Catholic Spirit," has never been lost by his followers; for though there may have been individual cases of narrowness, yet these have been only exceptional and outside of the prevailing spirit of the body. It is by the influence of this spirit that the essential unity of Methodism has been maintained in all lands, and among widely variant ecclesiastical organisms and social customs; and by virtue of it the wide chasm that originally separated it from all other evangelical denominations has been effectually bridged. Its attitude, even more than its words, toward Christians of other names has been that indicated by the Psalmist, "I am a companion of all them that fear the Lord, and of them that keep his precepts." It is pronounced in all its purposes, readily declaring for the right, without waiting to see whether or not it is likely to be popular. It is instinctively aggressive, alike in spirit and in form; it is all alive, with a wonderful facility for casting off any effete and non-adjustable parts—altogether a vast reservoir of religious potentialities, as yet only very partially realized.

In two directions—in learning and wealth—Methodism has very largely increased its resources and capabilities, and, it may be feared, without a corresponding increase of its moral and religious efficiency. They who have been most closely related to the mind and thought of the denomination for the past half century are the best prepared to appreciate the very great advances that have been made. We talk and write of our great men of the times of the fathers; and they were great in their adaptations and in their work. They belonged to their own age, and nobly measured up to its requirements, and achieved great results. But changed conditions make other and vastly increased demands upon the men of the present time, for which their enlarged advantages, to a good degree, qualify them; and these also lay upon them the most sacred obligations. Whether with these advantages they still retain the spirit and devotion of the fathers is a question of the highest significance. The Head of the Church has not brought together this host, so disciplined and qualified,

without a commensurately high and sacred purpose; but who will say that the work they are doing makes any near approach to the demands and the possibilities of the case? There is, no doubt, some deficiency of self-denying devotion, and of personal self-sacrifice, but of these there is very much more than is made available. The Church's order and methods of Christian work afford very little opportunity for spontaneous religious zeal, and it is possible that both faith and hope may be repressed through lack of opportunities. But that still a good degree of enthusiasm exists is shown by the manner in which William Taylor's call for volunteers is responded to; and though it may be suspected that the motives that control in these things may be largely tinged with human admixtures, it is equally manifest that there is also in them an element of Christian heroism that ought to be utilized. No higher duty now awaits the directing hand of the governing minds and hearts of Methodism, from the chief ministers down to the pastors and laity of the churches, than the effective utilization of its working forces. It will be worse than useless to recount past successes, to set up our Ebenezers, singing "Hither by thy help I'm come," and to tell of our millions of converts, unless these reviews of our forces are made preparatory to better organizing for action, and the more adequate employment of our capabilities.

Ours is an age of money-making, of unprecedented financial increase, and of all this Methodists have received much more than their numerical proportion. While the denomination has doubled and redoubled its membership, their wealth has increased by a much larger ratio; and no problem of greater importance, or more difficult of a satisfactory solution, now confronts the Church than how the perils of such an increase of wealth may be avoided, and the money with which God is endowing his Church, in the persons of its members, may be used for the furtherance of his work. The danger of possessing, and especially of gaining wealth, is declared and emphasized by Christ and his apostles, and these warnings have been reiterated till they have become commonplaces of the pulpit and the religious press; but the golden game proceeds without abatement, and the Methodists are rapidly becoming a wealthy denomination. A very few have come to rightly apprehend this matter, and faithfully to employ the talents intrusted to them in the service of the Master, so making for themselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; but to many more, it may be feared, the censure of the apostle is only too aptly fitting: "Your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you. . . . Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton." The wealth given to Christians is a divine provision for the furtherance of the Gospel; and in order that they may serve God in that way, he has, in the orderings of his providence, made money a needed agency in his work, and at the same time given it to his people to be so used, not by the very rich only, but by all, according as God hath prospered each one. The work in which the Church has become engaged, and to which it should direct its efforts, calls loudly for not inconsiderable amounts of money for its successful prosecution in the immediate future—for churches,

for schools, for missions, and for works of charity in behalf of the souls and bodies of men; and no other lesson taught by the "Centennial" calls more loudly or imperatively for devout attention and willing obedience than this demand for the consecration of wealth for the promotion of Christ's kingdom. And though we are aware of the power of worldliness, and of the "deceitfulness of riches," we still believe that this demand will be much more largely complied with hereafter than it has been at any time heretofore.

THE RATIONALE OF BELIEF.

The confusion both in the common and cultured mind respecting the extent to which one is responsible for what he believes, especially if it relate to religious truth, arises chiefly from a misunderstanding of the faith-principle, and an imperfect analysis of its contents and requirements. Careless statements and well-nigh meaningless platitudes on the subject, to the making of which the pulpit has contributed its share, have gone forth and been reiterated with such emphasis as to impress men that they are legitimate deductions from the Scriptures, and must be accepted as the condition of temporal good and final salvation. A survey of the foundations of belief will dissipate the common error, since it will be seen that belief *is* and is *not* within the mind's control, or subject to the volition and judgment of the believer. The beliefs that men entertain are of two kinds, for only one of which they are responsible. The beliefs that are the products of nature, or whose root is contained in consciousness, and those that are the product of thought, or whose root is in voluntary mental action, differ radically in character; and, by as much as they differ in origin and character, by so much does responsibility for them differ.

Both of these beliefs are common to the experience of the race. The first we denominate spontaneous, universal, intuitional, or primary beliefs. Fundamental to human nature, they belong to every man, whether he is a savage or a Christian. To use the striking language of Professor Bowne, they are the "raw rudiments of consciousness," but in their "raw" state they are the constituent elements of manhood, the signs of a common humanity. Moreover, they are regulative as well as constitutive, distinguishing the true, the right, the beautiful, the good, and impelling to these things by a resistless under-ground swell, of the conscious life. Acute in distinction, they are forceful in persuasion, and consciousness is shocked at a refusal of the mind to co-operate and obey. If asked to name these "innate" ideas, which must be done to give value to our discrimination, we should place among them the ideas of right and wrong, of finite and infinite, of cause and effect, of substance and quality, of unity and multiplicity, upon which character may be built, or from which original, though perhaps not acquired, character may be evolved.

For these original ideas, notions, or conceptions—"common-sense" beliefs, Reid calls them—man is no more responsible than an elephant for his proboscis, or the sun for his rising.

However, let us guard this point. Though not responsible for his intuitions, man is nevertheless responsible for their use or application. It is true they impel him; it is equally true he uses them. They are the natural instruments of character, ever dominant and self-acting, and yet the subjects of training, development, and education. No one is responsible for having a conscience; he is responsible for the use he makes of it. He may bandage, suppress, bury the natural forces of character, the volitional energies of mind, the intuitional revelations of the soul, in which case he will inflict damage upon himself; or he may conform to righteousness and obtain its rewards, by the culture of consciousness and giving to the intuitions the right of way in his life. An uncultured conscience may provoke fanaticism just as an unenlightened judgment may turn to superstition. If in their "raw" condition the intuitions are sensitive and impelling, what would be their force if trained, matured, and regulated in activity? The power to hinder the intuitions and the power to invigorate and employ them is the measure of the responsibility for their use.

The second class of beliefs we denominate reflective or derivative, inasmuch as they are not original with nature, or the spontaneous products of the consciousness. Professor Bowne ("Metaphysics," page 16) says: "Very many of our beliefs are effects, and not conclusions. They are produced in us, and not deduced by us." A spontaneous belief is an effect of nature; a deduced belief is a conclusion from investigation of facts, principles, relations, and must, therefore, be voluntary. Evidence, inquiry, and knowledge, absent in spontaneous belief, are the conditions of a reflective belief which gains in trustworthiness according to the investigation that has preceded it. A spontaneous belief precedes investigation, is not dependent on it, though it acquires strength from knowledge; a reflective belief succeeds investigation, and is baseless without it. The former is an unoriginated certainty; the latter is a creative form of thought, resulting from comparison of facts, and a purpose to harmonize them in the unity of a formula of faith.

Evidently, for a reflective belief, derived from the directive work of the mind, man is thoroughly responsible. The duty to believe any thing beyond the revelations of consciousness imposes the duty to investigate the subject proposed to our credence, and to believe only as the facts warrant. To this law of faith even scriptural truth is subject, since it addresses human intelligence, and appeals to the reason and to experience for confirmation. To exempt divine revelation from the rule of investigation would amount to a confession that it cannot be investigated, that is, that being supernatural in character, it is entirely beyond rational apprehension, which, if true, would unfit it for human scrutiny; or, that it cannot *bear* investigation, which implies that it is not what it professes to be,—in which case it should be abandoned. This is an era of "biblical criticism," the justification of which is, that divine truth in the written form,

as we have it, is a proper subject for investigation. Of the results of such criticism let no one be afraid, since a belief founded on rational inquiry will be more permanent than that superstitious reverence for truth which has too much characterized the past, and even the religious world itself.

Infidelity, rationalism, mysticism, spiritualism, Universalism, Roman Catholicism, considered as beliefs in reference to religious truth, are not spontaneous, but reflective; they are not inspirations, either of consciousness or of the divine Spirit, but the products of voluntary inquiry for which the inquirer is justly responsible. In proportion to his inquiry or the data he gathers, he believes. On insufficient data he predicates a baseless conclusion, behind which he cannot shelter himself with the insincere plea that he cannot control his convictions. Belief arising from data, except those of consciousness, he must fashion according to the demands of evidence, and accept the results. Hence, the fearful responsibility that attaches to voluntary belief, of which kind is the whole brood of skepticisms which it is the business of this age to correct and annihilate. Unbelief is not a spontaneous state, but a reflective or derivative, and therefore voluntary, conclusion; consciousness is antagonistic to doubt and never inspires it; hence, the doubter is responsible for his doubt. Both Bacon and Descartes initiated, the one science and the other philosophy, with the principle of doubt; it was voluntary, it was purposed. So all doubt is a reflective conclusion, reflective, that is, voluntary, even when it assumes the form of unintelligent stubbornness. It is not difficult, then, to indicate the bounds and limitations of human belief, or the nature and extent of human responsibility. Both intuitional and reflective beliefs involve the duty of self-enlightenment, the one for a right use of the spontaneous products of consciousness, the other for a proper development of the discursive reason, the instrument of all voluntary, and therefore responsible, faith. J. W. M.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE story of the Anabaptists in the Venetian territory in the middle of the sixteenth century, by Dr. Karl Beurath, "*Studien und Kritiken*," is quite an addition to the history of the collateral workers during the Reformation. Very little has hitherto been known of the movements, in any portion of papal Italy, of the sect then called Anabaptists. We have lengthy histories of their labors in Holland, Switzerland, and even in Spain, in which latter country they were treated with the most revolting severity.

The history before us is a succinct account of the doings of these Reformers in northern Italy, many of whom were fanatical in their opinions and aggressive in their modes. The more sensible wing of these Protestants endeavored to work in harmony with the Lutheran platform,

and corresponded both with Luther and Melanchthon; whereas a more advanced faction were so radical in their doctrines and teachings as to make themselves offensive to the leaders of the German Reformation, and very unpleasant companions to the Catholic Italians. The Church, therefore, watched their activity with a very jealous eye, and finally adopted stringent and remorseless measures to suppress them or drive them out of the country.

They, however, at last became so numerous that they determined to hold a council in Venice, in September, 1550. In this council each congregation was represented by two delegates. The number that came was surprising even to the participants themselves, for although not every congregation was able to send its representatives, there were nevertheless sixty of these present, twenty or thirty being from Switzerland. Among the members on the roll of this order appear a great many Italian names that seem strangely out of place in a history of the Protestant Reformation. The participants were mostly poor, and of course they were friendless in the great city of Venice. Their traveling expenses were paid by their constituents, and they were obliged to provide for their own wants while there. Their proceedings, which bore the external character of religious fervor, were not marked by strong religious belief. They denied the divinity of Christ, the existence of angels, and a devil. They declared that the grave is the only hell, where the wicked remain always, but whence the chosen are delivered by the call of God.

Such doctrines, of course, separated them from the Lutheran workers in the Reformation on the one hand, while it made them more offensive to the papal authorities on the other, and alienated them from large numbers of their own brethren. These utterances gave an impulse to their persecution on the part of the local authorities. The magistrates of various cities ordered them to be punished or exiled, and in the bitterness of controversy the good and the bad among them were alike victims of persecution. The result was, that the true and fervent Christians among them appealed to their Protestant brethren in other lands, and received such sympathy and advice as these could give. They looked with special hope and love to the Moravian Brethren, who aided as far as possible the orthodox wing of these Protestant Christians. From the confessions that were forced from many who were imprisoned, information was gained in regard to many others, and thus the Propaganda soon came into possession of quite a list of these Italian Anabaptists, and proceeded to persecute them. We need hardly say that the agency for this work was the Inquisition; and indeed the "Sacred Office," as it is called, had its fill of congenial work. It found in Venice several lowly tradesmen, in Padua a baker and his wife, and in Vicenza five, of whom one was quite an influential member of society and of the sect. But amid all this suffering the letters and diaries of some of these men, of which we find extracts in this article, breathe the firmest confidence that God will lead all to his honor, and beg their brethren in the faith to remain loyal to Christian truth. The entire story of these unfortunate Protestant Christians, and

the sad fate of many of them, adds another gloomy page to the history of Protestant movements in the sixteenth century, and another very disgraceful page to the history of the Romish Church.

THE GERMAN CHURCH AND THE SECTS.—The State Protestant Church in Germany seems to have a growing, and, we think, a wholesome, fear of the sects. One of its sections recently held a "Church Conference," so called, in the old town of Eisenach, so well known as having been for a time the home of Luther in his early days. This Conference passed certain resolutions designed to protect the State Churches against the activities and separatistic tendencies of what they choose to call the sects, meaning thereby the Baptists and the Methodists. The resolutions passed have caused no little excitement in the camp of these dissenting Christians, and they treat them with great freedom in the organs of the respective denominations.

This "Church Conference" recommends very severe ecclesiastical discipline against these disturbers of the Church's peace, and the "Methodist Evangelist" thus replies in righteous wrath: "The *Church* will exercise discipline, it appears, but it is rather remarkable that it does not seem to incline to put this discipline in practice against the contemners of the divine word, against adulterers and drunkards, but rather against those who love God's word, observe his sacraments, but commit the one great crime in the eyes of the State Church, namely, partake of the Holy Communion with the sects, that is, not within the pale of the Establishment." The Baptist organ recommends its adherents publicly to announce their withdrawal from the State Church. These Eisenach resolutions, which refer to the relation between the State and the sects, demand that the latter shall be allowed no corporate rights or other concessions, and that any new religious societies shall give guarantees to the Church authorities in order to prevent any interruption of ecclesiastical peace, and to put an end to unseemly agitation.

But one may well demand whence this Church Conference obtains the right to declare as outlaws those who do not choose to submit to their assumptions. They certainly do not receive it from the State, for this has been more tolerant to these dissenters than a certain class of the clergy. They do not receive it from the Bible, for the New Testament is emphatic in its warnings against a spirit of persecution. It is quite remarkable that if a Protestant be oppressed in Austria or Spain, the entire religious press of Germany rises in wrath to condemn it. But dissenting Protestants within its own borders may be tormented and threatened with police interference, and no voice is raised against it.

THE LATEST WALDENSIAN SYNOD.—The recent Waldensian Synod of that Church in Italy, was held at its head-quarters in Torre-Pellice, and was largely attended. According to custom, a yearly report was presented in regard to the evangelizing work of the Waldensian congregations in the valleys. The most important subjects presented to the body

were the opening of the large Waldensian Church in Rome and the great growth of their evangelizing work on the island of Sardinia. Their success there was attributed to the isolation of the island from the corrupting influence of modern enlightenment, which in the main-land of Italy seems to have led to so much decided unbelief.

A question of exceeding interest to this synod was that of a union of all the Protestant Churches, which is just now quite an exciting one for Italy, and is engaging the attention of all branches of Italian Protestantism. The two Baptist branches, that is, the open and the close communion, are coming together as one Baptist Church. And the Waldensian Synod resolved to send delegates to the Evangelical Italian Congress, which shall officially discuss the mode and character of the proposed union. And even more important was the fact that the Free Church, which separated from the Waldenses thirty years ago, and since that time has held very strained relations with it, declared at this synod, through its official delegates, that if the federalism or union of all the Italian Churches should not be brought about, that they, at least, would enter into union with the Waldensian Church. The leader of the Free Church had previously addressed a question to the committee of the Waldenses in this intent, which had been very kindly received, and a meeting of the principal leaders of the two Churches, held privately in Florence, gave reason to hope for success in this effort. That committee recommended that the synod take the proper steps to effect a reunion, and this recommendation was unanimously indorsed, and a committee of the synod was directed to confer with the committee of the Free Church as to the mode of organization.

The reports from the congregations in the valleys were not so favorable as the past successes of these fervent and zealous Waldensians would lead us to hope and expect. Their communicants are notably decreasing in numbers. Only about half of their members take part in the service of the Lord's Supper. Even a greater indifference is discovered in the electoral lists, on which only about one fourth of the members entitled to communion are enregistered. Great complaints are also made about the increasing alienation of the young men from the Church, and a consequent sinking of the moral level of the Waldensian youth. The glorious past of the Waldenses ought to lay a sacred trust on the rising generation.

The theological literary world of Germany is now quite excited with a matter of unusual interest made known to them by the report of a new "find," in the line of inscriptions, through a German traveler in Arabia. Dr. Enting of Strasburg, having visited Palmyra in the summer of last year, brought from there an impression of several inscriptions in two languages found on gravestones, altars, and among nunneries. He then undertook a dangerous journey from Damascus to central Arabia, which brought him to Hayel, the capital city of the Emir Mohammed Raschid, and thence westward to the city of Tema. In these primeval regions he discovered a stone with an Aramaic inscription, and the pictures of a king in Assyrian costume of about the eighth century before Christ. He then

visited the ruins of several other cities, where he discovered about thirty well-preserved inscriptions from the period of the Christian era. One of these "finds" consisted of short inscriptions in characters hitherto unknown, apparently a side branch of the ancient southern Arabian character. Most of these inscriptions, together with a number of other monumental inscriptions, have been brought to Germany, and forwarded as far as the University of Strasburg.

The friends of scientific Scripture study are greatly pleased at the completion of the biblical hand-lexicon of Dr. Riehm. Evangelical Germany now possesses what it has hitherto lacked, namely, an illustrated Bible lexicon of surrounding lands, especially of England, which in regard to its contents, its execution, and its general arrangement as a book of reference for all the biblical sciences, but mainly of antiquarian and biblical history, is superior to any predecessor in this line. Like all previous works of Dr. Riehm, it has been executed with conscientious care, and with a thorough knowledge of the subjects presented, both on his part and on that of the many illustrious biblical scholars who have co-operated with him. These, like the author himself, belong to the generation of middle-aged scholars, especially in the Old Testament field, who avoid the hypercritical tendencies of the theologians and orientalists of a younger school. These Christian workers tread lightly where others might rush in, but to their conservative care we owe the fact that many of the articles in this work are of rare value; and the now completed issue will, without doubt, immediately take its place among the standard works of all the German theological libraries.

The congregations of the so-called "Christian Brothers" are unveiled in a recent Catholic statistical publication, and the world is quite surprised to find these Catholic teachers of the lower order of schools so very numerous. There are about 1,200 members of this order, about half of these with vows for life, some 4,000 of these with limited vows, and the remainder as novices. They live in about 1,200 "Houses" and control more than 1,700 schools, some of which are public, but more of which are private elementary schools. A goodly number of them are for adults, and some for apprentices. In short, the whole organization seems to aim at getting control of the lower order of studies, to keep these grades out of the hands of individuals or of the State. Over 300,000 pupils are reported as being on their rolls. The order is scattered over various lands, about as follows: France and its principal colonies have nearly a thousand of these "Houses," with about 9,000 members; Belgium has 44, with 550 members; North America, 96, with 971 members; South America, 11, with 71 members. And so the list goes on through Spain, England, Austria, Italy, Turkey, and Egypt, and even China. Their activity has been most largely developed in Paris, where they were formerly teachers in the public city schools. Having been expelled from these, they now have their private free schools for the general Catholic public.

The increase of suicide abroad is attracting very general attention, and a thesis recently published by a prominent divine thus treats of this growing danger to modern society: "Christianity alone has the power to antagonize the frightful increase of suicide in civilized lands. The Evangelical Church should consider itself under special obligation to fight this evil, because it is in its lands that it has so largely spread. Where this faith, as in Scotland, has retained its unbroken power, the number of suicides is comparatively small. Therefore, if the ruling effort were to keep pure the Protestant faith, to keep the individual members of the Church loyal to the word and to the sacraments, the result would be clearly felt in the control of this crime. And, further, it is the duty of this Church to stop as far as possible those sources whence spring the mania for self-destruction, especially the passion for drink and gambling, licentious sins, a vile press, and dueling. The Church should have a large share in the transformation and amelioration of the social relations. It should show its condemnation of suicide by denying Church honors to suicides, and refusing to them a public burial. The participation of the Church at the burial of a suicide contradicts the divine ordinances in honoring those who despise the divine word. Only in suicides from well-defined cases of insanity should an exception be made. And even in this case it would be well to make the interment more liturgical than churchly."

Many of the German synods are discussing the burning question of assistance to needy worn-out preachers. The "Pastor Emeritus" is quite an institution in some of these synods, and they receive more or less from the emeritus fund according to the respective provinces. But the main subject of discussion now concerns the income of the poorer clergy, which is very small in many sections. These receive a fixed stipend from the State, or, as it is expressed, "by royal sanction;" but this is so small that in many cases it must be supplemented by the respective congregations, or the preachers must lead a miserable life with a very strained existence. An effort is now being made by the General Synod to compel, as far as possible, the special synods to do their duty in this matter. A fixed sum is recommended for churches according to their rank, and in some measure according to the years of service of the pastor. But many of the parishes to whom this dictature is addressed are resenting it, and feel much inclined to follow their own inclinations in this matter, guided by the circumstances as they understand them. The German pastor in the rural districts is a man of very controlling influence in all the religious and social relations of the people. In very many cases, he is so endeared to his parish that they cannot afford to see him want, and do not. But in very many cases, also, for various reasons, the pastor is forced to supplement his slender income by also performing the part of local teacher.

The fact must attract the attention of every observer of the religious activities of European Christians during the summer and autumnal months, that there has practically been almost no end to congresses, convocations,

synods, alliances, and associations in the interest of every line of thought and religious effort. Two of these that may be called representative in their character, and which most closely resemble each other for their style of labor, though contrasting in aims, are the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Copenhagen, and the famous Catholic Congress at Amberg in Germany. The editor, who was present at the former, felt the beneficent influence of a spirit of genuine liberalism at the hearth-stone of a Church which has preserved, more than any other in Protestantism, the tradition of ancient Lutheranism. He acknowledges that the new conditions arising in the religion of our epoch are very grave, and agrees with Christlieb in his view of the religious indifferentism of the period. The question of the hour is not so much to preserve the heritage of the fathers as to reconquer lost soil. This is to be done by the sword of the Spirit and the propagandism of free speech. The Gospel and liberty should be the device of the Christian Church; even science should have its liberty, and as far as possible there should be no conflict between this and religion.

The General Assembly of the German Catholics, in session about the same period at Amberg, debated from their point of view some of the same questions that were so thoroughly canvassed at Copenhagen. The most absorbing one of these was the mode to be adopted by the Catholic Church to reconquer the soil lost and to regain influence lost or weakened. These German Catholics declared that the first measure to be adopted was to gather closely around the Church of Rome, and to exalt more than ever the authority of the holy father. The letter addressed by the pope to this congress was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and there seemed to be a most emphatic determination to recognize the authority of the pope as infallible. At the last session the entire assembly cast itself on its knees in order the more emphatically to affirm this absolute submission. This adoration of the papacy was in very strange contrast to the conduct of the German bishops after the adoption of the famous dogma of the papal council of 1870. It is clear that ultramontanism has triumphed in Germany all along the line, not only in the matter of the infallibility of the Pope, but also of the immaculate conception of the Virgin. This decisive triumph in Germany is due largely to the terrible and stubborn struggle between the Catholic Church and the German Empire.

DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE CENTENNIAL CONFERENCE OF EPISCOPAL METHODISM has been held, and the general verdict—both of participants and more distant critics—seems to be that it was greatly successful, both in the immediate spiritual impulse of the gathering, and in the valuable contributions made by its members to the permanent literature of the denomination. The leading

religious papers throughout the country reported the particulars of each session very fully, and the secular press, both by report and comment, paid due attention to the importance and dignity of the Conference. Baltimore entertained its guests with unbounded hospitality. The enthusiasm was great, and exceptionally continuous in its manifestation, so that it is not possible by the reproduction of a few salient features to fairly portray the entire assembly. An attempt in that direction, however, is all that space allows.

There was much in the background of the scene, and in its incidental features, to add to its picturesque impressiveness. A wonderful contrast was pre ented by the magnificent gothic church in which the delegates assembled to the bare little chapel figured on the programmes, in which the first General Conference was held. The great outpourings of sacred melody, when the sweetest and grandest hymns of the Church were sung to historic chorals—Methodist tunes that never can die—will not soon be forgotten by those who heard them. The presence and admirable performance of many men of color was eminently noteworthy. A few venerable representatives of a former generation were there—some "in age and feebleness" extreme, but all with hearts of loyalty and thankfulness and utterances of pathos and inspiration.

If any feared that the Conference would degenerate into a mere occasion for prolonged denominational glorification they must have been happily disappointed. The tone of the papers read was certainly not pessimistic; nevertheless, no disposition was shown to evade the consideration of dangerous tendencies, wherever discovered. Some regret was at first expressed because of the monotonous similarity of the topics selected for discussion; but the individual characteristics of the several essayists precluded unnecessary repetition. The forthcoming volume, which is to contain the papers read and the addresses made, will be of exceptional and permanent value.

The "Pastoral Address to the Methodist People in the United States and Canada" calls attention to the fresh and impressive lessons of the history of the first century of organized Methodism, and commends the papers read before the Conference to the prayerful consideration of all. It declares that the mission of Methodism is not yet accomplished—"The victories that thrill and gladden our hearts to-day are but the prophecy of the triumphs in store for us if we prove worthy our calling." The emphasis that Methodists have always given to the essential doctrines of Christianity, and especially to the "doctrines of experience"—repentance, faith, justification, adoption, the witness of the Spirit, sanctification, and Christian perfection—is commended, and watchfulness urged in view of the insidious advances of skepticism. The promotion of holiness; the maintenance of family religion; the devout observance of the Christian Sabbath, and active hostility against all vices are set forth as solemn duties that cannot be shirked or postponed. The rising spirit of fraternity between Churches is hailed as a pleasant indication of the dawn of a day of peace, and the Canadian brethren are congratulated upon the success

which has attended their movement for uniting the forces of Methodism in the Dominion. That the peculiarities of Methodist Church life are still cherished in the hearts of so many is observed with pleasure, while at the same time the exhortation is given to enter all fields of usefulness which the expansion of modern social life may open. It is a document of ability, devout in tone, and it has been received with general favor.

THE BRITISH WESLEYAN CONFERENCE.—The one hundred and forty-first session of the British Conference was held last July at Burslem, a little town on the road between Manchester and Birmingham, in the very heart of the region known as "the Potteries." Just one hundred and twenty-four years ago Mr. Wesley rode into the place. His ministry was greatly successful there, and the neighborhood has ever since been one of the strongholds of Methodism. This was the second time the Conference had met in Staffordshire. The entertainment was sumptuous.

Like their American congeners, the British Wesleyans have just celebrated one of the "centenarics" that so frequently mark the history of venerable historic bodies. That "peculiar institution," the Legal Hundred, was born just one hundred years ago, when Mr. Wesley's Deed of Declaration was executed. The existence of this little select circle in the midst of an ecclesiastical body so Presbyterian in many of its methods as is the Wesleyan Conference cannot but strangely impress an observer whose traditions are of the Methodist-Episcopal type; but it is a legal device, simply a board of trust, with only the least possible trend toward an aristocracy. If the utterance "Happy is the nation without a history" be applicable to religious as well as to political bodies, the Wesleyan Conference is indisputably prosperous. The Rev. F. Greeves, D.D., a well-known minister, was elected President, and the Rev. R. N. Young, one of the deputation to the late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, was chosen Secretary. The increase of members of society during the year was more than 3,000. The delivery of the Fernley lecture—this time by the Rev. B. Hellier, on the "Universal Mission of the Church of Christ;" the report of the fraternal delegates to America; the shelving of a preacher who had ceased to believe in the eternity of future punishment; and an earnest and memorable "conversation on the work of God," were among the more conspicuous features of the Conference. Immense missionary meetings and a series of open-air services for working-men made pleasing and healthful accompaniments to the regular business sessions. All the connectional institutions—the Missionary Society; the Wesleyan Theological Institution; the Sunday-School Union; the Metropolitan Building Fund; the Children's Home; the Thanksgiving Fund—are in prosperous condition.

THE SALVATION ARMY.—The crowded public meeting held in Exeter Hall, London, January 12, not only revealed the continued progress of the Salvation Army, but also showed how keenly alive its General is to avail himself of every opening to strengthen its position. The meeting was

practicability of co-operative farms was discussed, in the hope of being able, soon or later, to imitate in England the example of the numerous communities in Switzerland whose manual working classes, living in their own country-like homes, have a little time toward the close of each day for the tilling of their plots, and the care of their goats and cows, alternating thus their periods of mechanical toil with the salutary and soothing influence of rural life. One of the speakers, Mr. E. T. Craik, had been one of a number of gentlemen to establish a co-operative farm in Ireland, a project that had been regarded with favor by Mr. Parnell, who had also expressed the hope that other lands, in some of the more miserable parts of the island, might be brought into use for similar purposes. Unfortunately, the land-owners of the district had so strongly opposed the project of Mr. Craik and his associates as to thwart it entirely. But while all humane persons must wish the utmost of success for such undertakings, the fact remains that the greater part of the miserably housed and generally wretched of the cities must be cared for where they are, in the place of their dismal abodes. It is these abodes that are to be renovated and improved up to the level of decency and propriety. The families of cigar-makers and of rag-pickers cannot be transported in masses to the country. Not one such family, not one individual of the grade below these, can be transported thus, unwillingly.

A talented writer, who has lately contributed to "The American Reformer" the best statement recently printed of the sufferings of the degraded poor, proceeds, after giving the facts repeated above, to make some eminently sensible suggestions as to the remedy. "The prime effort must be made in procuring for this element of the city populations light, air, space, provisions for some degree of cleanliness in their present quarters. And nothing really is wanting to effect this change but the fixed intention, the resolve, of these ruling classes. Whenever a citizen's association shall take the tenement question in hand, as such associations have already taken the subject of municipal rings and 'bosses' in hand, the horrible quarters of great cities will cease to be horrible. To such a reform the world will accord a not reluctant recognition. It will cheerfully admit that at last it has an example of fraternal regard, of practical Christianity, worthy of the name of the Master. No insuperable obstacle lies in the way of a legislative enactment for the demolition of the rear tenements—buildings that cruelly restrict tens of thousands of human beings in respect of space, and as cruelly shut them off from light and air. The abrogation of these rear houses would be an important initial step in the direction of improvement. A second clause in the enactment should provide the requisite hygienic supply of space, light, and air for the tenement lodgers of the front buildings. Their present overcrowding once made illegal, the recklessness of the builders of these structures and the greed of their landlords would have to give way."

The second proposed remedy is some legal measure which shall suppress the dram shops. Soon after the publication of "The Bitter Cry," when the public feeling of England was deeply stirred by this appeal to its

humanity, a well-known worker among the London poor wrote: "In this hour of interest and of sympathy, we might combine to remove the dwellers of the slums into homes containing all the comforts and beauty of palaces. But, if we left standing near at hand the reeking drink shops, in half a year the new homes would be as squalid, as foul, as hideous every way as the herding places of the slums are to-day." As long as these are permitted to curse the community, all efforts towards lifting up the degraded masses will be almost entirely hopeless.

The evil of overcrowding is not by any means confined to the older countries. The writer already quoted makes the following statement concerning the great metropolis of America: "The city of New York was founded in 1633. Its population, including that of the environs that are properly a part of it, is above two millions. The Christian element of this population is not far from one million. The tenement house population is upward of three hundred thousand. In other words, during a period of two hundred and fifty years the Christianized portion of the citizens of the metropolis have permitted the weaker, the less enlightened, the helpless class of its population, at present numbering nearly one seventh of the entire population, to live deprived of such space, light, and air as are necessary for health and decency, and surrounded with every baleful influence calculated to demoralize and render utterly wretched this lower, feebler class. One would hardly err in affirming that the strong, Christianized class of citizens had deliberately, designedly, fostered a hideous breeding-ground of moral pestilence, a nursery and community of criminals, a quarter for the development of human misery, by permitting the growth of the slums, and by taking practically no measures for the checking of this growth."

Strong as is this arraignment, it perhaps does not present in the strongest light this awful truth. The following table gives some comparative figures:

	Population.	Houses.	Average inmates per house.
Philadelphia	847,170	146,412	6
Brooklyn	566,663	62,233	9
Saint Louis	350,518	43,026	8
Chicago	503,185	61,069	8¼
Baltimore	332,313	50,833	6½
Boston	362,839	43,944	8¼
New York	1,206,689	73,684	16½

Even this table fails to convey all the truth. In New York city 10,314 dwellings contain each one family of six persons; 16,982 houses or flats contain one family on each floor, or 25 persons in each building; while 18,966 tenements contain an average of about 50 persons each, or almost a million in all. This million is unprecedentedly crowded, and its physical and moral unhappiness and misery clamor for means of relief. Mayor Edson hardly exaggerated when he said: "The question of comfortable city homes for our poor is quite as important as that of foreign missions." And yet even he dared not touch the chief cause of all this wretchedness.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

MISSIONARY SUCCESSES IN CENTRAL AFRICA. — The latest mail from Uganda, at the northern end of Lake Victoria Nyanza, Central Africa, brings some very interesting letters from the missionaries of the Church (Evangelical Anglican) Missionary Society. In our January number we spoke of this mission, the difficulties it had met, and its prospects. King Mtesa, who at first gave the missionaries much trouble, and made their work almost futile by his sudden changes of opinion, is now quite friendly to them, and the mission is very prosperous. The number of converts is increasing rapidly, the schools are well patronized, and the native worship of Lubari and the religion of the Arabs are declining. Mr. O'Flaherty, one of the missionaries, gives a very interesting account of a trial before the king, between himself and four of the Arabs, to see whether he or they had the better understanding of the "Koran." The Arabs had become very loud and impertinent, and were present nearly every day in court teaching the "Koran" to the chiefs. Mr. O'Flaherty, thinking that their baleful influence had gone far enough, proposed to Mtesa a contest. The king gladly consented to it. He ordered five chairs to be set before him, four for the principal Arabs, and one for the missionary, and proclaimed that whoever answered best should be his head professor and teacher. The day before the trial took place he invited Mr. O'Flaherty to dine with him, and got many hints from him as to the sort of questions he should ask. We will let Mr. O'Flaherty describe the scene:

> Next day he [Mtesa] placed the five mwalimus on the chairs; I was placed near himself. The king questioned, I prompting him. In the course of fifty minutes all the Arabs were off the chairs except Masudi, an arch-foe, and now a powerful sub-chief here, the most clever of all. He and I now confronted each other. Greek met Greek. The king was amused, and so were the chiefs. In thirty more minutes Masudi was off the chair and I alone on. The chiefs loudly applauded, and Masudi, getting angry, loudly insulted, and the Arabs loudly joined him, and said I was worthy of death, an incorrigible kafir. I calmly asked the king, "Mtesa, you see this man whom you in your kindness made manakulya. What does he know about religion? You see how little he knows about his own 'Koran' and its teaching, and how I, a foreigner, have shown you these Arabs are babes. He, a drunkard of whom all Arabs are ashamed, a kafir who eats the king's meat contrary to the 'Koran,' and with whom true Moslems would not mix; who calls you his god, and therefore denies the Islamic creed: 'There is no God but Allah,' and whom every true Moslem is bound by his creed to kill—how dare he teach *you* religion, he whom Mohammed will punish, whom Jesus despises, and whom even heathenism hates?" Masudi went off in a rage, and the keepers of the gate, hearing of the affair, laughed at him. After this the king ordered his people to keep Sunday sacred, and ordered his flag to be hoisted on that day.

Many private interviews followed between O'Flaherty and the king, and the latter was invited to come regularly to the royal quarters by a private way. But the king may soon find occasion to change his mind, though the missionaries have obtained a strong influence over him. This they have proved by inducing him to countermand an order to open war

on a neighboring tribe. A force of the king's had pillaged the Basogas, and the latter had gathered in force, and almost annihilated the invaders. The king and his chiefs were in a rage about it, and a royal order had been issued to raise an army and exterminate the Basogas. Mr. O'Flaherty attended the council of war, and besought the king not to go against the Basogas. He told him that his own men had been the aggressors, and the Basogas had only rallied for their own protection, which proved them to be a brave people. The Arabs counseled the king to go on with the expedition, and said O'Flaherty ought to be driven from the court. But Mtesa, after serious thought, said, addressing Mr. O'Flaherty: "I think, Philipo, that you have not lied. You have shown me plainly that the Basogas have only done what we would have done under the same circumstances. You have made plain what I never thought of before. I have heard your pleading and granted your request." The war-flag was accordingly taken down, and the "horrid Arabs," as O'Flaherty calls them, were much chagrined. Several members of the royal family have become faithful Christians and have been baptized. The whole number of baptized persons is now 68, of whom 40 are communicants. Seven of the communicants have been organized as a sort of diaconate. In case of the expulsion of the missionaries they could preserve the Church. The first five were baptized in March, 1882. A young chief named Sebwato has accepted Christianity, and sent away all his wives but one, a severe test, as it is a badge of disgrace in Waganda society. Small-pox has made terrible ravages in Buganda, carrying off several converts, among them one of the king's daughters. The missionaries have translated a considerable body of Christian literature into the Ruganda. The following is a verse of the hymn, "Safe in the Arms of Jesus:"

"Mu mikono gya ISA:
  Emirembe bulijo,
Tetulina entisa:
  Tulina esanyu nyo.
Muwulira edobozi
  Mu Gulu, liyogera,
ISA Ye Mulokozi:
  Ye alina empera.
    Mu mikono gya ISA
      Emirembe bulijo;
    Tetulina entisa;
      Tulina esanyu nyo."

MORAVIAN MISSIONS.—Last year (January, 1884) the sesqui-centennial of the Greenland Mission was celebrated. There are few things more sad than the confession which is made in the annual report of the Moravian Missionary Society, issued in December, of the condition of these hardy people of the north. "If," says the report, "we cast a glance at the spiritual and social state of the Greenlanders at the time when our work among them was inaugurated, and compare it with their condition at the present time, we cannot fail to notice how little visible progress, in some respects, has been made during those one hundred and fifty years. Only

a slight change has taken place in the social condition of these inhabitants. They appear to have acquired but little additional force of character, and with regard to their spiritual life they must still be considered as too much resembling grown-up children." Yet the missionaries have found reason to rejoice over the numbers who have been constrained to confess Christ, have lived consistently, and have died happy in the faith. The force of native helpers it is somewhat difficult to maintain in efficiency, so weak are many in character. Pride, partiality, spiritual indifference, are some of their great faults. Nor is there much that is encouraging to report of the mission in Australia. The aborigines are slowly disappearing, and year by year the number of converts decreases, yet there is no thought of abandoning the mission while there are poor blacks to be reached. On the contrary, the society hopes to extend its labors to New South Wales and Queensland, where the aborigines are more numerous. The government cares for them, as does ours for the Indians, but the half-breeds, who are well able to care for themselves, are cast upon their own resources. It is pleasant to know that "in almost all cases the native Christians adorn the doctrine of Christ their Saviour by their consistent lives." And yet many of the dominant race of Australia deny that these poor blacks are human beings, with souls! For many years some of the singularly patient missionaries of this faithful missionary Church have been waiting on the frontier of Thibet for an opportunity to enter that country. They have worked on amid great discouragements at Kyelang and Poo, frequently petitioning the authorities for permission to settle in the Thibetan province of Ladak, but always getting a refusal. At last they have succeeded, and will form a station at Leh, the capital of Ladak, where they will find the nucleus of a Church, for some of the Ladakese became converts at Poo and Kyelang. Two Moravians made an exploring expedition to Alaska last summer, and reported in favor of establishing a mission in Oonalaska, and the probability is that missionaries will be sent thither at an early day.

THE FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The administration of the missionary concerns of the Protestant Episcopal Church is in the hands of a Board of Managers. The Board of Missions, which is the supreme authority, is simply the two houses of the triennial General Convention sitting together to consider the missionary interests of the Church. This Board of Missions chooses fifteen presbyters and fifteen laymen, who, together with the bishops and the missionary treasurers, constitute the Board of Managers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. This Board forms from its own members two general committees, one for domestic, the other for foreign missions. The Board of Managers is empowered to establish and regulate such missions as are not under episcopal supervision. Appropriations for dioceses or missionary jurisdictions having bishops are made in bulk, and the bishops regulate the number of stations, and appoint the missionaries and fix their stipends with the approval of the Board of Managers. The receipts for foreign

missions last year were nearly $135,000, of which amount no more than $15,838 was received from legacies—the smallest sum from this source since 1877. The total of receipts also shows a very large decrease. The income for domestic missions was $208,718, which is an increase over the previous year of about $28,000, but a decrease from the returns of 1881 and 1882. The missions at home embrace the Indian, Chinese, and colored populations as well as the white people. Among the last there are 12 bishops, 338 clergymen, and 8 women helpers; among the colored people, 18 white and 23 colored clergymen, and 32 agents and teachers; among the Indians, one bishop, 14 white and 13 Indian clergymen, and 32 agents and teachers; among the Chinese, one Chinese clergyman. The report of the Foreign Committee speaks of changes in the missionary episcopate and in the missionary force as constituting two of the most notable features of the year, the third being the attention given to purely evangelistic work, and the increase of communicants in Japan. The committee say the work has been more productive than usual; but it is to be remembered that the foreign missions of this Church have not been successful in the same degree as those of other Churches. There are three missions—those of Africa, China, and Japan; and besides these the Haytian Church, to which help is given, and the Church of Jesus in Mexico, for which funds are raised by the Mexican League. These missions report a total of 896 communicants, of whom 46 are European or American. The Greek mission is simply an educational work. The African mission is nearly half a century old. It has a total of 425 communicants. Eighty-six missionaries from the United States have labored in it, of whom twenty-eight died in the field, and it has had, including the present incumbent, four bishops. It occupies what was regarded as the most promising field in Africa a generation ago—Liberia. Our own Church has had but little encouragement to make large appropriations in late years to our Liberian mission, yet our Episcopal friends are not discouraged. A new bishop, a product of the mission, has been chosen, and the committee say the work was never more promising. The mission is divided into three districts, the Cape Palmas, which gives name to the diocese, Sinoe and Bassa, and Monrovia and Cape Mount. Of the 425 communicants, 247 are classed as Liberian, 177 as native, and one as American. Three stations in the Cape Palmas District, two of which are purely native, report 221 communicants, of whom more than half are Greboes. The preachers say that the people evince much more interest than formerly in religious services, and it is believed 10,000 persons are reached by the ministrations in the district. Work has been going on at Cape Mount since 1878, and a system of schools exists throughout the mission. The mission in China dates from 1835, when the Rev. Henry Lockwood, who died last year, and the Rev. F. R. Hanson, who died some years ago, were sent out. Nine years passed before the first convert was secured—Kong Chai Wong, who was the first native deacon and presbyter of the Church. Since his ordination sixteen others have entered the priesthood, and eleven are preparing for Holy Orders. Bishop

Schereschewsky has resigned, and the Rev. W. J. Boone, a missionary, has been elected to succeed him. A feature of the mission is its educational work, St. John's College and St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai, being the chief institutions. Much of the evangelistic work is done by the native clergy, who appear to be very efficient. The report on Japan gives little of general interest beyond statistical items. The Bishop of Yedo's report, which is printed as an appendix, mentions the formation of a Japanese missionary society as one of the features of the year. The Mexican mission work, of which Bishop Riley was the head, and of which he gave glowing reports, has shrunk remarkably since the making up of his annual returns passed into other hands. We used to hear about the sixty or more congregations in the Valley of Mexico and the great Cathedral in the City of Mexico. The report of the Mexican League this year modestly speaks of two congregations in the city, one of two hundred in the Cathedral, and "congregations in the Valley of Mexico," and at three other places, "besides scattered groups of converts in other districts." "These are ministered to by eleven ordained clergymen and many lay readers." The dream of a great reformed Mexican Church, to be formed of Catholics anxious to break away from the Church of Rome, has been discovered to be very unsubstantial.

Mission Work in Syria.—The history of the Syrian mission of the American Board is well known. It was one of the earliest undertakings of that pioneer society. Fisk and Parsons are names associated with the beginnings of this mission. They were appointed in 1818, but it was not until 1821 that Mr. Parsons reached the field, which was Jerusalem and environs. The Holy City proved to be a poor missionary center, and was ere long abandoned, but not before Beirût had been chosen as a more promising station. Bird and Goodell were the founders of this enterprise, which is now sixty-one years old, and which has cost much in labor, patience, and treasure. The press and the school have been among its chief agencies in reaching the people, or rather the nominal Christians, for the Moslems have scarcely been touched until quite recently. In 1870, when the co-operation of the New School Presbyterians with the American Board ceased by reason of the great Presbyterian reunion, the Board transferred the Syrian mission to the Board of the reunited Church. In recent years the promise of the mission has greatly improved, and the past year has been perhaps its best. Ten years ago the number of communicants was 437; now it is about 1,200. The addition last year was 120. When it is understood that members are only received after the most careful examination, and after considerable delay, and that persecution and suffering are still known to those who accept the Gospel, the increase of the past year appears very encouraging. The churches composing the mission are scattered, attendants at a convention in Beirût some time ago coming from fifty-three towns and cities. They are being trained, we are told, more and more to self-support, and to efforts to spread the Gospel. They have been formed into a presbytery, and are

learning how to govern themselves. In 1888 twenty-two elders were ordained. In the schools are 6,000 pupils, and the press has turned out an enormous amount of Christian literature in Arabic. On the 17th of September the Presbytery held its second meeting at Hasbeiya, at the foot of Mount Hermon. Kos Selin, a native pastor, preached the sermon. Reports were listened to from Tyre, Sidon, and other places of scriptural fame. We copy some of the paragraphs in Dr. Eddy's account of the meeting:

The report from Alma told of the great trials of the community from the hostility of the Maronites of their village, and from the incursions of the neighboring Bedouin, robbing them of their cattle, and of their poverty and suffering in consequence. The report from Tyre told of the obstacles to the Gospel in that city, the threats against Protestants, the fines unjustly extorted, the withdrawal of custom from the shops of some and the cutting off of employment from others. A fisherman who had gone to Beirût and had brought back with him a Bible, which had been the means of his enlightenment, was particularly a sufferer, as he knew no other means of livelihood except the one trade from which he was thrust out. The Mejdeluna report, stating the amounts contributed by the Church members for the Gospel, astonished all: $123 for Church work, and about $32 besides for the belfry. This was the banner church for liberality in proportion to its size, as it was foremost in aggressive work in the surrounding villages. The other sects had complained of this zeal in preaching Christ as "persecution of them by the Protestants." Sidon Church had also wonderfully increased its contributions during the year. The Mejded report of $45 pledged for the support of the preacher the coming year gave it the second place among those giving out of their deep poverty unto the Lord. Part of the time was also spent in listening to a well-prepared paper by one of the delegates on the duties of elders, followed by an address by the Moderator, Rev. W. K. Eddy, on Church discipline. An interesting feature of the exercises was the report of the school for Bedouin boys, held in Jedaida. This is its second year. It is peculiarly the child of the native churches in Syria, and is independent of foreign aid. Seven boys from various tribes of desert Arabs have been clothed, fed, and taught during the year. Only one of them before his coming had heard of God. The contributions to this school amounted to $192 64.

Exploration of New Guinea.—If Australia be considered a continent, New Guinea is the largest island in the world. It belongs to the Melanesian group, which also includes New Caledonia, New Britain, and New Ireland. The people are unmistakably of the Negro race, with woolly heads and jet black skin and flat features. Those of New Guinea embrace several varieties, among which the bush Negroes are considered the real Papuans or aborigines, and are being exterminated in some localities by the dominant tribes. The natives of New Guinea are probably the worst savages in the Pacific Ocean. They are cannibals, and many an unfortunate mariner has been devoured by them. New Guinea lies just north of Australia, separated only at the nearest point by Torres Straits, and the Queensland government has long been desirous of annexing at least a portion of the island. The Colonial Office in London has refused to give its consent until recently partly on the ground of fear that the Queenslanders would oppress and make virtual slaves of the islanders. The Australians, like the Boers in South Africa, have not the highest regard for subject races. The British government has, however, at last consented to annexation, and the British

flag flies over a part of the great and largely unknown island. This act has an interest, not alone for the political and commercial, but also for the missionary, world. If New Guinea is ever civilized, as it undoubtedly will be, missionary influence will be the first and greatest force in accomplishing the great undertaking. The London Missionary Society has been trying to educate and evangelize the New Guinea people for more than twelve years; but it is only recently that stations have been established in New Guinea itself. A church and a training institution on Murray Island, in the Straits, may be regarded as the beginning and center of the mission. There are also stations on other small islands from which the work has spread to New Guinea. It is worthy of note that the teachers by whose help the missionaries have already accomplished so much are South Sea natives, who gladly gave themselves for the New Guinea savages. Many of them have laid down their lives in this cause. The missionaries have discovered and explored Fly River, which is a mighty stream over ten miles wide at its mouth, flowing in a southerly course how many hundreds of miles nobody knows. On this river several stations have been established, and the people show the same facility in dropping their savage customs, in learning to read and write, and in turning from heathenism to Christianity that the South Sea Islanders have exhibited. Large classes of them are being prepared as teachers in the training institutions on Murray Island and at Port Moresby, and some are already at work on Fly River. There are in all twenty-nine teachers at work under the direction of Messrs. Lawes and Chalmers, with twelve hundred children under instruction. New Guinea is very rich in vegetable productions. It is said that the natives sell bundles of sago palm weighing sixty pounds for four sticks of tobacco. The Rev. S. Macfarlane, who recently made a trip up Fly River, describes a house he saw in one of the villages which was five hundred and twelve feet long by thirty wide. Many of the people wear no clothing.

THE MAGAZINES.

ONE of the most noteworthy of recent magazine articles is that by the Rev. Washington Gladden in the January "Century" on "Christianity and Popular Amusements." With the principles laid down few will find fault. Mr. Gladden believes that the following are the true principles by which family, church, and individual action ought to be guided, namely: 1. Amusement is not an end, but a means: when it begins to be the principal thing for which one lives, or when in pursuing it the mental powers are enfeebled and the bodily health impaired, it falls under just condemnation. 2. Amusements which consume the hours which ought to be devoted to sleep are therefore censurable. 3. Amusements which call us away from work, which we are bound to do, are pernicious, just to the

extent to which they make us unfaithful or neglectful. 4. Amusements which rouse or stimulate morbid appetites or unlawful passions, or that cause us to be restless or discontented, are always to be avoided. 5. Any amusements which have a tendency to weaken our respect for the great interests of character, or to loosen our hold on the great verities of the spiritual realm, are so far forth a damage to us. The writer believes that the best the pulpit can do is to enforce such maxims as these. In his view the Church must use reason rather than authority. But the Church, in his thought, has something more to do than to regulate and discriminate between the amusements offered. She has gone as far as she ought in providing within her own doors amusements for her people. Her true work is to stir up those who have some regard for the true and the pure in these matters to provide, as a part of the practical benevolence of the Christian life, amusements which can elevate the taste and morals of the masses, and particularly of the working people. The author holds, that just as the Church disregards the law of supply and demand in the missionary and educational enterprises, so she ought to take the lead in reforming amusements by her influence over those who, under Christian inspiration, are seeking outlets for means and energy.

An example of what the writer deems effective and well-guarded work in this direction is to be found in the city of Cleveland, Ohio. There an institution calling itself an "Educational Bureau" has existed for three seasons, and has achieved great success in doing the work outlined by Mr. Gladden. It pays its own way and gathers great audiences, and entertains them with scientific, semi-political, musical, and literary matters. These gatherings are held in a hall which is open on Sunday for religious services. The statement is made that the attendance at the religious services has increased, and from the classes which attend the entertainments in large numbers. While we commend the article as deserving study, there are some things we should much like to know before approving it. What is the effect of this movement on the churches? What do the pastors think of it? What evidence is there to show that the institution really does more than appeal to the same classes which support the churches? Every one knows that the Young Men's Christian Associations of the country absorb the activities of the Church almost as much as they add to the Church's strength. Does this movement, as friendly to the working classes, draw on the Church, and create prejudice against it? We see no evidence that beyond the requirements of secular morality the platform of this "Bureau" has any Christian quality. No one who has studied this question of popular amusements can doubt that that which gives many of them their hold on the public is the element of impurity, which, as Mr. Gladden admits, is to be found in the majority of the popular attractions. The evil reputation of some public performers is part, and a large part, of their stock in trade. We have not the slightest faith that any pure entertainment under Church auspices can long compete with those in which the attractions of the persons and plays are those of the flesh. The high seasoning of sin is that which sin likes. We believe that the Church can make no compro-

mise with the world on the subject of its chosen pleasures. The Church must insist that the life of Christian purity finds its pleasures and its recreations outside that circle which is the invention of a spirit wholly antagonistic to Christianity. Bunyan may have been fanatical when he felt that the "tipcat" of his boyhood was his darling sin; but "tipcat," as Bunyan played it, may have been, after all, a spiritual danger as great as he thought it to be. The experience of a life-time confirms the old position of the Church, that a devout soul has in its love for Christ, and in the growths and activities inspired by that love, the liberties and bounds of its whole nature.

Our readers will find in the same number a masterly discussion of the "Freedman's Case in Equity." The novelist George W. Cable is the author, who knows the South and the Negro as only a southerner can know them. It is a marvel that it has taken only twenty years from the war to produce an utterance like this from a southern man. What northern man could write such words as these, concerning the feeling and practices of the South toward the colored man?

> It proffers to the freedman a certain security for life and property, and then holds the respect of the community, that dearest of earthly boons, beyond his attainment. It gives him a certain guarantee against thieves and robbers, and then holds him under the uncarned contumely of the mass of good men and women. It acknowledges in constitutions and statutes his title to an American's freedom and aspirations, and then in daily practice heaps upon him in every public place the most odious distinctions, without giving ear to the humblest plea concerning mental and moral character. It spurns his ambition, tramples upon his languishing self-respect, and indignantly refuses to let him buy with money or earn by any excellence of inner life and outward behavior the most momentary immunity from these public indignities, even for his wife and daughters. . . . This is simply the avowed state of affairs, and the defended state of affairs peeled of its exteriors.

Whatever may be the reader's political views, he cannot afford to allow this striking and indignant article to go unread.

We also commend the paper on Church Architecture for the beauty of its engravings and the excellent description of several of the most attractive of recent churches.

In the January Harper's will be found one of the best of recent historical studies. Wiclif (that is the fashion now to spell the name) is presented as one to whom Christianity owes a debt as yet scantily paid in the honors rendered to his memory. This does not prevent Mr. Ward from seeing that the character of the great translator had its shadows. While his work was for the people, there was a certain hardness in his mental constitution which prevented him from being a practical leader of the people. He was not without intellectual pride, and regarded the assent of the masses to a doctrine as affording a presumption of its foolishness. He was in no sense a flatterer of the masses, and yet his work was for them. To them his life appealed. This paper is admirable in its candor, and the illustrations, partly reproductions of old prints, are of the highest order. Artistically, the chief paper in this number is by Seymour Haden, who, though an amateur, has put himself at the head of English etchers. He

writes of Mezzotint as a painter's art, and shows what can be done in this long-neglected method by many charming illustrations of the Isle of Purbeck. The engravers have reproduced his work with wonderful accuracy, and the illustrations show a mastery of methods which puts our American magazines a step farther in advance.

H. M. Newhall succeeds in giving high interest to the making of a pair of shoes, by following the process from the rawhide to its dainty resurrection as a lady's shoe. The artists contrive to throw a pretty tint on this prosaic occupation, and the paper has merits of the highest order. John Fiske, who is one of the ablest of our scientific political students, does some valuable work in his paper on "The Town Meeting." First sketching the institution as it was developed in New England, he follows back its history to early Aryan times, and shows how the appearance of self-government in England is connected with that "boundless vitality which has given to men of English speech the uttermost parts of the earth for their inheritance." He looks upon the victory of Wolfe as the greatest turning-point discernible in modern history.

The reprint of Goldsmith's comedy, "She Stoops to Conquer," is admirably illustrated, but it would appear that Methodism has achieved sufficient place in the world to warrant the editor in omitting the scurrilous song with which the present section of the play opens. The firm reprinting this play ought not to forget that the founders of their great house held a different opinion of Methodist preachers from that which finds expression in this ribald and indecent song.

"When Methodist preachers come down
A-preaching that drinking is sinful,
I'll wager the rascals a crown
They always preach best with a skinful.
But when you come down with your pence,
For a slice of their scurvy religion,
I'll leave it to all men of sense
But you, my good friend, are the pigeon."

Lippincott's Magazine has so much merit that it deserves more notice from the press than it receives. It does not successfully compete with the New York magazines in the matter of illustrations, but no recent number has been without matter of permanent value and interest. The January number has only a frontispiece, and that is very poorly drawn, but in the papers on "Rome and the Campagna," on the "Bismarcks," and on the "Inventor of the Ayrshire Life Car," are facts of much worth.

The January number of the "Expositor" (English) is noteworthy for a remarkably fine exposition of the parable of Dives and Lazarus, by the Rev. Marcus Dodds. Of equal merit is a first paper by Henry Drummond, the author of "Natural Law in the Supernatural World," on "The Contributions of Science to Christianity." This series is sure to be of permanent value to ministers, as Prof. Drummond is probably the best furnished man in England for the work to which he here addresses himself.

The subject of ministerial education is still a live one, as witness the symposium in the "Homiletic Monthly" for January. Dr. Curry, the editor of this review, opens the discussion, and concludes that the methods even of our own theological seminaries are not altogether satisfactory. This is to be followed by papers from other hands, and the series is sure to attract great attention.

Some time ago a good brother was in our hearing exalted to rapturous praises by a young minister's quotation from Shakespeare. The vigorous and attractive article in the "Homiletic Monthly" by Prof. J. O. Murray, D.D., of Princeton, reminds us of this fact. The Professor advocates the use of Shakespearean quotation and illustration in the pulpit, and gives instances of truth, condensed and weighty, which the great dramatist has furnished to the religious teacher. Nevertheless it is best to be sparing in drawing on dramatic poetry in the pulpit. We fear that our good brother would not have shouted "Glory to God," if he had known that the young preacher was quoting from the dramatic literature of which, all his life, he had been in what he esteemed a healthy ignorance. Some knotty practical and pastoral questions will grow up about that minister who betrays as much familiarity with the literature of the stage as of the Church. His young people will ask him some puzzling questions as to the difference between listening to Shakespeare from the pulpit and from the stage. The questions may not be wholly intelligent, but they cannot be answered without some deep and painful thought.

In the line of illustration and historical interest the recent magazines have had nothing more beautiful and interesting than the account in "Cassell's Magazine of Art" of Hatfield House. This home of the Cecils is hardly surpassed in architectural and historical interest by any of the great family residences of England. Our readers will find these papers, which began in the December number, fascinating both in text and illustration. Some excellent sketches of the pictures in the exhibition of the American Art Association are given as a supplement to the January number.

Richard Grant White, though not always a just writer, is always interesting. A paper from his pen in the January Atlantic on "The 'H' Malady in England" is one of his best. He follows this English peculiarity back as far as English history will permit, and shows that it is by no means a recent matter. He also makes visible the fact that this habit of dropping and inserting the aspirate in the wrong places is partly a matter of social position and partly of locality. Trifling as the subject appears at first sight, in Mr. White's hands it attains the dignity of a linguistic study. In the same number H. E. Scudder has a scholarly picture of "Childhood in Greek and Roman Literature." With the exception of some characteristic extracts on winter from the journal of Henry D. Thoreau and some delightful bits from Dr. Holmes in his "New Portfolio," the other papers are of temporary or imaginative interest.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Theocratic Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, the Christ, as Covenanted in the Old Testament, and Presented in the New Testament. By Rev. GEO. N. H. PETERS, A.M. Three vols., 8vo, pp. 701, 780, 694. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The last words concerning "the last things" most certainly had not been uttered before the coming of this great work. *Great* it certainly is in more than a single sense; in extent, two thousand one hundred and seventy-five large and well filled-up pages, two hundred and six propositions clearly stated and exhaustively elaborated, and the entire field of eschatological literature brought under contribution. The author, it would seem, never became impatient, never made haste, and never asked himself whether or not his readers would be equally patient and painstaking. Thirty years of active labor, we are told, were given to the work —a period that pretty well covers the whole term of an active life-time. Of the wisdom of so employing one's little space of time, opinions will be largely affected by the estimate of the value of the result; and of that who will judge, if indeed the work must be read through in order that its worth may be ascertained? Should some one, laying aside all other studies, give himself wholly to this one work, reading one hundred pages per week—which with the proper verification of references would make a pretty full task—and allowing for only slight interruptions, he might compass the whole in about six months. It may be that such a one will be found, but not many, it may be hoped.

The view of "the kingdom" here given and defended is the pre-millenarian, the literal, personal reign of Christ in the world as an outward political potentate, and the conqueror of all nations, with attendant or sequent events and conditions of climatic and cosmic re-adjustments, the ingathering of the Jews, the overthrow of Antichrist, the wars of Gog and Magog, and the hopeless and irretrievable casting down of the devil and his angels, and with them all the "non-elect" of mankind. The scheme is grand in its proportions, and it is thoroughly wrought out, with abundant citations of Scripture, which, as they are interpreted by the author and his whole school, are made to sustain the positions as they are stated and fixed in the successive "propositions;" and if his rules of interpretation are allowed, it might be difficult to refute his arguments or gainsay his conclusions. If these are not to be accepted, the issue must be joined at the threshold by a sweeping denial of the prevalent literalistic methods of interpretation; and that would call for not inconsiderable modifications of many traditional opinions and modes of thinking. That such modifications will be made, and under their direction the whole eschatology of the Church of the past be reconstructed, and set in a clearer light than in all former times, is not the least probable of the promises of the near future. The author is certainly correct in one of his earlier "propositions,"

"that the most vague, indefinite notions concerning it [the 'kingdom'] exist in the minds of many;" but it is not so evident that his is the true method for remedying the evil. The Church and the world of Christendom have been hearing of the Second Advent, the Millennium, the Restoration of the Jews, and other great affairs—indeed, sacred poetry, extending from "Dies Iræ" to "Advent Hymns," is freighted with them—as certainly coming events of the reign of Christ; but only by the baldest literalism of interpretation can any of them be established from the Scriptures. The whole subject is still undetermined, with, if we mistake not, a decided trend of opinion away from the literalistic methods of interpretation.

A Religious Encyclopædia; or, Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology. Based on the Real-Encyklopädie of Herzog, Plitt, and Hauck. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Associate Editors, Rev. SAMUEL M. JACKSON, M.A., and Rev. D. S. SCHAFF. Three vols. Imperial 8vo, pp. 2631. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Biblical and Theological Dictionaries are recognized as indispensable parts of the apparatus for the study of the subject to which they relate, and in scarcely any other department of learning, sacred or secular, have there been greater improvements than among works of this class. On the purely biblical side Calmet's great work, which dates from the early part of the eighteenth century, embodied and so rendered accessible most of the learning at that time known, and this stood unrivaled down to the times of men now living. Kitto's Biblical Cyclopedia and Smith's Biblical Dictionary belong to our own age, and their great value has been universally recognized. M'Clintock and Strong's Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia is confessed by the ablest judges to be "the most complete religious cyclopedia in the English language," constituting in fact, a thesaurus, a condensed library of its complex subject-matter. But its voluminousness—ten great volumes—is objectionable to many, not only on account of its cost, but also its fullness of discussions and details.

In Germany, the land of cyclopedias, the first place is readily conceded to Herzog's *Real-Encyklopædie*, but that, too, is too large for popular use, and therefore Dr. Schaff and his associates have done wisely in condensing it, for an American edition, to scarcely a third of the original size; and so reduced it is now given to the public, in the three noble volumes named at the head of this article. The work is not simply a condensed translation of the German original, for large portions are entirely new matter, prepared by some of the best scholars of the times, and the style of the translations, as well as of the original articles, is pure and idiomatic English. Its biblical status is a happy combination of conservatism and enlightened progressiveness; its theology is the embodiment of the Catholic faith, agreeable to the *consensus* of Protestantism, liberal without license, and evangelical without fanaticism. It is just the hand-book that the student of the Bible and of Theology and Ecclesiastical History needs to have within easy reach.

We may also congratulate any who may use the work in view of the style in which it appears, in larger letters than are commonly used for such works, and with clear and firm white paper, so presenting a readily legible page. Its publication makes a valuable addition to the available helps for the acquisition of biblical and theological learning, and therefore it is entitled to a place, not only in the libraries of ministers, but also in those of Bible-class and Sunday-school teachers, and of all who would understand the great truths of religion.

The Faith of Catholics: Confirmed by Scripture and Attested by the Fathers of the First Five Centuries of the Church. With an Introduction by the Right Reverend Monsignor CAPEL, D.D. In Three Volumes. Pp. 468, 505, 491. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustel & Co.

With consummate wisdom, which nobody can blame, the rulers of the Roman Church are presenting its cause with its many aspects in the most plausible setting, and yet without at all abating any of its pretensions. They employ able and accomplished writers, polemics that know how to conceal the controversial designs of what they write, while every "quoin of 'vantage" is occupied, every weak point concealed or specially fortified, the undue concessions of their adversaries skillfully used, and the incidental infelicities of Protestantism made the most of.

The work whose title we give very fully answers to all that is here designated. It is a comprehensive system of theology, written with decided skill, well arranged, thoroughly elaborated in its details, and supported by ample authorities, partly scriptural, according to the Church's interpretation, but chiefly from the Fathers and the decrees of Councils, and the rescripts of the Popes. Very much that is taught in these volumes is of the highest excellence as simple and direct statements of Christian doctrine, but, according to the first principles of Protestantism, the truth so stated is held "in unrighteousness." Both Catholics and Protestants accept the Bible as the standard of Christian doctrine; but while the latter hold to the use of the word by every man, and the right and duty of private judgment as to its meaning, the former claims for the Church—that is, for the Pope for the time being—the sole and exclusive right to determine what is the sense of the Scriptures on any subject. Setting out with that rule of faith and method of proof, it is the easiest thing possible to prove whatever may be desired. Protestant ecclesiastics have been reluctant to accept and carry out their own fundamental rules on this subject, and especially to submit the Bible to the free handling of criticism, though certainly there is no middle ground between ecclesiastical authority and that of rational criticism. It would seem that not a few Protestant divines do not feel quite sure that it would be safe to submit the evidences of divine truth to an unofficial and not ecclesiastically limited inquiry and determination. But even that unworthy suspicion is rapidly giving way. The volumes before us are decidedly well made, and outwardly they would grace any minister's library; and their careful study would, no doubt, in many cases, prove both interesting and profitable.

Pastoral Theology. By JAMES M. HOPPIN, D.D., late Professor of Pastoral Theology in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 584. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Dr. Hoppin earned for himself a valuable reputation, and made the whole Church his debtor by his "Homiletics," published a few years ago. He at the same time secured the right to be heard on all kindred subjects; and accordingly the volume whose title is given above comes to hand attended with peculiar advantages. By these it will be sure to command a reading, after which it will need no further commendation than will be afforded by its own intrinsic merits. "Pastoral Theology" is the accepted, though rather awkward and improper, title by which is designated all the needful practical rules and instructions respecting the requisite personal qualifications for the office and work of the Christian ministry, and also the best methods for the performance of its duties. The author's notions of this subject appear to have been clearly apprehended, and he has successfully embodied his conceptions in his book.

The work is distributed into six "parts," or general divisions: I. The Pastoral Office. II. The Pastor as a Man. III. The Pastor in his Relations to Society. IV. The Pastor in his Relations to Public Worship. V. The Pastor in his Care of Souls. VI. The Pastor in his Relations to the Church. Under one or other of these heads almost every phase of discussion relative to the Christian ministry is brought forward and considered with great force and clearness, and a remarkable wealth of illustration, and also with a warmth of expression that indicates on the part of the writer something more than a merely professional interest in his subject. His ideal of the ministerial vocation removes it entirely from the category of simply the learned secular professions, and contemplates it as a divine ordinance of a strictly unworldly character and design; and the same thought enters into and gives expression to the statements respecting the pastor's personal qualifications for his work. The author's utterances on the "call to the ministry," making a complete section of twenty pages, are especially excellent, covering completely the prescriptive Methodist ground, and setting forth doctrines that have been esteemed as exclusive peculiarities of our own denomination. The section on the personal religious life of the pastor is also one of great religious value. Ministers of any time of life, and other Christians also, might read and ponder it to their advantage.

Books of this class are usually thought of as designed almost exclusively for young ministers or candidates in preparation, and to all such we can heartily recommend this one; but those of middle or post-meridian age who may read it, will find their conceptions of their calling widened and deepened by the study, and also their hearts warmed and impelled to a more intense zeal by the devotion that animates its pages. It is in every respect an admirable production, and a valuable addition to current religious literature. We know of no work better adapted, in respect to both its matter and its methods, for use as a text-book in theological seminaries, or for the minister's study. The publishers have brought it out in a style corresponding to its character.

The Sabbath for Man. A Study of the Origin, Obligation, History, Advantages, and Present State of Sabbath Observance, with Special Reference to the Rights of Working-men. Based on Scripture, Literature, and Especially on a Symposium of Correspondence with Persons of all Nations and Denominations. By Rev. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, A.M., Author "Successful Men of To-day," etc. 12mo, pp. 638. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The Sabbath is an integral element of Christianity, as a living and working social force, and it is needful that its claims should be kept in mind and made effective in the convictions of Christians. The Christian Sabbath is, no doubt, identical with that of the Old Testament, but the changed conditions of the Church from that of the Israelites very largely modify its observance, and render inapplicable many of its prescribed duties, but without at all removing any of its sacred sanctions. With this conception of his subject, the author of the volume whose title is given above has here brought together the statements and supports of the Sabbath, as usually held and taught by English-speaking Protestants, so making his book a real and somewhat comprehensive "Cyclopedia of the Sabbath."

The conflict to which the Church in this land is called involves, as one of its chief parts, the defense and maintenance of the day of rest, as a *holy* day, of divine appointment. The abolition of the Sabbath is among the active designs of the enemies of religion and good morals, the success of which purpose would most assuredly be followed by the practical overthrow of vital and spiritual religion. It is well, then, that the notes of warning should be sounded, and the danger properly recognized. The facts and statistics, and the opinions of those best competent to speak on such a subject, that are here given are just what are needed by the public, and there can be no doubt that this book will prove valuable in proportion as it shall be thoughtfully considered.

Rifted Clouds; or, The Life-Story of Bella Cooke. A Record of Loving-Kindness and Tender Mercies. 12mo, pp. 448. New York: Palmer & Hughes.

Some lives are made illustrious by great achievements, and some by sufferings and endurance; and these, though usually the less conspicuous, evince the higher virtue, and bring forth the most excellent results. The subject of this volume, though known only within a limited circle of personal friends, presents a beautiful example of the blessedness of sanctified afflictions, and of the power of divine grace to change pain and poverty into instruments of spiritual enrichment. The "dedication" indicates both the form and the spirit, as well as the especial purpose of the publication, "written in prayer and pain" for the benefit of children and grandchildren, "as a memento of the love that never ceased to cherish them." Its benediction, however valuable to them especially, will also extend to all who may read these things in the spirit in which they are written.

Obscure Characters and Minor Lights of Scripture. By FREDERIC HASTING. Editor of the "Homiletic Magazine," and Author of "Sunday about the World," etc. Pp. 284. Funk & Wagnalls.

There is a fascination in obscurity, and accordingly those parts of Scripture, names, facts, or doctrines, of which very little is written in the

book, are often most written about in other books. Here are twenty-eight names of as many persons, the whole history of each of whom is confined to a single incident or remark, and around these the author gathers a cluster of moral and religious reflection, each case illustrating some Christian grace or virtue. Many of these were issued in the "Homiletic Magazine." They are well written, suggestive, and abounding in wholesome lessons.

Meditations on Life, Death, and Eternity. By JOHANN HEINRICH DANIEL ZSCHOKKE. Translated from the German by FREDERICA ROWAN. Compiled by Rev. L. R. DUNN, D.D., Author of "Garden of Spices," etc. 2 vols, 18mo. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The original work, of which these neat volumes are both a translation and a condensation, enjoys a high reputation in the Fatherland among the evangelicals, and especially so if also crossed with a stripe of mysticism. But as that is not largely developed among American Christians, there need be no apprehension on account of that peculiarity of the original work, especially after Dr. Dunn's judicious revisals and selections. As here given, these volumes are worthy of a place in every household, library, or on the parlor table, or, best of all, in the private chamber, as helps to devotional meditation.

Hand-Book of Bible Biography. By Rev. C. R. BARNES, A.B. 12mo, pp. 546. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A dictionary of Bible names, brief but comprehensive sketches of all persons named in both the Testaments, making a convenient manual for all Bible students, and especially adapted for the use of Sunday-school teachers; a companion volume to Dr. Whitney's Bible Geography.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

The Elements of Moral Science, Theoretical and Practical. By NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. 12mo, pp. 574. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

A college text-book is not the form in which one expects to meet with original matters in the departments discussed, and accordingly, in this work, its form and methods of presenting its themes and subjects are those that call for our attention; and yet in making even such a compilation and digest, an original thinker would not fail to impart a degree of novelty and freshness to the matters brought into consideration. This Dr. Porter has certainly done, and with his handling of them the commonplaces of moral science appear with much of the attractiveness of original thinkings. Theoretically, there is very little that is new in this book, but its arrangement, its modes of presentation, and its conclusions are all of a kind to awaken attention and to provoke thoughtful inquiry. In respect to philosophical methods, no two real thinkers may be expected to agree in all minor details, and yet the principal works on this subject are almost entirely the same, in all their essential particulars. Both as a

theoretical review of the subject, and as a practical embodiment for rules of right living, in the various relations of life, the work is worthy of much praise, and as a manual prepared for practical use by an experienced instructor, whose familiarity with the works of his predecessor in the same field afforded him the best advantages for his task, much may be reasonably expected of it ; and these expectations will be responded to, in those who may use this volume. Nearly every teacher in the department of learning here presented will wish to present his own views in his own way, usually by lectures, but even in such cases a text-book is needful; and for that use, as well as for private reading and study, this manual of President Porter is probably as good as any other.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Egypt and Babylon. From Sacred and Profane Sources. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 329. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Rawlinsons, Sir Henry and George, are brothers in learning and authorship, as well as by birth, and their contributions to biblical learning by their historical researches are among the most valuable additions that have been made, in our times, to the apparatus for the illustration of the Old Testament. The book named above, by the younger brother, though itself learned, is not out of the reach of any ordinarily intelligent reader of the Bible. It designs to trace out and set in order the points of contact between Israel and the Jewish nation, first with Babylon, and next with Egypt, and by that method to place many things in the historical books and the prophets in a clear light. It is an admirable work for the purpose intended, and it will greatly facilitate the intelligent study of sacred history. Its moderate price ($1 50) makes it easy to be obtained, and its condensed form, easy to be mastered.

Universalism in America. A History. By RICHARD EDDY, D.D., President of the Universalist Historical Society, etc. Vol. I, A.D. 1636–1800. 12mo, pp. 554. Boston: Universalist Publishing House.

This volume is the first of the two that will constitute the completed work. It seems to be the result of a leisurely study of its subject by a competent student and writer, whose preconceptions of the subject in hand caused him to see them in a parallax, so that while the views that he presents are probably true as to his own conceptions, they may be nevertheless very far from being truthful. He thinks he finds the substance of Universalism in the literature of the Church all along its course from the earliest times, and coming to our own age and country he detects its presence in a considerable number of our chief denominations, among which he names the Mystics, Dunkers, Moravians, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists. The writer next passes to the history and career of John Murray, the father of organic Universalism in America. He was an Englishman, had been a

Wesleyan, but was expelled from the "society" for heresy, and coming to this country (about 1770), he became, apparently without seeking it, the originator of a sect. The history thenceforward becomes the record of the rise and progress of that sect in the United States, in which the names of Winchester, Ballou, Dr. Mitchell (of New York), and Dr. Priestly are prominent figures. The incongruous elements of the body, and because it was led by persons each one of whom was a body of divinity to himself, until it at length settled down into a species of rationalistic Unitarianism, are sketched with a good degree of ability, and evidently purposed fairness. The student of the theological aberrations of the age, as also of the minor religious bodies of the country, will find in this volume—and the same may be anticipated for the next—just what he wants, and in a generally unobjectionable shape.

Memoirs of Rev. David Brainerd, Missionary to the Indians in North America. Based on the Life of Brainerd Prepared by JONATHAN EDWARDS, D.D., and afterward revised and enlarged by SERENO E. DWIGHT, D.D. Edited by J. M. SHERWOOD, Author of "The History of the Cross." With an Introduction on the Life and Character of David Brainerd, by the Editor. Also, an Essay on God's Hand in Missions, by ARTHUR T. PIERSON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 354. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

There are names that the Christian world will not let die, and among these that of David Brainerd holds no secondary place. This volume is a tribute to his memory, as viewed by a number of highly competent writers. The book will prove valuable to all who may read it in the spirit in which it is written, both as a stimulus to Christian work, and an incentive to personal consecration.

A History of the Four Georges. By JUSTIN M'CARTHY, M.P. In four volumes. Vol. I. Pp. 321. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. M'Carthy is a genuine Hibernian; a good story-teller, and a clear, easy, and rapid writer. The royal Brunswickers are treated rather freely, but less truculently than by some others, who have made them the subjects of their satires. The historical matter is fairly well presented, and the whole is decidedly readable.

LITERATURE AND FICTION.

Hymn Studies. An Illustrated and Annotated Edition of the Hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. CHARLES S. NUTTER. 8vo, pp. 475. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The author of this volume, an itinerant Methodist minister of the New Hampshire Conference, to whom, as to every Methodist, the Hymn-Book has probably proved, next after the Bible, his best book of devotion and spiritual instruction—perhaps also his most effective teacher in theology—having become interested in the history and literature of his silent companion, has busied himself in searching out its hid treasures. The results of his researches are embodied in this book, which abundantly

justifies all his labors and painstakings. The matter here given consists of, first, the Methodist Hymnal complete, all the hymns in full, and in their proper order, so adapting it to all the purposes of a hymn book, for the home or church services. And to each hymn is appended, in the form of foot-notes, (1) some account of its origin, with a brief account of its author and of the medium through which it was first given to the public; (2) the original title, if any, or text of Scripture referred to or paraphrased by it; and (3) the changes and emendations which it has undergone, with the omitted parts of the original hymn or poem from which it has been taken or made. These notes are the original matter of the work, and they constitute its chief value, for, though very brief, they convey a great amount of valuable information brought together by immense labor, and selected with rare judgment. Respecting this, the chief feature of his work, the author tells us in his brief and modest preface: "Information has been chiefly derived from original sources by referring to the published works of the authors, many of which are rare and difficult to find, and by correspondence with writers who are still living." The character of the work that had to be done indicates the newness of this department of literary research, for though there is no lack of books devoted to hymnology, the subject is still in a crude and chaotic state, in respect to both its general literature and its details and illustrative facts, but this work will go a long way toward remedying these evils.

Methodist hymnody, though not wholly distinct from that of all English-speaking Protestantism, is still somewhat differentiated by both its substance and its history. Methodism, in its larger sense, antedates the active ministry of the Wesleys both as a form of religious experience and a literature; and of the latter its hymns was the principal ingredient. But when the Wesleys became its heralds, their earnest Christian songs proved to be a scarcely less effective evangelistic agency than their burning sermons and exhortations; and perhaps the opinion which somebody ventures, that Charles Wesley's hymns were among the most effective auxiliaries in the great Methodistical revival, is not far wide of the truth. Coming close after the deeply religious but somewhat somber hymns of Watts, Doddridge, and Cowper, and in full harmony with their evangelical spirit, the hymns of the Wesleys supplemented them with the joyous inspiration of a triumphant faith and assured hope.

American Methodist hymnody, of which the "Hymnal" is the last and most nearly complete outcome, was not a creation, but it has come to its present *status* as the result of a steady growth from a rather unpromising beginning. Wesley's "Sunday Service," brought over by Coke in 1784, never came into general use. Asbury and Hitt compiled a small hymn book, and a few years later a larger and better one was brought out by Hitt and Ware, the Book Agents. But the growth and better culture of the Church at length demanded something still better, and this demand was responded to (about 1825) by Dr. Bangs's compilation, a very wide advance beyond its predecessor, which was generally adopted, and continued in use till 1849, when it was superseded by the elaborate compilation

made by an able committee ordered by the General Conference; and about thirty years later that was replaced by the present "Hymnal."

The work done by the committee of 1848 was most able, thorough, and exceedingly valuable. A synopsis of that work, and especially of its results, was made out by Dr. James Floy, who seems to have taken a leading part in it, and is embodied in a copiously annotated copy of the book (an octavo) now in the possession of this writer, of which, probably, there never was but the one copy. When the late committee was engaged in their work it was loaned to one of its members, but evidently it was not much used. It would have been a valuable help in the preparation of this volume, and whoever may hereafter engage in the same line of inquiry would do well to avail themselves of its helps. Respecting the use of all the hymns that make up that volume, in all the principal hymn books of Methodism and of the Protestant denominations of America, the record is nearly complete, and altogether reliable. It has also the genesis of most of the alterations which are so amply stated by Mr. Nutter, but without any account of their authority or origin; and here it is made evident that a large share of them came from Dr. Floy himself. These emendations are also pretty fully heralded in an article from his pen in the "Methodist Quarterly Review," for April, 1844. Dr. Floy was very broadly learned in hymnology, a critic by temperament and practice, a master of pure English, *but not a poet.* And yet his emendations of the hymns that had been sung for a hundred years were readily adopted as decided improvements, notwithstanding the prevalent prejudice against "tinkering with the hymns." A comparison of the hymns that have been altered, as they now appear in most hymn books, with themselves in their original forms, will much more than justify the liberties that have been taken with them. It would have been well if the work now under notice had been enriched by the ripe fruits of the studies and labors that are embodied in that annotated volume. Nevertheless it is a work of great value and real excellence; though it would in that case have been much more so.

The Poetical Works of Lucy Larcom. Household Edition. 12mo, pp. 318. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

Lucy Larcom has fairly won a place among the poets of the times, and this comprehensive collection of all she has written and chooses to preserve is the vindication of her claim to a niche in the Valhalla of song. She takes her place in the class with Hannah F. Gould, Mrs. Sigourney, the Cary sisters, and with perhaps two or three others, all of whom have written charming verses, but have failed to reach the altitudes to which a few favorites of the muses have attained. In her case, as with many others, relative inferiority in kind is compensated for by fecundity of production, for here we have more than three hundred pages, filled with nearly an equal number of independent productions, all of them, from the first one of the "Earlier Poems"—"Hannah Binding Shoes"—to the last of the "Later Poems"—"God bless You"—maintaining about the same level of

decidedly respectable mediocrity. A marked religious tone characterizes the collection, which, in our ignorance of the lady's church affinities, we would call Pietistic Unitarianism.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Poets of the Church. A Series of Biographical Sketches of Hymn Writers. With Notes on their Hymns. By EDWIN F. HATFIELD, D.D. 8vo, pp. 719. Price, $3.

Sunday Evenings with the Children. By Rev. BENJAMIN WAUGH. 8vo, pp. 370. Price, $2.

Life and Letters of Elizabeth Prentiss, Author of "Stepping Heavenward." 8vo, pp. 573. Price, $2 25.

All published by Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 900 Broadway, N. Y.

Any book bearing the imprint of Randolph & Company may be relied upon for two capital qualities: It will be of a good degree of literary excellence, and will be of a wholesome religious character, as to both its theology and its tone and spirit; and, at the same time, the outward and material make-up of their books are excellent. To this general description the volumes above named answer altogether satisfactorily, and each in its way is decidedly good.

The late Dr. Hatfield, by his writings on hymnology, rendered a valuable service, and made the whole Church his debtor, which indebtedness has been generally recognized and freely conceded. The volume now before us is a posthumous publication, left by him, we are told, "nearly ready for the press." Its leading title is too broad, but the secondary one rightly describes the work as to its character and scope. The names, with the accompanying sketches, are arranged alphabetically, and without any other classification, beginning Adams (Sarah Fuller), Addison, Alexander (Cecil Frances), and proceeding to the end of the alphabet, where, of course, we find the name of Zinzendorf. The notes are chiefly biographical, slightly critical, and usually appreciative. Relatively prominent distinction is given to almost entirely unknown authors, several such being the writer of but a single accepted hymn. The book is a pleasant one to look through at leisure by those who delight in such studies; and because of the author's very extensive researches in his chosen specialty, and of his painstaking fidelity, these sketches have the additional very valuable and somewhat rare quality of almost complete trustworthiness.

Mr. Waugh's book of "Sunday Evenings with the Children" will be greatly valued by many a Christian mother for the aid it will give her in her efforts to present religious truths and motives to piety in an attractive form. The character of the work is properly indicated in a single sentence in the Preface: "It seeks to make the young spirit *feel* rather than *see* what in conduct is right and wrong—to inspire it to instinctively love righteousness and hate iniquity." The matter is given in the form of "services," forty-two in number, made up of a hymn, a lesson, a

prayer, and a sermon, the first and second judiciously acceptable, the third concise and simple, and the last much more like a mother's talk with her little ones than an ordinary and appropriate pulpit discourse. With such a helper every judicious Christian parent may easily make the Sabbath evening the happiest season for the children of all the week.

If there can be such a thing as hereditary goodness—and why not?—the daughter of the saintly Payson would seem to have been entitled to it; and the story of her life, and the portraiture of her character, given in these pages, but not before unknown, seem to justify the belief that we have in her case a demonstration of that principle. Her lot was indeed cast in the richest garden of piety, both devotional and active; and yet it was not until her twelfth year that she dared to account herself a child of God. Her whole after life was a beautiful illustration of both the personal and the active graces of religion. Gifted as few others have been, she consecrated all that she possessed a willing sacrifice. Her Christian experience appears to have been steady and full of comfort, but not especially radiant; her activities were wisely directed and productive of the very best fruits, and in great abundance. In all her relations, especially those of wife and mother, she was a model woman, and she was content to abide within a "woman's sphere." She excelled as a spiritual guide and comforter, and her very presence was sunshine. Her writings, through which she "being dead yet speaketh," are among the very best of their class.

The Brooklyn Tabernacle. A Collection of One Hundred and Four Sermons Preached by T. DE WITT TALMAGE, D.D. Imperial 8vo, pp. 400. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Talmage is a genius—a very Hercules at doing things—and he does them as nobody else could.

ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS.—*Coleridge.* By H. D. TRAIL. 12mo, pp. 199. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Among the best of the series.

OUTLINE MISSIONARY SERIES.—*India: Country, People, Missions.* By J. T. GRACEY. Seven Years a Missionary in India. Published for the Author.

A valuable and thoroughly reliable contribution to current missionary literature.

Men of Invention and Industry. By SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D., Author of "Thrift," etc. 12mo, pp. 382. Harper & Brothers.

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Dr. Porter's "Hints" have now been before the public for a number of years, and the verdict is altogether in its favor, as is shown by the unusual fact that it has reached its fourth edition. Its great excellence is, that it fulfills the promise of its title.

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This is a book for scholars in the Latin language, who together make up only a small auditory for a learned work. It is also, on merely literary grounds, well suited for a college text-book—for which its notes pre-eminently adapt it—but there are better works for the same use. Lucretius was the lineal ancestor of all our modern materialistic atheists, and despite the theory of evolution, the race has not improved.

The Philosophy of Ralph Cudworth. A Study of the True Intellectual System of the Universe. By CHARLES E. LOWREY, A.M. 12mo, pp. 212. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

An analysis and study of the "True Intellectual System," perhaps the ablest work of its class ever written in English. The writer, one of the younger men at Michigan University, appears to have thoroughly mastered his subject.

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Ezra Abbott. Published for the Alumni of Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass. 8vo, pp. 73.

Memorial Addresses and Tributes.

Wonders and Curiosities of the Railway; or, Stories of the Locomotive in Every Land. By WILLIAM SLOANE KENNEDY. Second Edition. 12mo, pp. 254. Chicago: S. C. Grigg & Co.

The railway and the locomotive have not yet attained to a place among the things of yesterday, for the men are yet among us who were when they were not, and who saw their faintest beginnings. But they are rapidly making a history of their growth and achievements, and Mr. Kennedy renders a public service in bringing together their "stories," and in telling of their "wonders and curiosities," which are equally amusing and instructive. Some, however, are beginning to doubt whether "the railroad is the good democrat" that it was once supposed to be. As a political factor it certainly has its price, and, in the vast machine of modern industry, while the scream of its whistle is worth a thousand men, it renders its services less for the easement of the operative than for the enrichment of the capitalist.

The Methodist Year-Book for 1885. The 101st Year of the Separate Organization of American Methodism. Edited by W. H. DE PUY, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 180. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A thesaurus of current facts and figures, marvelously condensed, and giving very full information of Methodist affairs for 1884, with glances into those of 1885. It is very convenient for reference.

The Adventures of Prince Lazybones, and Other Stories. By Mrs. W. J. HAYS, Author of "Princess Idleways." Illustrated. Square 16mo, pp. 271. New York: Harper & Brothers.

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Yours fraternally
J. S. Inskip

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1885.

ART. —THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT

[illegible] Christ. By C. W. Miller, A.M., D.D. [illegible] Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1884.

The title-page of this book does not afford [illegible] idea of its theme. The preface [illegible] are informed [illegible] sole object is to place [illegible] true bill [illegible] light the [illegible] ions of and regeneration. A more important [illegible] not be stated; and, how[illegible] opinions may differ as to [illegible] of the views advanced by the learned author, none will [illegible] that the book is a suggestive book. The doctrinal [illegible] discussed are various, and embrace the most vital questions of Christian theology. Some of the points examined fix attention [illegible] frequently treated of in the early days of Methodism, in the pulpit and by the press, but which in recent times have been relegated to comparative obscurity as antiquated or of small importance. Many glory [illegible] the evidence of the advanced culture of the membership of our churches, and an unmistakable proof of increasing spirituality. It may be permitted to some to doubt whether the cause of Christian truth has gained by the change. The study of the [illegible] discussion of foundation principles is always timely for the ground. Intelligent conversation [illegible] on these topics, once a favorite to many a social gathering, [illegible] to call out thought, and disciplined men in the use of their reasoning powers in a manner not found in social gatherings of professing Christians of the present day. Nothing can supply the place of a clear understanding of the cardinal doctrines of New Testament Christianity

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METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1885.

ART. I.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT.

The Conflict of the Centuries. By C. W. MILLER, A.M., D.D. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1884.

THE title-page of this book does not afford any definite idea of its theme. In the preface we are informed that "the sole object is to place in a true biblical light the great questions of sin and regeneration." A more important theme could not be selected; and, however opinions may differ as to many of the views advanced by the learned author, none will question that he has produced a suggestive book. The doctrinal views discussed are various, and embrace the most vital questions of Christian theology. Some of the points examined fix attention on subjects frequently treated of in the early days of Methodism in conversation, in the pulpit, and by the press, but which in more recent times have been relegated to comparative obscurity, as if antiquated or of small importance. Many glory in this, as an evidence of the advancing culture of the membership of the Churches, and an unmistakable proof of increasing liberality. It may be permitted to some to doubt whether the cause of Christian truth has gained by the change. Undoubtedly the thorough discussion of foundation truths is a healthy exercise for the mind. Intelligent conversation on these doctrines imparted interest to many a social gathering, wakened many minds to earnest thought, and disciplined not a few in the manly use of their reasoning powers in a manner not often found in the social gatherings of professing Christians of the present day. Nothing can supply the place of a clear understanding of the cardinal doctrines of New Testament Christianity

in the formation and development of Christian character. When these have been fairly mastered, and their practical power felt in a clear personal experience, there will be ground to expect a generation of church members who will not be carried about with every wind of doctrine; who will be ready witnesses for the Master, and fruitful in every good word and work. Such were many of the early Methodists: men who knew what they believed, and the reasons on which their faith was based; whose faith gave to the doctrines which they received the reality of facts; whose experience made their creed a living power within them, and filled them with an irrepressible desire to lead others to apprehend the blessedness which they enjoyed. Ruin in Adam, redemption in Christ, conscious salvation daily borne about in the heart, were realities that would not permit them to be inactive. Hence, like their Master, they went out "to seek and to save" the perishing: their theme always the same, their constant song, "What we have felt and seen with confidence we tell;" their highest joy, next to the knowledge of their own salvation, to see sinners converted to God. If the thoughtful study of the theme presented by the author in this book should tend to the multiplication of such members in all the Churches of Christendom, and should result in similar ingatherings of saved souls into the fold of our common Master, all would rejoice.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part comprises a few pages of preliminary observations on The Theories of Sin, followed by four chapters, with the following topics: I. Philosophical Theories. II. Ecclesiastical Theories. III. The Mosaic Account of the Primal Condition of Man, and of the World in which He was Placed. IV. The Bible Statement of Sin. The second part treats of Regeneration, and consists of three chapters: I. Theories of Regeneration. II. Evangelical Doctrine of Regeneration. III. Regeneration is, in its Sphere, Complete Salvation. These chapters are followed by a "Conclusion" treating of Results of Regeneration. The author presents some interesting statements as to the theology of the early Church, and also that of the Reformation periods. Many names that are now little known to the general reader are brought under notice, and a vigorous effort is made to rehabilitate in the good opinion of the Church some whose names have for centu-

ries been regarded with distrust as the abettors of heresy. The views of these writers are enlarged upon, and their condemnation is traced mainly to the personal influence of Augustine, who is represented as having acquired a "theological dictatorship" over the Western Church. The genesis and development of the Augustinian system are briefly sketched, and its leading doctrines placed in sharp contrast with the earlier doctrines of Christianity as held and taught in the Eastern Church. Attention is fixed on the undue influence exerted by Augustinianism on the creeds of the Reformation, and the prominence given to the views of that school of thought is traced to an historical basis.

The service of the "Remonstrants," at a later date in their memorable struggle, is distinctly recognized, and the names of some of them are set forth, with a summary of the views they advanced on the disputed doctrines. That controversy played a very important part in the development of Protestantism, and its history should be well considered by those who habitually speak of the theology of the Reformation as if it were exclusively Calvinistic. The Remonstrants were undoubtedly, in some instances, driven too far by a natural reaction from the fatalistic teaching of many of the disciples of Augustine; yet none can doubt that they had a goodly proportion of truth on their side, and few will deny that, notwithstanding the gravity and importance of the doctrinal points on which they erred, they were, in their distinguishing views, quite as near to the teachings of New Testament Christianity as were their sturdy opponents who branded them as heretics, and covered their peculiar teachings with obloquy.

In England "the Conflict" was long-protracted and severe. Its traces can be found indelibly stamped on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Established Church of England. These are strongly tinctured with Calvinism, and yet many object to them because they do not go far enough in that direction. Like most compromises, they did not satisfy either party. The majority of "the Puritans" held strongly pronounced Calvinistic sentiments; but even among them a different school of thought was not without its representatives who valiantly maintained the conflict. Of these Dr. John Goodwin may be taken as a pattern, a man whose "Redemption Redeemed" is

a noble monument, and sufficient, if its author had not written another page, to secure for his name a distinguished place among the mighty men who took part in this controversy. The conflict did not even then cease. Calvinism, which is really a second edition of Augustinianism, not improved by the slight alterations or additions introduced, is a system compact and logical. When the first principles are conceded, it is not easy to reject the conclusions arrived at. The moment, however, that it is applied to practice, the system proves weak, and leads to results of a most disastrous nature. Albert Barnes fully acknowledged this when he said that Calvinism is very good theology for the study, but badly adapted for revivals. The most trying ordeal the system has yet been subjected to, was in connection with the great revival of religion called Methodism. Naturally "the Conflict of the Centuries" came to the front again. The battle was wide-spread and hard-fought. The field was unfavorable for the doctrines of Augustine.

One of the greatest boons that Methodism has conferred on mankind is no doubt to be found in the remodeled theology of which that system has been the parent. That theology is thoroughly anti-Calvinistic. Hence, from the first, it had arranged in open hostility to it the majority of those who were looked upon as the most learned professors of Protestant orthodoxy. Many of these seem to have thought that they had nothing to do but to give their opponents a bad name, and place them under the ban of their censure, in order to secure their complete overthrow. Hence they branded them as "Pelagians" or "Semi-Pelagians;" denounced them as ignorant fanatics; and placed in their way all possible difficulties and annoying restrictions, and gave to Arminianism as prominent a place among "pestilent heresies," as they could. Logic of this kind is not regarded in the present day as very convincing, or especially adapted to the satisfactory clearing up of theological difficulties. We can see in it only an illustration of the bitterness of those who are confronted by arguments which they cannot answer, and, in some cases, an exhibition of their utter ignorance of the systems compared.

Augustine read the Bible in the light of a fatalistic philosophy,—pressed the doctrines of Christianity into a fatalistic mold,—coined words not met with in the Bible to represent

thoughts not taught there, and by his personal influence secured for those doctrines an authoritative recognition that was well-nigh supreme. His opponents followed too much in his steps, adopting a different philosophy. Hence they also erred widely from the simple truth of the Gospel, though erring in an opposite extreme. The Augustinians, creating an extra-biblical theory of sin, and an anti-biblical theory of the nature of God's relation to man, reared on this foundation a system of doctrine that is certainly "another gospel" from that contained in the New Testament Scriptures. They magnified the justice of God at the expense of his mercy, and sacrificed that very justice to an imaginary fatalistic sovereignty. Their opponents, on the other hand, underrated the effect of the fall, virtually denied the existence of original sin, and so painted the condition of fallen man as to render it by no means an easy matter to see what constituted the necessity for the Gospel scheme of redemption, or wherein consisted man's absolute dependence on the grace of God for salvation.

Evangelical Arminianism, as embodied in modern Methodism, took a different course. Leaving philosophical theories aside, it permitted the Bible to speak for itself. Perfectly satisfied that the book contained a revelation from God, and that that revelation must be all-sufficient for the purposes for which it was given to man, it permitted common sense, not a philosophical theory, to interpret the teachings of the Book; and so, by the blessing of God, it has restored to the Church catholic the theology of the New Testament. It would be an interesting and a tempting theme to follow out the history of the prolonged conflict between the two systems, and trace in modern theology the victory won by simple Bible truth, manifested in the banishment from the pulpit of doctrines which one hundred years ago formed the staple of a large proportion of the sermons preached in the evangelical churches of Christendom, and their relegation to the theological lecture-room, or the pages of books that command few readers save theological students. We shall not, however, in this paper enter on this course, nor attempt a critical examination of Dr. Miller's strange book, of which we now take leave, in order to examine the broader contrast between Augustinianism and evangelical Arminianism.

These two systems have much in common, and yet they differ widely both in their fundamental principle and in their conceptions of some of the most important doctrines of the Gospel. The stand-point from which the subject is approached is vital. Dr. Charles Hodge, the ablest modern interpreter of the former system, places it in the answer to the question, "Who determines who are to be saved: God or man?" * Augustinianism teaches that God determines absolutely. Arminianism, that man's will is an essential factor in the problem. There might be some difficulty in settling the meaning of the word "determines;" but apart from that, it is evident Dr. Hodge does not fully state "the principle." His statement does not cover the *whole* case. All men will not be saved. No believer in the Bible questions this. Who determines who shall be damned? Does God determine who shall be damned in precisely the same sense in which he determines who shall be saved? This has always been a sore point with Augustinians. In every case the will lies back of the determination. In the sense in which the word is here used by Dr. Hodge, there can be no conflict between God's will and his determination. The ground of that determination is clearly set forth by him as "the good pleasure of God,"† or in the words quoted from Augustine, "out of his mere good mercy." The holders of this creed are very much disposed to look at the elect alone, and to speak only of the grace of God toward them. When compelled to speak of the reprobates they adopt an evasive phraseology which is considerably modified, and by no means as direct as they employ in reference to the elected ones; hence *they* are spoken of as "passed by," "justly left to perish in their apostasy," etc. The Westminster Confession is more outspoken, and more manly, when it says, God "foreordained others to everlasting death."

Evangelical Arminians believe as strongly in the sovereignty of God as their opponents; but they regard that sovereignty as the rule of an infinitely wise and loving God, one who is the Father as well as the King of his people, and one who is the common Father of all the human race; too good to be unkind to any, too just to be partial. They believe that he knows his own mind, and that when he reveals that mind in the Script-

* "Systematic Theology," vol. ii, p. 330. † *Ibid.*, p. 333.

ures his statements may be depended on. They believe that he has revealed his determination as to who shall be saved and who shall be damned, and that that determination is clearly set forth in the words, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." They are unwilling to concede to any creature the right to substitute a word of different meaning for the word "believeth" in this passage. They hold that God alone determines (but not unconditionally) who shall be saved, that is, all who believe and are baptized; and who shall be damned, and that that number includes every one who "believeth not."

This principle they meet with every-where in the New Testament. Inwoven into its frame-work, it naturally harmonizes with all the utterances of the book. Hence they find no difficulty with such passages as "who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth;" nor are they forced to contradict the Old Testament when they read, "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live." When any system, by its fundamental principle, places those who embrace it in such a position as to embarrass them in the interpretation of some of the plainest, most practical, and most characteristic texts of the Bible, it is a clear indication that that principle is unsound. Most obviously the Augustinian system, so far as it applies its differentiating principle, makes havoc of the teachings of the Bible. Dr. Hodge correctly says: "Although this may be said to be the turning-point between these great systems, which have divided the Church in all ages, yet that point of necessity involves all the other matters of difference; namely, the nature of original sin; the motive of God in providing redemption; the nature and design of the work of Christ; and the nature of divine grace, or the work of the Holy Spirit. Thus, in a great measure, the whole system of theology, and of necessity the character of our religion, depend on the view taken of this particular question. It is, therefore, a question of the highest practical importance, and not a matter of idle speculation." * As illustrating the effects of this divergence of view on this "turning-point between these great systems," we shall compare the teaching of the two systems on

* "Systematic Theology," vol. ii, p. 330.

a few of the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, beginning with original sin.

A preliminary inquiry might not be out of place here. On the principles of Augustinianism is sin of any kind, original or actual, possible? A leading doctrine of the system is, "that God, according to the counsel of his will, hath fore-ordained whatsoever cometh to pass."* His decrees are comprehensive, including all things that come to pass, past, present, future, good or evil. As God is supreme, there is no being who can coerce him. Hence these decrees are "according to the counsel of his will." They are a transcript of that will. Nothing contrary to them can take place. God's revealed law, written on heart or in book, is but a portion of his will made known to man. That law cannot be opposed to his real will. Nothing contrary to his will is done. But sin is a transgression of God's law; that is, something opposed to his will—which would be something that he had not fore-ordained. This is not the only absurdity which arises from this doctrine of "the decrees." It seems to teach that God is the author of sin. Most Calvinists stoutly deny that this is fairly deducible from their principles; and many of them, so far from believing it, are as loud and as strong in denouncing it as any who differ from them in theory can be. Still it is hard for them to clear the doctrine from this charge. Some have tried to avoid the difficulty by maintaining "that God is an infinitely holy agent in effecting that which, produced *from* God, is righteous, but produced *in* us is sin." Few will see much force in this. Dr. A. A. Hodge argues that God cannot be the author of sin "from the nature of sin, which is, as to its essence, *ἀνομία*, want of conformity to law, and disobedience to the Lawgiver."† But it is hard to see how God can be disobeyed, on the principle that "The doctrine of the Bible is, that all events, whether necessary or contingent, good or sinful, are intended in the purpose of God, and that their futurition, or actual occurrence, is rendered absolutely certain." "Nothing can occur that was not foreseen, and if foreseen it must have been intended." If every *ἀνομία* was "intended," "purposed," "rendered absolutely certain," by

* Shorter Catechism, chap. ii. 7.

† "Outlines of Theology," p. 175. London: T. Nelson & Sons. 1863.

God, who was the real author of it? That some earnest Calvinists have felt that this was a logical consequence from their principles will be evident from the following extract:

Sin did not slip in unperceived among created beings; no! He whose single thought comprehends eternity's unbounded round, ordained its being and fixed its limits with the utmost precision; nor shall a single thought, more or less than is fixed in his all-wise plan, be ever found among rational beings. *Moral* Evil, that seemed to threaten with destruction the whole empire of God, is made by infinite wisdom, subservient to the manifesting and glorifying of all his moral excellences, and must have been ordained, determined, and permitted for that very end, as evidently appears from the everlasting covenant of Grace, in which such rich and ample provision is made to deliver the guilty subjects from the dire effects thereof. Christ could not have been set up from everlasting, and appointed to appear in the fullness of time to purge away sin by the sacrifice of himself, had not the being of it then been fixed and determined. His engagement with the divine Father in eternity is a full and clear demonstration that sin, or moral evil, is no accidental thing, but *a wise and holy ordination* of God, for the manifestation of his own glory, in the person of his dear Son, the adorable Redeemer from it.*

But to return to *original sin.* The teaching of Augustine has secured for this term a place in Christian theology. The opinions held on this doctrine exert a mighty influence on the whole theological system of those who receive them. The language of the late Bishop Marvin on this point is none too strong:

I say that the depraved condition of man is the starting-point in Christian doctrine. So deeply is this true, that the view a man takes of this first fact will shape his whole theology. Wrong thinking here, by a logical necessity, vitiates the entire creed. For the Christian theology is not a jumble of postulates accidentally brought together: it is a *system of truth* in which every postulate is vitally related to all the rest. The fact in which the whole system has its historical origin denied, the system loses all its coherency and meaning. This fact misconceived, the entire system takes a false coloring. No one doctrine is more vitally related to the whole Christian theology than this. Heresy at this point loosens the whole fabric—disorganizes the system.

Augustinians are forced to approach this subject solely in the light of Adam's personal sin. Their theory of the atonement

* "Predestination Calmly Considered from Principles of Reason." By William Tucker. Boston: William Pierce. 1835.

necessitates this. Their teaching is consistent with the standpoint from which they view the subject. The Westminster Confession says:

> By this sin they (our first parents) fell from their original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body. They being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity descending from them by ordinary generation. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions. This corruption of nature, during this life, doth remain in those that are regenerated; and although it be, through Christ, pardoned and mortified, yet both itself and all the motions thereof are truly and properly sin. Every sin, both original and actual, being a transgression of the righteous law of God, and contrary thereunto, doth, in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God and curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all miseries, spiritual, temporal, and eternal.

This is about as strong a statement of the case as can possibly be made. The picture is dark, sad, depressing. The condition of lost man is simply terrible. It is not easy to see how any person, Pelagian or Semi-Pelagian, can escape from one iota of this while accepting the teachings of the New Testament. It is true that the term "federal head" is not found in the Scriptures. It is true that we are nowhere told, in so many words, that Adam's sin has been imputed to all his posterity, and necessarily involves "the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit, and, therefore, in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation."* Yet none can deny that we are expressly taught that "through one man sin entered into the world;" that "by the trespass of the one the many died;" that "the judgment came of one unto condemnation;" that "through one man's disobedience the many were made sinners." It is plain that these passages teach that the sin of our first parents has

* Thirty-nine Articles, Article IX.

affected their descendants, not a few, but every one of them; that its effect has been deep and baneful; that it has changed their relation to law and made them "sinners." St. Paul had no idea of sin as "a fiction," as some speak of it. Taught by the Holy Spirit, he teaches us that the effects of the first transgression were real, direful, destructive. If we regard the condition of the human race in the light of the fall alone, no picture that man has yet drawn could exaggerate the guilt and misery of man. By nature all are children of wrath. Depravity is universal. "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." It is both total and universal.

It would be an interesting study to inquire, in the light of the Bible, whether it would have been in harmony with the character of the God revealed to us in that book to have permitted the continued existence and multiplication of a race reduced to such a condition. This would, however, draw us aside from our subject, and, if attempted, might merely demonstrate the dangers connected with the attempt to discover what an infinite God can consistently do, and the utter inadequacy of our powers to handle such a theme. Keeping to revelation, our *sole* authority on all such matters, we know that he did not do so. No member of the human race was ever born into this world affected *only* by the sin of Adam. This world never upheld one solitary being "naturally engendered of the offspring of Adam" who was not at the same time *a redeemed man.* We can form no scriptural notion of the condition of man if we omit this glorious truth from our consideration. It is doubtful if the attempt would ever have been made had it not been a necessity to a system, the cardinal doctrines of which are unconditional particular election and reprobation, and a limited atonement. It is impossible to avoid "misleading conceptions" of the nature and effects of original sin if the question be regarded from the side of sin alone. In the Bible the narrative of the fall is brief but full. The announcement of the Seed of the woman, and the effect of his work on the results of man's sin, are woven into the one narrative. It seems as if designed to teach us that the only correct way in which to contemplate the problem of man's relation to sin is to look on him as affected by *two* great events, each of which virtually took place before his birth, each of which exerts a powerful

influence on him, that influence being in many respects unaffected by any action or disposition of his own.

To the evangelical Arminian the doctrines of original sin, of universal and total depravity, are terrible facts in human history. They constitute the basis of the necessity for the redemptive scheme unfolded to us in the Gospel. If man were not lost he would not have needed a Saviour. Hence theologians of this school have no sympathy with any who make little of the fall, or deny the doctrine of original sin. As they dwell in thought on these "facts" in their awful nature and direful effects, they cannot but wonder at and adore the grace of God as they begin to apprehend the meaning of those wondrous words, "God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." They magnify the grace of God which met the evil at the fountain, and brought to bear on man an influence more mighty than the sin of Adam, and reversing its curse.

As the connection of Adam's posterity with his sin and its effects are primarily independent of their will and beyond their power, so their connection with the second Adam is divinely ordained and independent of their will. As by the trespass of one he was made [potentially] a sinner, so by the obedience of One he is made [provisionally] righteous. As through the sin of the first his nature is corrupt and he is inclined to evil, and that continually; so, through his connection with the second Adam, he is quickened to a new life, and becomes the subject of the influence and strivings of the Holy Spirit; and if at last he shall perish, it will be because he perversely rejects offered mercy.

Contemplated simply in view of God's infinity, both of righteousness and power, sin becomes the one tremendous fact, in man's relations to his Maker and his Judge. But it is not thus that we are taught to think of God; but rather that he is to us in Christ reconciling the world to himself.

The central truth of the Christian system is the doctrine of the atonement. From the essential character of this doctrine the Christian system is spoken of as "the ministry of reconciliation" (*τῆς καταλλαγῆς*). The views entertained on this subject are naturally affected by the "turning-point," as Dr. Charles Hodge calls it.

Both Calvinists and Arminians believe in the necessity for an atonement, and that Christ by his death made a propitiation for sins, that only by faith in his death can any sinner be saved. They differ widely in their idea of the *purpose* of God in providing the atonement. The Augustinian finds the motive which prompted God the Father to make the atonement in his "amazing love to his own people, determining him, in perfect consistency with his truth and justice, to assume himself, in the person of his Son, the responsibility of bearing the penalty and satisfying justice." * They teach that Christ "assumed the law-place of *his people;*" that "he obeyed and suffered as our substitute;" that while there was no transfer of moral character, "he assumed the guilt (just obligation to punishment) of our sins," (the sins of his own people); that "he did not render a pecuniary satisfaction," and therefore did not suffer the same degree nor duration, nor in all respects the same kind of sufferings, which the law would have inflicted on the sinner in person. But he did suffer the *very* penalty of the law; that is, sin was punished in him in strict rigor of justice. "His sufferings were no substitute for a penalty, but those very penal evils which rigorous justice demanded of his exalted person, when he stood in our place, as a full equivalent for all that was demanded of us."

As to the effects of the atonement, Augustinians teach: "1. It produced no change in God, any more than do acts of creation and providence. 2. It expiated the guilt of sin. 3. It actually secures our salvation, and does not simply put us in a salvable state. According to the terms of the covenant of grace, the impetration of redemption by Christ is infallibly connected with its application by the Holy Ghost. 4. Not being the payment of a pecuniary debt, which *ipso facto* liberates, but a vicarious penal satisfaction, it remains, so far as we are concerned, as a matter of right in the hands of God to grant its benefits to whom he pleases, when and on whatsoever terms he pleases."

The right of the distinguished Professor from whose pen these citations are made to be regarded as a representative expounder of the school of thought of which his lamented father (whose place the son not unworthily fills) was for years the

* "The Atonement." By Rev. A. A. Hodge, D.D. London: T. Nelson & Son. 1870. Pp. 29, 30.

recognized leader, not in this country alone, but throughout the Christian world, will be generally conceded. We shall not now attempt to compare these propositions one with another, and point out the stupendous difficulties in the way of bringing them into harmony with themselves. We cite them merely to show what are the views of Augustinians on this vital doctrine. The statement distinctly teaches that the atonement "reconciled *us* to God;" "that it actually secures our salvation" (that is, the salvation of all for whom it was provided), "and does not simply put us in a salvable state." This thought is the very essence of the Augustinian system, so far as the doctrine of atonement is concerned. It is thus stated by Dr. Charles Hodge:

> That the fall of Adam brought all his posterity into a state of condemnation, sin, and misery, from which they are utterly unable to deliver themselves. From the mass of fallen men God elected a number innumerable to eternal life, and left the rest of mankind to the just recompense of their sins. That the ground of this election is not the foresight of any thing in the one class to distinguish them favorably from the members of the other class, but the good pleasure of God. That for the salvation of those thus chosen to eternal life, God gave his own Son to become man, and to obey and suffer for his people, thus making a full satisfaction for sin and bringing in everlasting righteousness, *rendering the ultimate salvation of the elect absolutely certain.**

This may be regarded as the latest setting forth of Augustinian theology. The work from which this extract is made is the chosen text-book placed in the hands of the students and rising ministry of this system. What a blessing it would be if each professor, when lecturing on these sections, would fix the attention of students on Fletcher's "Checks," set the system on its "legs," and let them see the "left leg" as well as the "right!" That Dr. Hodge felt keenly the unsightliness of this "left leg" is clear from the words, "God condemns no man, and fore-ordains no man to condemnation, except on account of his sin. But the preterition of such men, leaving them, rather than others equally guilty, to suffer the penalty of their sins, is distinctly declared to be a sovereign act." †

The peculiar teachings of Augustinianism on the doctrine of the atonement are, that the design of God in providing

* "Systematic Theology," vol. ii, p. 333. † *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 346.

redemption was to render certain the salvation of a definite number of persons—the elect—and of no others (the Westminster Confession says, "and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished"); that for the salvation of these (see above) God gave his own Son, and for these alone. God did not give his son for one outside the number of the elect. The atonement did not make possible the salvation of one human being, save the elect. The reaction of this theory of the atonement on their theory of original sin will now be apparent. To shield the justice of God, the whole race of man must be theoretically placed in a position deserving of eternal torment. Then his mercy is magnified in saving an elect number out of this vile mass. And this is the system that Dr. Hodge calls "Pauline, Augustinian, and Calvinian!" Paul at least would stamp it as "another gospel."

Let us look, for a moment, at the doctrine taught by evangelical Arminianism. As to what are called "theories of the atonement," it does not profess to find any in the New Testament. It does find certain great principles laid down, certain facts stated, which make clear the purpose of God in redemption, the method by which it is to be applied, and the duty of those to whom the gospel of salvation is proclaimed. Redemption is clearly set before us as God's remedy for man's sin. Had man not sold himself into the bondage of sin, redemption would have been uncalled for. The mission of the Son is traced to the boundless love of God: "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." 1 John iv, 10. That love was the yearning of the great heart of the Father to all men: "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." John iii, 16. It teaches that Jesus really knew the particular love which moved the Father to send his Son into the world; and in this verse he declares what that love was; and therefore any system which necessarily contradicts this cannot be scriptural. It fully recognizes the necessity of the death of Christ, as "without shedding of blood there is no remission." The sufferings of Christ are regarded as vicarious and expiatory. These points are emphasized by none more

heartily than by evangelical Arminians. By none is the sinner more clearly or more earnestly exhorted to "behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world;" by none is the inquirer more constantly instructed that "there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." In many points there is perfect agreement between the two schools of thought on this doctrine. But the moment that we touch on the motive of God in providing redemption, or the effect of the atonement on those for whom it was provided, or on the extent of the atonement, the systems became antagonistic.

Evangelical Arminians believe that God really loved all mankind. Hence they cannot accept that as a correct statement of the motive of God in providing redemption which says:

> This representation is so predominant in the Scriptures, namely, that the peculiar love of God to his people, to his Church, to the elect, is the source of the gift of Christ, of the mission of the Holy Spirit, and of all other saving blessings, that it cannot be ignored in any view of the plan and purpose of salvation. With this representation every other statement of the Scriptures must be consistent, and therefore the theory which denies this great and precious truth, and which assumes that the love which secured the gift of God's eternal Son was mere benevolence, which had all men for its object, many of whom are allowed to perish, must be unscriptural.*

Evidently this last view would require the passage from John to read, "God so loved the [elect] world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever [of that elect world] believeth in him [all of whom would inevitably] should not perish, but have everlasting life." So far from teaching that the atonement makes the salvation of the elect absolutely certain, evangelical Arminianism maintains that it does not make certain the salvation of any one special individual, but that it does place all for whom it was made in such a position that their salvation is possible, and that it secures for every one of them that which by nature, as fallen children of Adam, they could not have—power through the grace of the Holy Spirit to "work out their own salvation with fear and trembling."

As to the extent of the atonement, evangelical Arminians teach that it was made for all our race; that God designed

* "Systematic Theology," vol. ii, pp. 550, 551.

that its provisions should be as wide as the effects of the fall of Adam; that where that fall affected man independently of his individual will, the atonement affects him in a similar way; that as Adam's sin entails guilt, "the Lamb of God taketh away the sin of the world;" that as man was inclined only to evil, the Holy Spirit works in all, inclining them to will and to do that which is pleasing to God; that as to man's personal sins, the atonement is a provision of infinite wisdom whereby, without tarnishing his justice, dishonoring his law, or abating one iota of the abomination in which he holds sin, God can "be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." This system teaches, that the atonement is a provision on the ground of which God can and does offer and promise eternal life—that is, all the blessings of salvation here and hereafter—to every member of the fallen race who is willing to accept his offer and comply with the conditions on which that offer is made. It does not attempt to pry into things not written, or solve the problem as to *how* the atonement affects God, or *how* it makes it consistent with his righteousness and holiness to offer forgiveness and salvation to sinful men. It looks upon the Gospel as God's great proclamation of amnesty to fallen man, announcing the fact of that amnesty, the conditions both as to method and time on which individuals may avail themselves of that proclamation, and an earnest, urgent call to embrace its provisions. This scheme is met with all through the New Testament. Passage after passage asserts in the clearest terms the universality of the atonement. Who can doubt the meaning of words such as these, "God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved?" John iii, 17. "He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world?" 1 John ii, 2. The meaning of these words is unmistakable. As Bengel puts it, "*Quam late peccatum, tam late propitiatio.*" Nor is this teaching confined to simple declaration. As if foreseeing that some would attempt to confine the grace of God within limits devised by themselves, God has put the matter as forcefully as words can put it in passages the parallelisms of which render the meaning absolutely certain. Thus we read in Rom. v, 18, "As . . . judgment came unto all men to condemnation, even so . . . the free

gift came unto all men to justification of life." "As through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous." Rom. v, 19. "The many"—not one more—not one less.

The universality of the atonement is taught by the invitations of the Gospel, which are addressed to all; by the exhortations of the Gospel, in which all are urged to repent and believe. Where any are spoken of as rejecting these offers and coming into condemnation, they are charged with refusing to receive the grace of God, and are condemned solely on account of their perverse unbelief. So abundant is the testimony in the New Testament that "Jesus Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man," that it is difficult to see how any intelligent person can read that book and deny this doctrine, unless he comes to the book under the influence of a strong prejudice. The strength of the testimony of the New Testament on this subject will be evident from the following extracts from Dr. A. A. Hodge's "Treatise on the Atonement:"

> I insist that, as the Gospel is wholly a matter of divine revelation, the answer to the question, 'What did Christ do on earth in order to reconcile us to God?' be sought exclusively in a full and fair induction from all the Scriptures teach upon the subject. From a survey of all the matter revealed on the subject, what, in the judgment of a mind unprejudiced by theories, did the sacred writers intend us to believe? The result of such an examination, unmodified by philosophy or secular analogies, is alone, we insist, the true doctrine of the redemptive work of Christ.—Page 22.

Every honest mind will say that this is a fair putting of the case. No believer in the Bible can ask more, nor be satisfied with less. This presentation of the case at once commends the author to his reader, and bespeaks for his work an attentive and candid reading. We follow the writer through, and how does *he* apply those noble principles? That he may not be misrepresented in any particular he shall speak for himself; the extract is taken from the very close of the book:

> Remember what we have over and over again affirmed: (1) Christ did literally and absolutely die for all men, in the sense of securing for all a lengthened respite and many temporal benefits, moral as well as physical. (2) His atonement was sufficient for

all. (3) Exactly adapted to the needs of each. (4) It is offered indiscriminately to all; hence, as far as God's preceptive will is concerned, the atonement is universal. It is to be preached to all, and to be accepted by all. It is for all, as far as determining the duty of all and laying obligations on all. And practically, it makes salvation objectively available to all upon the condition of faith. God's decretive will or design in making the atonement is a very different matter.—Page 393.

This passage is a most extraordinary utterance, to come from the pen of an intelligent, scholarly writer, and at the same time most melancholy, causing utter hopelessness as to the probability of securing an unbiased consideration of these disputed points. Applying principles laid down by himself, which, as we have said, must command the approval of all, this learned Professor appeals to the Scriptures, carefully collects, weighs, and expounds every utterance in them which he regards as of importance as teaching "the true doctrine of the redemptive work of Christ," and bears his testimony that, "as far as God's *preceptive will* is concerned, the atonement is universal." Few evangelical Arminians could produce a statement of the doctrine more concise, exact, and full; none would object to it. It covers the whole ground. It annihilates the Augustinian theory of a limited atonement, which "makes absolutely certain the salvation" of every one for whom it was made. This is not the statement of the Professor's own theory, but of what he is honestly compelled to believe that the Scriptures teach. But alas for the closing sentence! would that it had not been penned! It is the fly in the ointment destroying the aroma, and betraying by its unsavoriness the presence of a mind that can scarcely be regarded as "unprejudiced by theories." Does the author know the "decretive will" of God? Can he claim to be an exception to the statement, "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God?" Is he so conversant with that "decretive will" of God as to dare to suggest, as this closing sentence does, that that "decretive will" is in opposition to the "preceptive will" of God? That God wills one thing, and in the most solemn manner and in manifold methods teaches man that he wills another? Verily, if this be so, the Professor is in truth a successor of John Calvin in teaching that God, when earnestly expostulating with sinners and urging them to do what he knows they are utterly unable to do, and *what he will*

not enable them to do, is something worse than simply "humbugging" them. (*Deum esse duplicem.*)

On the condition of infants there is a wide difference between these two systems. The "turning-point" necessitates this. It is not easy to see how any person taking the New Testament for his guide could be induced to believe in the possibility of an infant being damned. The words of the Master are clear, "of such is the kingdom of God." Yet many of the followers of Augustine taught this dreadful doctrine. On this point the logical strength of the system breaks down, and few are willing to press their premises to their legitimate conclusion. The great theologian himself was specially inconsistent here. He lost sight of election, and made baptism the deciding element. He taught that all unbaptized children would be damned. Hence we read, "*Parvulos non baptizatos in damnatione omnium lenissima futuros.*" He lays it down as Christian doctrine, "*Peccatum originale pœnam non tantum damni sed et sensus, et quidem ignis æterni, manere.*" He must have had a terrible view of the more severe forms of future punishment when this was "the least severe." Many of the Reformers adopted this view from him, and diligently taught it. It found its way into many of their "Confessions." In Article ix of the Augsburg Confession we read: "*Damnant Anabaptistas, qui improbant Baptismum puerorum, et affirmant pueros sine Baptismo salvos fieri.*" In the Westminster Confession, x, 3, we read: "Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth." This seems very guarded language. Some, accepting this Confession, have maintained that all infants dying in infancy are elect, and that their dying in infancy is *ipso facto* a proof of their election. In that case it would be very desirable to have an authoritative settlement of the exact period at which infancy terminates. The language of the Confession, however, clearly precludes this interpretation. "Elect infants dying in infancy," implies the idea of non-elect infants dying in infancy. Otherwise the word "elect" is not merely redundant, but misleading. Moreover, we must remember that the views of Augustine were not merely well known when the Confession was framed, but evidently exerted a controlling influence on the teaching of that document.

Hence the fair interpretation of the words is, that there are reprobate infants who die in infancy. Calvin stated the case clearly when, on the general question of election and reprobation, he said:

> Many indeed, as if they wished to avert odium from God, admit election in such a way as to deny that any one is reprobated. *But this is puerile and absurd, because election itself could not exist without being opposed to reprobation.* Whom God passes by he therefore reprobates; and from no other reason than his determination to exclude them from the inheritance which he predestines for his children.

This is the inevitable result of applying "the turning-point" of Dr. Hodge. The reasoning of Calvin is as forcible when applied to "elect infants" as it is when the word "infants" is omitted. This was undoubtedly the teaching of the school for years. It is by no means an easy matter to see how they could have avoided holding that idea with their conception of original sin. They regarded that as involving guilt, "personal blame, and, of course, as exposing its possessor to punishment, even eternal punishment, so that the mere infant, hurried out of life the moment after it had entered upon life, before it had done good or evil, or even possessed the power of distinguishing the one from the other, might be justly consigned over to everlasting torment as the punishment of such sinful bias." †

Augustine and the Lutherans teach that all infants dying in infancy who are baptized, are saved. In this they agree with the Romish Church, which teaches, "Nothing can seem more necessary than that the faithful be taught that this law of baptism is prescribed by our Lord to all men, insomuch that they, unless they be regenerated unto God through the grace of baptism, are begotten by their parents to everlasting misery and destruction, whether their parents be believers or unbelievers."

* Institutes, book iii, chap. xxiii.

† "The Doctrine of Original Sin," by George Payne, LL.D. Second edition. London: Jackson & Walford, 1854. The Lecturer adds: "I join my friend, and a former Congregational Lecturer, the Rev. Joseph Gilbert, in thinking that 'the man who can really believe this must be wholly perverted in judgment, and can have no symmetrical connection of moral ideas.' There is nothing, as it appears to me, in divine revelation—nothing in the scriptural doctrine of original sin—to sanction such monstrous statements. And I am anxious that evangelical truth should be divested of accompaniments which mar its beauty and obstruct its progress."—Page 152.

The evangelical Arminian occupies a totally different ground. He believes in the universal effect of Adam's sin as firmly as any Augustinian can do. But he also believes the Bible statement that "Jesus Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man." Hence as the influence of the second Adam is more mighty than that of the first, he looks on *every* infant as redeemed, as one to whom the Saviour, who is "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever," feels just as he did when on earth. He believes that it is not his will that one of these little ones should perish. Naturally he holds tenaciously, because consistently, to the doctrine that *all* dying in infancy are saved, and regards it as a valuable argument in support of his system of theology, that this follows logically from the essential principles of his creed; while just in proportion as the advocates of the opposing system adopt this view, they are compelled to ignore the foundation principles of their creed, and violently strain the language of their most cherished formularies. The Rev. Richard Watson thus states the case:

> The great consideration which leads to a solution of the case of persons dying in infancy is found in Rom. v, 18: "Therefore, as by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." In these words, the sin of Adam and the merits of Christ are pronounced to be co-extensive; the words applied to both are precisely the same, judgment came upon all men, the free gift came upon all men. If the whole human race be meant in the former clause, the whole human race is meant in the latter also; and it follows that as all are injured by the offense of Adam, so all are benefited by the obedience of Christ. Whatever, therefore, that benefit may be, all children dying in infancy must partake of it, or there would be a large portion of the human race upon whom the "free gift," the effects of "the righteousness of one," did not come, which is contrary to the apostle's words.

Calvin himself clearly taught that baptism was not essential to salvation. Departing from Augustine he connects the salvation of infants with the covenant, and seems to intimate that *all* the infants of Christian parents shall be saved. Modern Augustinians have departed still more widely from their founder. Dr. Hodge teaches, "All who die in infancy are saved." "It is, therefore, the general belief of Protestants, contrary to the doctrine of Romanists and Romanizers, that all who die in

infancy are saved." * The whole paragraph is worth reading. It seems inexplicable how any man could write it and still hold the doctrine of a limited atonement. On this remark of Dr. Hodge, Professor Schaff observes: "This may be true of the present generation, and we hope it is, though it is evidently inapplicable to the period of scholastic orthodoxy, both Lutheran and Calvinistic."

Dr. Hodge further says:

> We are sorry to see that Dr. Krauth labors to prove that the Westminster Confession teaches that only a part, or some of those who die in infancy, are saved; this he does by putting his own construction on the language of that Confession. We can only say that we never saw a Calvinist theologian who held that doctrine.†

Most readers will think that the Confession, not Dr. Krauth, is at fault.

This statement of Dr. Hodge is worthy of notice. His eminent position brought him into contact with the leading minds of the Calvinist party for many years. Such a testimony is an impressive illustration of what we have written above as to the great boon conferred by Methodism on the Church catholic, in restoring the theology of the New Testament.

On the question of man's ability to do the will of God the systems are equally widely separated. Augustinianism teaches that "as the result of original sin all are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil. This is the condition of all by nature. The benefits of redemption, including the saving influences of the Spirit, as distinguished from "common grace" which cannot lead to salvation, are confined to the "elect." "The rest of mankind are passed by." For not one of these was atonement made; as that atonement was absolutely necessary to their salvation, not one of them, at any moment in his life, was placed in a position in which his salvation was possible. To not one of them was there the outgoing of God's love in giving his Son to die for them. All these, "although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operation of the Spirit," are utterly unable to come to Christ, and therefore cannot be saved. Evangelical

* "Systematic Theology," vol. i, p. 26. † *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 605.

Arminianism teaches that the atonement places salvation within the reach of every man, while it forces it upon none. That it secures for every soul, and especially for every one to whom the Gospel is preached, the accompanying influence of the Holy Spirit, by virtue of which he receives the power to repent and believe the Gospel to the saving of his soul, so that none shall ever perish because preordained thereto by God, or for lack of power to comply with the conditions of salvation, but solely on account of his own willful resistance to and refusal of the grace of God.

Augustinianism teaches that "This corruption of nature during this life doth remain in those that are regenerated," and is "properly sin;" and again, every sin, original and actual, brings guilt upon the sinner and exposes him to the wrath of God and the fearful punishment of sin.

Evangelical Arminianism maintains that Jesus "saves his people *from* their sins;" that if "we confess our sins he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;" that it is the privilege of those who accept the Gospel to appropriate by faith the exceeding great and precious promises contained in that Gospel, and "having these promises, to cleanse themselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." These doctrines, scriptural in their substance and heart-renewing in their power, constitute the peculiar strength and beauty of that glorious deposit of truth which the Methodism of the present day has received from the Fathers. Their responsibility is great. It becomes them to "hold fast the form of sound words" which they have received. There are many temptations to substitute for these doctrines more palatable to the unregenerate; to suppress some of them, and dilute others to suit the worldly spirit of the age. It is a dangerous experiment. Tempting as some new doctrines may seem, they are a poor substitute for these well-tested truths of the inspired word. We need them not. The old wine is better. These truths, when preached in the demonstration of the Spirit, commend themselves to the conscience and win the soul to Christ. When embraced with the faith of the heart they thoroughly transform the believer, so that he becomes "a new creature in Christ Jesus." Methodism needs no revision of her creed.

ART. II.—THE GREAT PHYSICIAN'S ANODYNE.

AN EXEGESIS OF JOHN XIV, 1-10.

[1] Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. [2] In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you; for I go to prepare a place for you. [3] And if I go and prepare a place for you, I come again, and will receive you unto myself; that where I am there ye may be also. [4] And whither I go, ye know the way. [5] Thomas saith unto him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest; how know we the way? [6] Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no one cometh unto the Father, but by me. [7] If ye had known me, ye would have known my Father also: from henceforth ye know him, and have seen him. [8] Philip saith unto him, Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us. [9] Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; how sayest thou, Show us the Father? [10] Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I say unto you I speak not from myself: but the Father abiding in me doeth his works.—(*Revised Version.*)

OUR dying Saviour's valedictory to his apostles at the final supper unfolded both the darkness and glory of their destiny in most impressive terms. Compare it with a similar discourse of Socrates with his pupils, as given by Plato, and we see the immense inferiority of a philosopher's wisest utterances attained by the human intellect to the supreme mastery of "the Son" over the mysteries of the unseen. He had foretold the apparent ruin of all the hopes of the apostles; dismay was deep in their hearts and dark on their faces; and then he unfolds the rich consolations which their trust in his divinity affords them. It beautifully commences with a soothing sentence of assurance to their ears: "Let not your heart be troubled." He points to the demonstration of the certainty of his assurances from his being trustworthy, not on account of his profound wisdom as a philosopher, but from his authentication by the Father, as divine. Let us trace this view in the present passage.

Verse 1. Why is "heart" in the singular, and not plural? We may imagine three solutions: 1. It may be a mere verbal accident without significance. And this seems to be the view of the great body of commentators, inasmuch as none of them seem to have noticed the fact. 2. It may have designated the collective *hearts* of the apostles as *one;* and so it would symbolize their profound Christian unity. Or, 3. It may be an individualizing word, symbolizing that each apostle—nay, each dis-

ciple of Christ in every age—may lay claim to the consolation as belonging to *him*. We prefer this last interpretation. The breadth of the basis which our Lord lays under his then present apostles is expansive enough to furnish standing ground for us all. Each one of us may claim a share in it as addressed to *his own* "heart," and say, I will not be "troubled," as there is an eternal *mansion* of glory reserved on immovable foundations for *me*.

And next, how could the evangelist make Jesus forbid their "heart" to "be troubled," when he tells us (chap. xiii, 21) that the "spirit" of Jesus himself was "troubled?" My answer would be, that the apostles' *trouble* was a factitious, baseless, and self-interested (I will not say *selfish*) trouble. Their trouble was, lest their visionary earthly kingdom should be dissipated to thin air: his trouble arose as the awful image of the traitor's sin and crime loomed into near view. Such a trouble in the "spirit" of Jesus is the feeling of the divine Spirit himself, and so was a divine trouble. The question thirdly arises, Is the first "believe" of the two here indicative or imperative? And on this question the most eminent commentators of the Church are arrayed on opposite sides. The imperative rendering makes Jesus enjoin belief in God and himself alike. The indicative makes faith in God a basal reason for faith in Christ, for Christ is authenticated by God as his Son. And that this latter was the Lord's real meaning we are convinced by the words of the ninth and subsequent verses. In the person of Jesus there was a visible indwelling God that identified him; and so if they, as disciples of Moses, believed in Jehovah, they were bound to "believe" when they thus saw the present Jehovah incarnate. As, on an infinitesimal scale, the insect of ages ago is seen in the transparent amber, so on an infinite scale the divine (as divine in the minutest spot as in the whole universe) is seen visibly enshrined in the transparent person of Jesus. And being thus divinely authenticated as divine Son, as Son he will tell them of the glorious "house" of his divine "Father," and of his and their inheritance therein as in the not distant future. Glory, and not ruin, lies in their immediate onward pathway.

Verse 2. With a beautiful abruptness the Son, the Saviour, applies the heavenly anodyne for all their nervous excitement. He at once strikes *home*—"my Father's house." There also are

a "place" and a glory for which all these alarming events are but the necessary preparation and condition. And this "house" is a roomy edifice. God's "house" may indeed be the universe, in whose immensity he dwells, perfectly filling its whole. But here his "house" is the more limited, yet most expansive, heavenly realm, the "kingdom of glory," in which all the holy beings of the world have their home. And that this is a most expansive "house" we may easily understand if we conceive the kingdom of glory to exist in the immensity that surrounds the whole starry system as the ocean surrounds an islet. God compasses the whole astronomic system of creation as immensity does. When we say that heaven is *up* and that God is *up*, that word *up* points to beyond the stars. And as our earth is a globe, so those *ups*, like so many radii, shoot from the earth's center in every direction, and pronounce that the kingdom of glory, like God himself, surrounds the starry creation as a concave envelope. But as God not only pervades immensity, but also pervades to the center of starry space and to the center of *each particular star*, so also does the kingdom of glory. Not indeed in its fullness and literal occupancy. But we may believe that the inhabitants of the kingdom of glory can pervade by their voluntary presence all the secrecies of the starry domain. Gabriel in heaven shot from that high abode to our earth in very brief time. (Dan. ix, 23.) We talk of even our railroads and telegraphs as *annihilating space*. Yet with how much more than a telegraphic rapidity could a glorified spirit ascend from earth to heaven—borne, perhaps, like Lazarus, by angels!

Heaven, therefore, though not literally "close around us," is virtually nigh us. It is nigh us inasmuch as in the passage from one to the other the element of time nearly drops out, and the visitors from the supernal may move in throngs around us. Nor must we imagine that the kingdom of glory is a narrow margin around our starry system. As a definite realm, even a "house," we may suppose it organic in structure, and so need not identify it with all immensity of space. This concave envelope may have its outside as well as its inside boundary. Outside, through immensity, is the limitless God, and what else we know not. Only know we that inside is the material creation. "Many mansions" are many apartments in the roomy

"house," for the various classes of occupants, as thrones principalities and powers, angels and archangels, seraphs and saints.

Heaven is ever in perfect order. So this same John in the Apocalypse beheld a roomy house so vast as to be a palace, a capital, and even a nation.* It had its twelve gates for the orderly twelve tribes of the celestial Canaan to enter. The temple, as God's "house," represents the same truth. Its various courts were for the priests, for the men, the women, and even the Gentiles. But here, as we shall soon see, a new court is about to be *prepared* and opened, namely, for those redeemed by the sacrifice now about to be accomplished; for those, that is, of whom the twelve were the harbingers. And so St. Paul (or as it is fashionable nowadays to say, "the author of the book of Hebrews") tells us (Heb. ix, 23, 24) that "the heavenly things themselves are purified" by that sacrifice, when that sacrifice is actually completed, for those who come after that completion.† And that completion is just now to take place.

"Mansions," or *staying-places*, sometimes implies stations of a journey. And this might be interpreted to imply *progress*, advancement in heaven itself. And this progress is not contradicted by the permanence of their abode in heaven; for heaven for them may have an immensity of range.

When now our Lord in a sort of under-tone affirms that "if it were not so" he "would have told" them, it seems as if he discerned on some countenances a skeptical shade of expression, as soon vocalized by Thomas and Philip. He therefore here condescends to asseverate. He bases himself on what they know to be his superhuman probity, and asserts what he knows they know, namely, that if a fatal overthrow of all their hopes is at hand, he, who had foretold so many fearful futurities as near, would not have concealed even that. Said a dying yet thoughtful worldling, "There is a great comfort in believing that there was something more than human in Jesus of Nazareth." And confessing so much he must accept as true what that "more than human" one says of himself. And if he asserts the divine to be within him, then, especially if also the works of divinity are done by him, he must be believed. And this is the process of the argument of Jesus here. He

* Whedon's Com., Rev. xxi, 16. † See Whedon's Com., *in loco*.

first appeals to their perfect confidence in his perfect probity, and then appeals to his "words" and "works" (verses 11, 12) as the conclusive confirmation of his uttered claims.

In this mansion "house" he is going to prepare a "place for" them. We render the repeated "I go" and "I come" of this discourse with a participle, *I am going* and *I am coming*, as expressive of continuity. (See verses 3, 23, 28.) This final "place" is not yet prepared "for" them. The "place" is locally in the region of the third heaven, where God resides. A space (for a "place" must be real space) is to be set apart and consecrated for the future occupation of the saints of the resurrection. This is made secure and revealed by the resurrection of Christ. The Old Testament or pre-crucifixion saints in paradise, pure bodiless spirits, were then for the first time assured by divine demonstration that they would ascend from paradise to the higher glory in glorified bodily completion.

It was to proclaim this news, as well, perhaps, as for other purposes, that our Lord in his disembodied state entered this paradise, the so-called intermediate state between death and the final resurrection. And so this consecration of "a place" for the New Testament saints, the saints of the Messiah's resurrection, shed a new glory upon paradise, and "prepared" that locality as part of the "place" too. For heaven and paradise are partly distinct and partly identical. Paradise is, as it were, a portico; not the "house," and yet of the "house." The term heaven is extensible to paradise, but not so properly is the term paradise applied to heaven. Paradise is distinctively temporary. It will lose itself in heaven after the final resurrection, as hades merges into hell. (Rev. xx, 14.) And only once (Rev. ii, 7) is the word paradise applied to the whole heaven *after* this merging and identification. The preparation therefore extends to the entire of our great future unseen. When it is popularly said of a departed saint, "He has gone to heaven," or by a self-consoling parent that he "has a child in heaven," we use perfectly allowable language. But that truly all saints at death ascend at once to the highest heaven, and that all sinners descend at once to hell (Gehenna), is unsound theology.*

Verse 3. This departure is condition precedent to a happy return. "If I" am going—as sure as I depart in sorrow and

*See Whedon's Com. on 2 Cor. xii, 1–4; Eph. ii, 2, and iv, 10.

ignominy—I will make return in joy and glory. And when this coming "again" to be? Some commentators say, at th final resurrection. But we must not add with Meyer, that ou Lord's words imply the idea that the final resurrection was clos at hand. But that the *coming* here is not (like *parousia*) lim itêd to the second advent is clear from its repeated use in th discourse in the sense of Christ's presence in the Spirit, an especially so by this same John in Rev. ii, 20. Other commen tators refer it to the coming of Christ to the dying Christia And as it is then that the taking of the human spirit to par dise occurs, this seems necessarily to be its initial fulfillmen Our English version obscures this fact by its neglect of accu racy in rendering the Greek tenses. The revisers have co rectly rendered the Greek; but we word it thus: I am comin to you, and *will* take you to myself. This taking "you t myself" is then specific and generic. Specifically it is begu by the taking the spirit at death to paradise; generically it i completed by the resurrectional receiving of the reunited bod and spirit to the highest heaven. Dear to the Christian hea is the thought that Jesus is present in spirit at his dying bed Yet the more realistic view is, that like Lazarus the sainte spirit is conveyed by angels. And so in Charles Wesley' beautiful hymn he is bidden to

> "Go, by angel guards attended,
> To the arms of Jesus go."

And the reception of that spirit by the corporeal Jesus into th paradisiac or lower heaven is expressed with equal beauty:

> "Waiting to receive thy spirit,
> Lo, the Saviour stands above,
> Shows the purchase of his merit,
> Reaches out the crown of love."

But when we consider the myriad numbers of ascending saint we shall doubtless conclude that "the arms of Jesus" in th above lines, like "Abraham's bosom," is imagery. And s "his breast" in those other beautiful lines:

> "While on *his breast* I lean my head,
> And breathe my life out sweetly there."

To the dying Christian a present Christ says, "To-day shal thou be with me in paradise." And he will in paradise find

Christ's pervading presence, not only spiritually but bodily. The throne of Christ at God's right hand is indeed in the transcendent heaven, yet is he effectively present through the whole, inclusive of paradise, as our President is present in all our America. To this beholding of Jesus by the eye of that glorified spirit, distance is no difficulty. Nor does the pure spirit need words, made of atmosphere, to exchange the pure thought with other minds. Nor does any barrier exclude Christ from perpetual visitations and extended residences there. For here, as in the highest heavens, the presence of this "myself" is the true bliss and glory of these blessed ones; less here than there, but in both the fullest glory of which the spirits disembodied and re-embodied are capable recipients. Christ is the sun amidst his stars, without whom they are darkness and iceberg. And reciprocally their salvation and glorification were the joy that was set before him, for which he endured the cross.

But it is said (Matt. xxv, 30), *the kingdom is prepared for you from before the foundation of the world.* How comes it, then, that here the *place* is not to be *prepared* for them until after the crucifixion? Our reply would be, that the kingdom of glory is prepared for all the holy beings, including redeemed man, from before the foundation of the world. But the "place" in that *kingdom* is not prepared for the post-crucifixion saints, and not fully prepared for any saints, until after crucifixion. The kingdom is the "house," and that is eternal; the "place" of the redeemed is to be in the "house," and not to be completely prepared until the sacrifice that purchases it is finished. So this "house" of God, like the temple, was of old; but the new court for the new class of occupants was now first to be *prepared.*

Verses 4, 5. The "whither" of this departure, and its "way," they knew, because Jesus had told them. The "whither" was "to the Father" in the transcendent heavens; "the way" was through the death of the cross. And now in Thomas's positive-negative interruption the doubter seems to be a prompt denier. And in point of space and distance his denial is true. By what route through space Jesus will go, to where of the heavens Jesus will arrive, he knows not. Yet very probably he exaggerates his ignorance in order to draw out from Jesus a fuller unfolding of the future. He truly desires an account of the route and the goal.

And here is a basal faith in Jesus. He does "believe" that Jesus truly knows, if he pleases to reveal.

Verses 6, 7. Jesus refuses to be turned from his track of thought, requiring the whole "believe in me" of verse 1. He will not be drawn from the rich spirituality of the matter into a barren directory. He embodies the whole matter in his concrete *self*. Christ is Christianity. Accept a whole Christ, and you have a full salvation. Ask you the "way?" His crucified body is "the way." The "truth?" His all-wise Spirit. The "life?" His life, the life of your life everlasting. Settle all this, and the topography may come in as a lesser afterthought. "To the Father," the transcendent goal, by literal ascent, or "to the Father," by spiritual approach, he is the sole "way." Even the redeemed who never heard of Christ are redeemed by him. And *through*, not "by," is the literal Greek. *Through* this living bridge, spanning the chasm, do we pass to the Father. "From henceforth" means not (as many commentators) from the time of the crucifixion, or the time of this momentous converse. "From henceforth" means "from" the time of truly seeing Jesus as he is.* The true sight of God commences with the true sight of Christ.

Verses 8–10. Thomas's doubt seemed to cover the things of the unseen realities, but Philip's doubt at first sight seems to be the doubt of the atheist, who says: "I will believe in God when I see God." But it is not of God's existence that Thomas doubts, but of God as the authenticator of Christ as God. Yet Philip doubtless knew that the things seen by the spirit's eye, the eye of our highest intelligence, are far more sure than those seen by the fleshly eye. The fleshly eye, for instance, sees a machine which is truly constructed according to geometrical laws. The spirit's eye sees the laws themselves. The former, the machine, is transitory; the latter, the laws, are eternal. And yet Philip forgot this when he asked for a fleshly sight of "the Father." He may, as Meyer supposes, have asked for a theophany such as Moses beheld (Exod. xxiv, 10), or, we may add, such as John saw in vision (Rev. iv). If so, he asked for the temporary, rejecting the permanent. "So long time with you" expresses not pathos (Meyer) but rebuke. It was a guilty superficiality which could see "so long" the divine in

* See Whedon's Com., Rev. xiv, 13.

Jesus, and self-avowed by Jesus, without becoming permanently stereotyped with the impression that God was with him. The spirit's eye that has even once seen this Son hath seen the Father too. "I am in the Father," as the flower is in the bud, to be unfolded in power and beauty to the spirit's eye. "The Father in me," as the divine fire was in Moses's burning bush. "The words that I say unto you I speak not from myself," as the words from the bush were not spoken by the bush as his organ. They were the words of Jehovah authenticating the bush. Doeth "his works," as well as uttereth "the words." And if my "works" attest myself as superhuman, and so infallibly trustworthy, so my "words" attest me by direct declaration as divine. As, therefore, "ye believe in God," so do you "believe in me," authenticated by God. And when I utter words of assurance and consolation, "believe;" and, believing, "let not your heart be troubled."

ART. III.—MIGRATION OF LANGUAGE.

HOW OUR ENGLISH CAME FROM ASIA TO DENMARK.

WHAT is here proposed to be done may be illustrated by what has been done in the case of the gypsies and their speech. Miklosich, a scholar of Vienna, has traced by their vocabulary their line of march from India to Europe; and that with the aid of scarcely a single historic clew. The basis of their speech he finds to be the Hindu, a shoot of the Sanskrit, introduced even in the Vedas as the language of the *vulgus*, like the Low Latin of Cicero's day—the *battare* for *pugnare*, *ballare* for *saltare*, *gerula* for *puella*. Persian elements indicate a sojourn in the reaches south of the Caspian, and Armenian words show a slow movement through the lands below the Black Sea. That they entered Europe through a Greek-speaking country, their last residence before their dispersion, is also fairly proven.

In geology, we trace lines of movement by way-side scatterings dropped from the traveling mass; in philology we trace those lines by gatherings picked up and carried on to the place of final deposit. In this way we may search for the path, often

faintly marked, now lost, and now re-appearing, by which the oldest tongue in the group of our ancestral kindred made its way from the primal Asian home to the low-lying margin of the North Sea, the region of Holland and Jutland, and of Schleswig-Holstein.

There could not well be, within the temperate zone, a wider contrast than that between the land from which those wanderers departed and that to which they came. They left mountain gorges where the traveler northward climbs passes higher than Mont Blanc, on his way to "the Roof of the World;" where from grassy, treeless plains, beneath dry, bright skies, the streams run swiftly to far-off southern bays, and where the Oxus, "majestic river, floated on" to "emerge and shine upon the Aral Sea." They came to a dull, flat shore, where "the lazy Scheldt" creeps through its sediment of mud, a land of gloomy rain, of raw and restless wind and harsh-voiced surge, where those ancestors of ours began their great career in the West amid marshes, fogs, and forests. Slowly and loiteringly they made their way from one home to the other. They spent centuries where now a traveler, even a tourist, needs to spend but days.

Satisfying proof is found that back of the closely related languages now prevailing in north-western Europe was one, the mother-tongue of many people now kindred, once identical. It was used by all our then undivided branch of the great family of energetic, overmastering peoples whose languages are called Indo-European, or, by an easier term, Aryan. This mother-tongue, sister of the Sanskrit, the Greek, and the Latin, is named the Teutonic. This word Teutonic (Thiudisc, then Teutisch, then Deutsch—Dutch) means popular, public, national. As is well known, it is now employed to designate the people whom the Romans taught us to call Germans, while the general term "Dutch" we properly limit to a small nation on the narrow delta of the Rhine.

Before it entered Europe, this Teutonic had begun to divide into branches, the Gothic, the Norse, the Low German, and the High German. Of these the Gothic was long thought to be not a co-ordinate branch, but a real trunk from which the others had sprung, and it was so thought because in forms and processes it was nearer than any other in agreement with the primitive

Aryan speech. It was, too, the first of its family to have and hold an abiding place in the literature of the world.

In the library of the University of Upsala, in Sweden, is the Silver Manuscript, the most valuable literary treasure that Scandinavia (Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the western hive of the Gothic race) possesses. It contains the four gospels in the Gothic tongue. The noble characters are illuminated in silver upon a purple ground, and at the beginning of each section a few words are blazoned in gold instead of silver. At the bottom of each page is an imposing arrangement of a gallery on arches with Corinthian columns, between which are references, as in the margins of our Bibles, enabling the reader to find the parallel passage of the different gospels. The whole is in solid silver binding, and it well bears the name of CODEX ARGENTEUS. It was made at Ravenna, in Italy, a hundred years after the death of the great bishop who made the translation, whose labor, learning, and piety it brings vividly to remembrance. A Swedish general of the great Gustavus Adolphus found it at Prague nearly three hundred years ago. After so many centuries of unknown adventure it has a fitting and honorable rest among its natural guardians, the kinsmen of its author. In the Ambrosian Library at Milan, about the year 1820, some strange discoveries were made. Three manuscripts in Latin were found to be *palimpsests*, that is, twice written, the first writing erased to give place to the second. In these the erasure was imperfect, and a careful tracing by Count Castiglione proved the first writing to have been this same Gothic Scripture. He rescued much, and the rescued fragments have proved of great philological value. From such sources we have what we have of the language actually spoken by Alaric and his long-haired warriors as they stood at the gates of Rome to receive its ransom, and in which the gallant barbarian forbade his men to touch, in warfare, either women or church properties. With words like these he ordered the turning of the river Busento until his own burial might be had in its channel, lest in some reverse of following times his mighty bones might be found and make a Roman holiday. Under Theodoric the Great the Gothic power in the South reached its highest point; it then vanished like frost-work in the sun, and left of itself no record in speech of its own using. To Roman ears the Gothic was harsh jargon,

such as they could not bring themselves to hear or speak or write. There is a scrap of poetry left us by some unknown author who had been dining with Goths:

> "Inter HAILS Goticum SKAPJAM jam MATJA ja DRIGGKAM
> Non audet quisquam dignos educere versus."
>
> "At a banquet of Goths, with their skapjam and matja and drinkam,
> Dares one try to set words in a rhythm and a harmony tuneful?"

Only these four words, framed in thus for ridicule, does Latin literature retain from the speech of the men who faced Cæsar on the Rhine and Trajan on the Danube, and who at length glutted their ire upon the Eternal City herself. In these bantering lines we have four plain English words, *hail*, *shape*, *meat*, *drink*. These were as Choctaw to the Latin poet, but they tell us a convivial story. At some "hail" (wassail, was-hail, "what cheer?" that is, a feast) the guest had found boisterous mirth and hearty indulgence, while the servants "shaped" ample "meat" and "drink."

It is to one man that we owe all that we have of the stately and beautiful language of these bold invaders of Italy. The remnant we have from him is not large, but as the residue of those Sibylline books, after the larger number had been burned, still contained the destiny of Rome, so this survival gives us, for philological uses, the Gothic language. To him we owe it that we see this rising up like a patriarch out of the past, and identifying its own laws and lineaments in its successors.

In the Bibliotheque Royale at Paris is a quarto manuscript, on the fine white parchment of which are written in Latin some polemical treatises relating to the Arian controversy of the fourth century. Around its border are what had always passed for unimportant scribblings by the half-preoccupied copyist. In 1840, Waiz, a German scholar, was told that the word *Gothi* occurred in these marginals. He went to work and found in these neglected wastes a Life of Ulfilas, the only known Gothic scholar and author, and the morning-star of the literature of our Teutonic tongues and peoples. It was the work of Auxentius, his ardent friend and reverent pupil.

We do well to make account of the career of this remarkable man. His name, Ulfilas, would now be Wolfson. He was born in Dacia (now Hungary) in 311 A. D., the year of the last

persecution of Christians. His ancestors had been carried away by the Goths in their progress through Asia Minor some generations before this time, but Ulfilas was fully assimilated to the captors of his ancestors, and had become a Goth in tongue, heart, and habit. In his youth great events occurred. Constantine put the cross upon his standard the year after Ulfilas was born; and when the lad was twelve years old, became the first Christian sovereign of the Roman world. The future bishop was still in a rude hut above the Danube—among the young barbarians of his times—when the Council of Nice first formulated the Christian doctrines and the emperor dedicated the great city that bears his name to the Divine Glory.

The northern border of the empire was always restless, so tempting were the fertile southern slopes to the Goths, whose rude energy was in turn exercised by obscure peoples to the north and east of them. Alaric, the Gothic king, failing in some fitful border struggle with the Romans, was obliged to send to Constantinople hostages for his future keeping of the peace. Among these were his own son and Ulfilas, already at twenty-one conspicuous for promising qualities of mind and body that might serve well among his people.

Ulfilas thus came to the metropolis, and there, with, as it would seem, occasional visits to his kinsmen beyond the river, he was resident for ten successive years. During this period he made himself an effective master of Greek. What still more shaped his course, inspiring, too, his zeal for learning, was that he became a convert to Christianity. His conversion was something more than a languid acquiescence. He was at once aflame with missionary zeal; he longed for the saving of his kindred according to the flesh. His first churchly duty was in serving as reader. He took charge of the sacred volumes, and unrolling them at divine service, he read to the congregation lessons from the gospels, and from the epistles of St. Paul. Of these he was not silent on his visits to his home in the North. Out of the abundance of a full heart his mouth would speak.

Now came, in the progress of these duties, the hour appointed to call him to his task. The great thought, like the rising of the dawn, flushed over all his mind: "Why not write into words the sounds of my home-born Gothic speech and put into the words the sense of these sacred rolls?"

It was an undertaking beyond the range of an ordinary mind. Nothing of the sort had been done in Europe since the dim legendary day of Cadmus. The missionaries, who have in our century done so much of this work, could say how hard it is (as was found in the Sandwich Islands) to arrest the vocal utterances of one people and symbolize them in the alphabet of another. In our century Sequoyah, a Cherokee, with whom had lodged some seed of genius that nature had cast upon the wandering wind, created for his people an alphabet representing the eighty-six sounds of which the language is composed. As soon as a Cherokee boy has learned this alphabet he can read, and boys have done this in a single day. Each character stands for a syllable. Ulfilas had from his knowledge of Greek a clear advantage over the unlettered (for such he literally was) Cherokee. He had also the lively inspiration of evangelical motives, while Sequoyah had only the irrepressible spirit of invention. Still, to the Goth came this double task, that after he had mastery of the vocal habits of his people—had made a scientific capture of the sounds and had framed them into words—the work of translation remained to be done. From all this Ulfilas never shrank, and to him belongs the abiding honor of making an alphabet (partly by creating, partly by adapting) and giving his brave barbarians the Scriptures in the tongue to which they were born. His work seemed in a literary way an enlargement of Pentecost, and his zeal and genius, taking the place of the Gift of Tongues, made an era in Church progress.

Of the following life of this true saint some brief note may here be properly made. Contemporary history tells us how "at thirty he took in hand the aforesaid nation of the Goths." For seven years he labored among them north of the Danube. Bitter persecution of himself and his converts arose from his own countrymen, and, "after the glorious martyrdom of many," he was allowed by the Emperor Constantius to bring his suffering but steadfast flock south of the river to a peaceful home among the Balkan Mountains. For this the emperor called Ulfilas "the Moses of his day." If, as tradition runs, Moses not only led the exodus, but had previously invented the alphabet, then the imperial compliment was doubly merited. This persecution is attributed to a "judge who, like Gideon in Israel, ruled

the Gothic world," perhaps the mighty, half-shadowy Hermanric, whose domain at his death (at the age of one hundred and ten) touched both the Black Sea and the Baltic. Ulfilas's people were now called the Lesser Goths.

He labored among these thirty-three years longer, carrying on also his literary work, of which his translation of the Bible was not the whole, amid controversy, persecution, and even exile. The disciple was as his Lord. He never shrank through suffering from his toil to reform the behavior as well as to enlighten the understandings of his countrymen. Gambling and drunkenness were the besetting sins of the Goths, (one might add, "unto this day!") not easily laid aside by the converts even when they had taken Jehovah in place of Wuotan (Odin), and were looking to an eternity in the Zion of life and peace, and not in the Walhalla of revelry and carnage. In doctrine he held with the Arians, that "there was a time when the Son was not." Such, however, had been the sweetness of his zeal and the faithfulness of his toil, that when he died in the beginning of A. D. 381 at Constantinople, in attendance on the second General Council, devout men of all views reverently waited upon his funeral rites, mourning the bereavement of the Church and glorifying God in him.

Great men and great events marked the fourth century. It was the age of Diocletian and Constantine, of Ambrose and Jerome, of the founding of Constantinople and of the building of the Church (now Mosque) of St. Sophia; of making the Roman empire Christian, and of fixing the formulas of Church doctrine. But we look through it in vain for a nobler man than Ulfilas, or a greater work of love for the mortal millions than he achieved in his fifty years of toil. Soon after his death the Christian Goths at the Eastern Metropolis had become so many that Chrysostom, the bishop, provided for them there a church with service in their own language, and this, which Ulfilas had made possible, was his monument upon the ground where he had been converted.

And what is the Gothic of Ulfilas? It is the widest dialect of that Low German group from which our English is a lineal development, in which it was in his day enveloped. That Gothic was for a while supposed to be the primitive, parental Teutonic, because it alone of the Teutonic family could be

traced to the fourth century. Ulfilas belonged to the Visigoths, or Western Goths, but his translation was intelligible to all the Gothic tribes, and was used by them as they advanced into Spain and Italy, and under the name of Lombards, Vandals, and the like, built states out of the fragments of the Roman Empire. Indeed, in the days of Justinian, when the Eternal City was five times taken and retaken, one might have thought the Goths were to have permanent dominion in the West. Nor might that have been a misfortune to mankind. Theodoric, who about a hundred years after the death of Ulfilas led his Goths from the Danube and planted them as masters in Italy, was as brave and wise and good as any who have ever ruled in that fair land. He was a hero, coming from a race of kings. In his love of learning and of the arts he closely resembled the great scholar of his race. Following Ulfilas in his Arian views, he was still, as a sovereign, generous to the Catholics, and under him the Bishop of Rome assumed the venerable name of POPE. He died in broken penitence, for faults which he upon false testimony had been led to commit, and his tomb, built by his daughter near Ravenna, commemorates the best and noblest ruler of Italy from the beginning until this day. Ulfilas and Theodoric, thus issuing from the same region in successive centuries, show the possibilities of their race, and insure it an honorable fame.

The Gothic kingdoms were crushed in following times by the collisions of the three giant powers soon dominating the world, the Eastern Empire, the Saracens, and the Franks. The Scriptures in their tongue served them well for five hundred years, the distance between Wiclif's Bible and our own day. In the ninth century Ulfilas's Bible, and his Goths, vanish in mist and darkness.

The workman founded his Gothic alphabet on the Greek. Thus "gg" sounds as *ng*. "Gaggats in haim," *go into the village*. He uses two letters which we could well use in English, one for the sound of *th* in *this*, the other for the sound of *th* in *thin*—two valuable sounds of which our language has almost the monopoly. It needed patience, toil, and genius to catch the "harsh, whistling, grunting northern guttural" and aspirates and diphthongs, and present them to the eye in these symbols, and then to teach the secret of these symbols to his

blue-eyed, bright-haired pupils, who should proceed to teach in their turn other blondes also.

The word-forms of the Gothic are full and stately. Thus *had*, the past of *have*, is:

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	
habaida,	habaidedum.	I have—did, etc.
habaides,	habaideduth.	
habaida,	habaidedun.	

The likeness of this Gothic to our English is not hard to see. Take John vi, 60: "Hardu ist thata waurda; whas mag this hausjan?" Here remember how even inside of English *s* and *r* interchange (vulgar "dass not" for *dare not*), and we recognize "hausjan" as *hear: Hard is that word; what (man) may it hear?* The Lord's Prayer in Gothic begins: "Atta unsar thu in himinam, Veihnam namō thein." Here "Atta," *Father*, is our word *Daddy*, a term deserving more reverence than it gets, and is very tenacious of life on its plebeian level. The Sanskrit "pri," *to love*, and "pi," *to hate*, changing their initial by uniform law, occur in Gothic, and their participles "frijands" and "fijonds" give us *friend* and *fiend*. The Sanskrit "maha," Greek "μέγαλ," is in Gothic, "micils," and in Scotch-English *mickle* or *meickle*. "Ni ogs thus, Mariam!" *Not fear thou, Mary!* shows the source of *ogre*, a thing of terror. The Saxon of the Scotch Lowlands has kept many Gothic words. "He gangeth to his bairns" is almost equally Scotch and Gothic; so the north of England was peopled from the Goths of Scandinavia. "Sah hliftus ist," *he is a thief*, shows in "hliftus" the origin of *shop-lifting*, thieving from a sales-room. "Swiltan," *to die*, is our *wilt;* "sprauto," *quickly*, gives our *spry*. The Greek "δακρυ" is in Gothic "tagr," English, *tear*. Here, as in many other cases, is a valuable link in the chain of our etymologies, arresting, just before it vanished, the element that identifies the ancient word with the modern, as well as two apparently unlike modern words with each other. Thus *tear* and the French "larme" have only *ar* in common, yet, tracing one through the Gothic and the other through the Latin, we find them coinciding in the Sanskrit "daçru." *By and by*, of our Authorized Version, is in Ulfilas "suns," *soon*. From these specimens, which might be far more copiously given, we see the relation of the Gothic to our

English. If we call the speech of Alfred a thousand years ago old English, we may fairly call that of Ulfilas fifteen hundred years ago an older English. It is not the oldest, the original Teutonic with which our far ancestors left their Asian home. That "by the way-side fell and perished." The Gothic is the nearest to that that we can ever hope to find. It brings us where we can see how from one fountain flowed divergent streams of language, and how from one of these streams, as from an irrigating canal, branched off our own. In fact, we have in the Gothic the English of the fourth century.

In this well-nigh primal English the gospel of Matt. v, 41, runs as follows: "Jah jabai hvas thuk ananâuthâi rasta áina, gaggais mith imma tvos"—*And if who thee on-compel rest one, go with him two.* Here all are English words: "Jabai" is *gif*, if; "nauthai" is *need: Yes if who* (*any*) *on-need thee.* "Rest" (σταθμός) equals *mile*, reckoned by resting-place. The only peculiarities are in the active sense of *need* and the indefinite sense of *who* (*si quis*).

Can we learn any thing of the probable history of this English before Ulfilas? Does the study of language open any rift in the cloud that settles over the entrance of the Teutons into Europe?

The word "Asia" may itself serve as a clew to possibilities which, even if they cannot be turned to shapes of historic certainty, do at least give our ideas a broad and reasonable exercise. "Asi" is from the root "as," *to be*, a root of wide and well-known occurrence. This word "Asi" serves as a curious connective between the Teutonic and the other Aryan religions. It means *those who are the Beings;* that is, the gods. In the northern mythology these Asi (Æsir) came in with Odin (Wuotan) from the East. The uniform traditions are that they came from "Asen-land," and "Asia" is the Land of the Asi or gods, the Holy Land. The first definite place of the Asi is Asgaard (ward, precinct, garden of Asi) a metropolis near the river Don, in south-eastern Europe. This Asgaard seems to have been for ages a center for the race and the most sacred shrine of its worship. Pausanias says that there was at Colchis, east of the Black Sea, a temple of Minerva, Asia. Another name for this goddess in Aristophanes is "Asana,"

that is, the Sanskrit, "Ahanâ," Greek "Athenæ," *The Dawn*, a name arising from some confusion of the poet's ideas. All this indicates the worship of the Asi to have arisen before the dispersion of our linguistic family.

This legend of Asgaard goes to fix a long sojourn of Teutons north and east of the Black Sea. Such sojourn is made more probable by geographical terms found in the region. "Caucas (us)" is *the holy mountain, mountain of a god*, which serves to explain its appearance in the Greek legend of Prometheus. "Ph-as (is)" and "Az-oph" are *sacred waters*, a river and a sea ("pha" is traceable in Sanskrit) which latter retains its name to this day.

According to the best of the light gathered from the misty by-gone, it was Berich who first led the worshipers of the Asi westward from these Black Sea regions. They made their way to Scandinavia and the Baltic, pressing the Celts down upon Italy. Branches from their stock, identifiable by their huge stature, blue eyes, and flaxen hair, made their homes along the Rhine and became the "Germani," *the Spearmen*, of Cæsar and Tacitus. Filimer, the fifth in descent from Berich, went back from Scandinavia to reconquer from the Scythians the land from which his ancestors had come westward, "the remote region fringing the Black Sea." Into this Teutonic range Darius, five centuries before our era, may have penetrated.

We next come to the migration of Odin, Woden, or Wuotan. By this name is known the deity common to all the Teutonic races, the god of loud-sounding fury in war, the keeper of ways bounds, the inventor of letters (the characters called Runes), and the ancestor of all its kings. Wednesday, Woden's Day, perpetuates his name in modern times.

In all legends and at every turn of events we seem to meet some development of this universal personage. To him is assigned the second movement from the region of the Crimea to Scandinavia, by which the pivot of the race was definitely fixed in north-western Europe. His return to the land which Berich had won and Filimer abandoned is usually reckoned near the Christian era, but among events so shadowy dating must be done with a generous margin.

We saw how in the days of Ulfilas the Goths were stretching

from the Black Sea to the Baltic along the north of the Danube. In 863 Eric the Red founded the empire of Russia, giving it thus a Gothic origin, and to-day Asgaard, the first Teutonic home in Europe, as well as a part of the primitive Aryan seat in Central Asia, belongs to the race that held them in the dim, gray dawn of history.

So it has come to pass in the process of the ages that Odin's prophecy has come true, as it is given in the Icelandic "Heymskringlia," *the Chronicle*, of Snorro Sturleson: "Odin, having foreknowledge and magic sight, knew that his posterity would come to settle and dwell in the northern half of the world." This prophecy is said to have been uttered "when the Roman chiefs were going wide around the world, subduing to themselves all people."

It is on the whole as clear as any thing can be, in the dimness of half-history, that our Teutonic race spent ages and generations in the Caucasus, "near Asgaard, the capital of the country east of the Tanais." (Sturleson.) The soil of the Crimea, which English blood has in our own century moistened so freely, was long, long ago mingled with the dust of the English soldiers' ancestors. The forms and features of the tribes now living in the Caucasus go to confirm this view. In striking contrast with the races that surround them, they retain in purity and beauty the Teutonic type that illustrates their kinship with the north-western nations. Indeed, these, their kindred, have degenerated, and we find in the old home a physical perfection surpassing not only that found among the other branches of the Teutonic race, but even any other in the wider family of mankind. If they have lost the flaxen of their hair, it is just what Niebuhr affirms with surprise as taking place under his own eye in Germany within this century of ours, and with no assignable cause. The speech of the Caucasus is not now Teutonic, but the case is in this respect like that of France, where the Latin has been brought in upon a people known to be Celtic, giving not merely tint, but ground-work, to their speech, and the Frankish conquerors giving up their own vocabulary, and even their grammar, for this Celt-tinted Latin.

In the Crimea proper the resemblance of language confirms what that of physical appearance suggests. The "Tartars" of the Crimea (not to be confounded with Turks or Moguls) use

words, of which a long list might be given, almost identical with the words of Ulfilas or of our modern English.

Thus we have out of many the following, which tell for real relationship:

CRIMEAN.	GOTHIC.	ENGLISH.
Hus,	Hus,	House.
Reghen,	Rign,	Rain.
Silvir,	Silvihr,	Silver.
Stul,	Stols,	Stool.
Sune,	Sunno,	Sun.
Lachen,	Hlagan,	Laugh.
Handa,	Handus,	Hand.

There is also a coincidence interesting, though not serving as evidence between these Crimeans and the Saxons, in their fondness for the horse. The horses of the Don (Tanais) have ancient fame. The Saxons came to England under the sacred banner of the white horse; their leaders were by tradition Hengist (stallion) and Horsa, and horseflesh was eaten at their religious festivals. A noble horse gives to Englishman and Crimean alike "a touch of nature" enough to make them kin.

As the Gothic is before us, and while we are yet looking it dissolves and vanishes. Then from a lost member of its family, a Low German, so called from the region where we find its progeny (not the Low German of a later day), issue two related forms of speech. One, the Frisic, was probably that of the Frisii of Tacitus, living east of the mouth of the Rhine, where now is West Friesland. The other, the Saxon, we know by its two descendants, the old Saxon and the Anglo-Saxon. This old Saxon was spoken in the territory south of the Frisic, between the Rhine and the Elbe, in Hanover, Brandenburg, and as far as to the foot of the Hartz Mountains. We have historical proof of it in an important record, a Christian poem, "Heliand," *Healer, the Saviour*. This is extant in two manuscripts, now more than a thousand years old, and makes the language well known to us. Its forms do not greatly differ from those of the Anglo-Saxon, but in pronunciation it was very different, and the vowel system was much simpler. Of the High German we take our leave on leaving the parent Gothic, as our line runs along the Low German. On this line we find the modern Dutch directly descended from the old Saxon, and among all the European tongues of to-day it is nearest of kin to our English.

If in the fifth or sixth century one had journeyed from the

Alps to the North Cape he would almost every day hav caught some new form of Teutonic speech. The old High Ge man was on the upper Rhine; the old Saxon, the Frisic, th dialects of the Angles and the Jutes, he would have heard as h passed along. The Norse languages, the Danish, Norwegian Swedish, and Icelandic, "*ab uno discite omnes.*" All these wer of one great family, with a sisterly likeness and unlikeness. H who knew one would hardly have needed an interpreter amon the others. Of alphabetical writing he would have seen littl or none.

"Rona," *secret*, a Gothic word, gives the name Runic to system of signs, practically an alphabet, of sixteen character devised among the Gothic races in north-western Europe. Th date of their invention is past finding out, but they are not t be confounded with the Druidic symbols. Their full name i "Run-stafas," *mystery characters.*

The Runes have a stiffness and simplicity of shape such as i easy to carve, and when in the sixth century the Roman letter came to be used, these were still cut upon tombstones, sword hilts, and the like.

A Runic carving on a rock by a lake in Sweden was declare by the great Berzelius to be breakings and erosions of the stone but it was afterward translated. A Danish pirate cut upon marble lion in Athens a Runic record of his visit, and it ma now be seen in Venice. From their use by these sea-rovers th Runes at length came to be regarded as symbols of heathen violence and barbarism, and then of sorcery and magic. Al Christianized people discarded them, for the Roman character came in with Christianity and seemed a part of it. The word "Rune" came to mean in English *whisper*. It was also use of the chirping and chattering of birds, as being to human ea mysterious and unintelligible. It means, too, *private conversa tion*, and even Ulfilas says, "runa nemun," *they took counsel* Its last appearance in English seems to be in a participial form *whispering, rounding*, for *whispering round.* (Winter's Tale Hammer's amendment.)

So came our English to the North Sea shore. From Schles wig, where a little district still wears the name, long since known around the world, it made its way, *per varios casus*, to England and to ourselves.

Art. IV.—LUTHER AS BIBLE TRANSLATOR.

[Adapted from the German: An Address delivered before the Evangelical Union by Prof. E. Riehm, D.D., of the University of Halle.]

Among the blessed gifts which, through Dr. Martin Luther, the grace of God bestowed upon the German people, the German Bible may be mentioned as the greatest and noblest. It has been asked, and with abundant reason, if among the blessings of the Reformation this one had been wanting, what would have become of the others? It is then most befitting that our people in this jubilee year, the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth, before every thing else should recall again to their minds what a great, imperishable treasure—a treasure which never grows old—they possess in the Bible of Luther. As one fleeting hour will not suffice to point out from all sides the great value of this treasure, I shall have to confine myself to some of the principal points. And as I can neither hope to illustrate my remarks sufficiently nor have the time to support them with citations, allow me, therefore, to call attention at the very beginning to a book which is not nearly as well known as it deserves to be—a book which no evangelical theologian should leave unread. I refer to the work of Dr. Georg Wilhelm Hopf: "The Value of Luther's Translation of the Bible as Compared with the Older and More Recent Translations." *

It would be contrary to Luther's spirit if we were to speak of his merits as Bible translator without at the same time mentioning his faithful co-workers. In January 13, 1522, he wrote from the Wartburg to Amsdorf: "It is a great work, worthy of our united labors, because it is for the common welfare." And again: "I will not touch the Old Testament unless you take a part and assist." He says, in his "Table-talk," † speaking of Jerome: "He would not have done amiss had he associated with himself in this work of translation one or two learned men, for the Holy Ghost would have manifested himself more powerfully according to the words of Christ: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I shall be in the

* "Würdigung der Lutherischen Bibelverdeutschung mit Rücksicht auf ältere und neuere Uebersetzungen." Von Dr. Georg Hopf, Nürnberg, 1847.

† Luther's Works, 57, 4.

midst of them.'" "Translators ought not to be alone, fo proper expressions do not always occur to one man." In th preface to the Old Testament of 1523, he writes: "In short though we all labored together, yet all of us had enough worl on the Bible in order to bring it to light, one with the meanin of the text, another with the language to express it. I am no the only one who has worked upon it, but on the contrary, have pressed into service all those I possibly could."

Melanchthon, above all, was his helper from the start. H revised Luther's work done at the Wartburg before passing i through the press. He, in his turn, enlisted the aid of sympa thizing learned men, especially Joachim Camerarius and Geor Sturz, a physician of Erfurt, to aid in questions of archæology such as that of coins and measures mentioned in the New Tes tament, as well as to assist Luther in giving a "finer finish" (ausfeilen) to his translation. It seems, however, that the hast with which he pushed on the work did not allow him sufficien time. At least, on the rendering of the Greek text, even whe the Latin exactly corresponded with it, there was a great num ber of minor inaccuracies, of but little importance so far as th sense was concerned, which were not corrected until the thor ough revision of the New Testament that appeared in a de cidedly improved edition in 1530.* This was the joint worl of Luther and Melanchthon; and the correction of the above mentioned inaccuracies for the most part, according to al probability, must be placed to the credit of the latter. No one of the canonical or apocryphal books of the Old Testamen was published until the translation had been carefully exam ined by Magister Philippus. So necessary did the co-operatio of his friend appear to Luther, that he suspended work upo the Prophets as long as Melanchthon, being absent at the secon Diet of Spiers (1529), was hindered from helping him. It wa a mistake of Chytræus to suppose that Luther did not translat the two books of Maccabees, but rather that it was the work o Melanchthon.† Luther, by means of correspondence, receive counsel and direct assistance from Spalatin in the selection o

* See Bindseil u Niemeyer's Dr. M. Luther's Bibelnebersetzung nach der letze Original ausgabe. Halle, 1845–1855.

† Compare H. Schott. Geschichte der deutscher Bibelnebersetzung Dr. Marti Luthers. Leipzig, 1835, p. 34f. 41.

some appropriate German expressions, such as the names of precious stones and animals.*

Besides Melanchthon, his principal assistants on the Old Testament were M. Aurogallus, who, upon Luther's recommendation, had been called as teacher of Hebrew to Wittenberg; and in translating the prophets, Caspar Cruciger, installed at Wittenberg in 1528.† These Hebraists afforded him much help by comparing the so-called Chaldee paraphrases and the rabbinical commentaries; for Luther's knowledge of these—as his "Enarrationes in Genesen" prove—was purely indirect, almost altogether borrowed from Nicholas de Lyra, but occasionally also from Jerome and St. Pagninus.‡ Finally, we learn from Matthesius that a thorough revision of the entire translation of the Bible, and especially of the Old Testament, was undertaken by a weekly conference styled by Luther "A Sanhedrin of the best people existing at that time." This work was commenced by Luther in 1539; the fruit of it came to light in 1541. Regular members of this conference were Melanchthon, Cruciger, Aurogallus, Bugenhagen (well versed in the Latin Bible), Justus Jonas, and Magister Georg Roerer, proofreader at the Lufft's printing establishment. Sometimes learned men from a distance took part in the deliberations, namely: Dr. Bernhard Ziegler, of Leipsic, and Dr. Johann Forster, whose opinion in regard to difficult passages was ever welcomed by Luther. But with whatever gratitude Luther may have recognized the co-operation of his friends, and however much he may have praised them to the world, he nevertheless had perfect right to say of his translation, "It is my Testament and my translation, and shall remain mine." All the creative work belonged to him; that of his coadjutors consisted only in assisting in embellishing (ausfeilen) and emending particular portions, and even these finishing strokes and emendations were overwhelmingly Luther's own work—a work to which he applied himself with restless zeal and conscientious carefulness during his whole life. His assistants regarded him at all times as the Bible translator whom God had called, and who alone was equal to the great task.

* Compare Schott, p. 34. 89 f. † *Ibid.*, 69, 88.

‡ Comp. Siegfried: Raschis Einfluss auf Nikolaus v. Lyra und Luther in der Auslegung der Genesis in Merx Archiv für wiss. Erforsch. des A. Ts., I, 428, ff.; II, 39, ff.

In order to appreciate fully this master-work of Luther, one must represent to himself the great task which had been undertaken. Whoever is acquainted, even in a limited degree, with the ideas prevalent in his time regarding the work of translation, must admire him as the gifted pioneer, having clear and certain apprehension of his duties. There was a German Bible before Luther's. The oldest known MS. of this is in Leipsic, and was written in 1343 by Matthias (Martin?) von Beheim, a monk of (our) Halle. Up to the year 1518 no less than fourteen different editions of this translation had been printed in the High German. It was a translation of the Vulgate, in which, without any clear apprehension of the genius either of the Latin or of the German language, the Latin text was imitated mechanically and with slavish literalness, and very often wholly misunderstood. If, then, the Vulgate did often render the original text, especially in the Old Testament, in poor and sometimes unintelligible Latin, we can easily see that in such a German translation the true sense of many words must, in numberless passages, have been completely concealed, and it is not difficult to understand why Matthesius calls the German Bible, which he had read in his youth, "un-German (undeutsch), vague, and obscure." The same lack of intelligence and taste meet us also in the contemporaneous translations of Sallust, Livy, Virgil, and Pliny: for example, *patres conscripti* is translated, "O ye written together fathers!"

That Luther did not undertake a translation of the Vulgate, but rather of the original text, is not singular, for in this he merely followed the intellectual current which was produced by the study of the "humanities." But his complete deliverance from the chains of ecclesiastical authority, as well as his great courage and his faith in God, were also necessary in order that he, as translator of the Bible, should follow this current, and be enabled to bid defiance to the numerous and violent accusations of his opponents, who claimed that he had forsaken "the approved old text of the Christian Church." Besides, there were whole mountains of difficulties to be scaled, arising from the low condition of philology and exegesis at the time; and again, one must not lose sight of the limited and inadequate helps at his command. He declares, and that repeatedly, how he and his helpers had to sweat (schwitzen) and trouble themselves,

especially in translating Job and the Prophets, and how very difficult the work became; sometimes the feeling came over him that he had undertaken too much in attempting to translate the Old Testament into German. If we would know how well, in spite of all hinderances, he succeeded in giving a correct rendering of the original text, as is clear on its face, we must take this advanced and enlightened age as our standard of comparison. The other translations of the Bible in that age, and especially the best one of them, the Latin Church Bible, must be taken as standards with which to compare Luther's. He had a perfect right to say, that though he could not boast of having accomplished all he wished, his German Bible in many places was clearer and more correct than the Latin. It is true, that in connection with the Septuagenta he made constant use of the Vulgate, with which he was perfectly familiar since his stay at Erfurt, as one of the chief helps in gaining a correct understanding of the original. His translation, especially in its first form, is for that reason quite dependent upon the Vulgate or Septuagenta in passages where these have misapprehended the original; and even when Luther differs from the Vulgate, he is led to this less by the original than by the incorrect Latin translation.* But even in the first editions it would be difficult to find that his dependence upon the Vulgate resulted in the expression of ideas foreign to the Bible. The only exception is Heb. viii, 16, and, perhaps, Tobit vi, 19–23, and viii, 4. But even in the first edition of Luther's New Testament, so numerous were the differences from the Vulgate — corrections based upon the original text—that his adversaries could not make too much ado about the matter.† His corrections of the Vulgate in the Old Testament, owing to his superior understanding of the original text, are far more numerous. The emendations contained in the later editions proved that Luther became less and less dependent upon the old translators, and that he continually advanced toward a more correct understanding of the original.‡

* For example, Gen. vi, 3, ff.; Isa. ii, 22; xxviii, 19.

† In Emser's New Testament we find 607 passages cited.

‡ Compare Matt. ix, 16; xxiii, 25; Mark ix, 40; Luke xvi, 22, in Bindseil's Kulischer Bibelausgabe.

Nevertheless, though so largely influenced by the Latin or Greek Bible, there are even in the final edition plenty of passages wherein the true meaning has been misunderstood; and it cannot be denied that in some places the old translations are better than Luther's. And passages are not wanting where his earlier translation was better than the later. His untiring effort, with which he was never satisfied, was always intent upon reproducing as faithfully as possible the sense of the original. His earnestness in this is further shown by the fact that he did not disdain to avail himself of the translations of those who had been spurred on in such work by his own example, even though they were men of so ill a repute as Hetza and Johann Denk. These two had anticipated him with a translation of the Prophets, published at Worms in 1527.* He even accepted instructions from his slanderous critics whenever he found any thing good and correct in them; though he nicknamed them, "Meister Klügling (Mr. Wiseacre) and päpstliche eselköpfe" (papal dunces). Upon reading Wicel's just criticism, he was induced to set aside false translations intended against the Papists.† He was influenced in some cases by the "bungler" ("Sudlers") Emser, and even misled, so as to exchange a better for a poorer translation, as in Phil. iii, 20; for, but "our citizenship is in heaven," of the first edition, is nearer the original than, "our manner of life [Wandel] is in heaven," of Emser—corresponding to the Vulgate, and since 1530 accepted by Luther. He also replaced "bessert euch" (do better), of the first edition, with the old ecclesiastical expression, "Thut Busze," which may mean *do penance*, but can be translated, *repent*. He also substituted the usual Latin terminations of proper names for the Greek ones found in the earlier editions. I cannot enter any further into the question of the relation of Luther's translation to the Hebrew text. But as a further proof of how earnestly he strove to ascertain the true sense of the original text, independent and regardless of tradition, I will only remark that he by no means relied simply upon the Masoretic points. He knew too well that Moses and the prophets did not

* Compare Schott, pp. 50, 54, 76. Hopf, p. 96, f.

† Compare the different editions on Jon. ii, 9; Hos. iv, 8; Jer. iv, 27; Isa. xl, 10; Hos. vii, 8. See also Schott, p. 140, and Hopf, pp. 108, ff., 273, ff.

write these points. He regarded them as the modern inventions of men (Menschenfündlein), and he suspected that the Jews in their hatred for Christ, occasionally by means of these additional points endeavored to conceal the true sense. Not seldom, and that in passages where his Christological views did not enter, he sought most diligently, without any regard for the *supra* and *infra scriptum* of the Rabbis, to ascertain the true sense of the Hebrew consonants; for example, Psa. cxviii, 12; Isa. ix, 5. He also examined most carefully the rabbinical expositions known to him, and wherever he differed from them he sought to justify his translation. Only in a very few isolated passages, where in spite of the utmost effort he was unable to arrive at the true meaning with any degree of certainty, or where the controversies of the learned regarding the sense of obscure words seemed to him, as far as religion and the faith were concerned, altogether meaningless, did he desist from further investigation. In some cases he freely confessed that he had been compelled to guess at the meaning, and declared that he would let the wranglers search for it until the day of judgment; but as for himself he would, in the meantime, continue to understand it as translated by him into German! *

True, one might say that though this masterpiece of Luther was, upon the whole, a far more faithful reproduction of the original text than the Latin Bible of that age, yet his translation, viewed from our present improved facilities for understanding the original as far as accuracy and fidelity are concerned, is now excelled. The Luther Bible, though a masterpiece, is yet the work of a particular period, and, like all human work, subject to change and needing correction. As an exact and accurate rendering of the original, Luther's translation is, beyond doubt, surpassed by many modern ones; nevertheless, many have exaggerated ideas in regard to the lack of agreement between it and the original. After having spent several weeks yearly, for nearly twenty years, in examining whatever may need correction in the translation of Luther, I really think that I ought to know something of the real extent of this lack of agreement. First of all, let us remember that

* Compare Psa. xvi, 2. Evl. Ausgabe 38, 136. Zech. iv, 12. Luther's Works, 42, 222, ff.

Luther understood how to make a distinction between translation and interpretation. This explains why many comments, corresponding to the state of exegesis in his time which we find in his expositions, exerted no influence upon his translation. Thus, let me assure you, the longer I study this matter the more I discover, not only in what high degree Luther had made the Holy Scriptures his own, both in their meaning and spirit, but also how familiar he had become with biblical modes of expression, and how he was thereby enabled with such marvelous certainty to come to a correct understanding of the original text. It is a matter of common experience to find that passages which, on superficial investigation appear to be in need of emendation, on closer inspection turn out to be an excellent German rendering of the real meaning. And quite apart from those passages regarding the true meaning of which the exegetes of our time disagree, but where Luther still has a following, there are also many cases wherein the agreement of our exegesis in rejecting his translation, when subjected to a thorough investigation, is more conventional than well-founded. Moreover, a great part of what needs to be emended, though in itself desirable in order to a more exact understanding of the text, yet in no way directly affects questions pertaining to faith and religion. And, finally, Luther, even in those places where his translation is decidedly incorrect, has often indeed given a sense transcending the meaning of the respective word—not considering, as it were, that revelation was progressive; but in so doing he has given us truths drawn from the Scripture itself as well as from the depths of Christian experience. In confirmation of all this, I venture to appeal to the testimony of my esteemed associates in the work of Bible revision. All of them, like myself, will certainly be of the conviction, that, as far as the correct rendering of the original is concerned, Luther's Bible is, and always will remain, a masterpiece; and that our task as revisers stands essentially in the same relation to him as did formerly the co-operation of his fellow-helpers. We are really his assistants.

The great value of Luther's Bible, and the difficulty of replacing it by means of a new translation in which the original text may be more exactly rendered, becomes very apparent

when we remember his happy faculty for expressing the true meaning after having gained a correct understanding of the original. From a circular letter directed to Wenceslaus Linck, of Nürnberg, and from his pamphlet, "Summarien ueber die Psalmen und Ursachen des Dolmetschens," 1533, we see that he kept clearly before his eyes the necessity of having a Bible for the German people (Volksbibel). That slavish imitation of Latin, Greek, or Hebrew constructions and modes of expression he criticises severely as the ridiculous nonsense of the literalists (Buchstabilisten). Says he: "In undertaking to speak through a translation I want to speak German, not Latin or Greek." And so also of a German translation of the Bible at this time, all intelligent men will demand, before every thing else, a faithful reproduction of the original, yet in such a way as to correspond to the syntax and style of the German language. But, according to our ideal of a good translation, the original text should be imitated as far as possible, even in the mode of expression, when that can be done with clearness and perspicuity, and without violence to the usages of the German language. How far this can take place depends principally upon the design of the translator and upon the readers for whom the translation is designed. Whoever undertakes to reproduce as fully as possible the peculiarities of the original, both in sense and form, so that the individual, no less than the national, impress is clearly seen, must, as far as possible, adapt his own language to that of the foreigner. He should also, as far as practicable, try to imitate the construction, the arrangement of words, the variations of speech, the tropes and figures. And what language is more adapted for this than our plastic German? But however valuable such a translation would be, only a cultivated circle of readers, who are already well versed in the more artistic styles of our language, would be able to appreciate and understand it. Luther's object was altogether different. His purpose was to give God's word to his own dear German people, great and small, educated and uneducated, in their own language—a language that they could understand. Every thing depended upon the true meaning. Thus his chief task was to express it as clearly and intelligibly as possible—the imitation of methods of expression must always yield to this. The practical and popular design of

Luther's translation restrained him from adopting Hebrew and Greek constructions even when the German would allow it. He knew well how to avoid every thing that might be foreign to the clearness and simplicity of speech used and understood by the common people. It is well known that he declared to Spalatin that he could not use words in vogue at castles and courts ("Hof-und Schlosswörter"); and how he wrote to Linck: "One must ask how does the mother speak at home, the children in the street, and the common people in the market, and translate accordingly; then they will understand it, and find that one speaks German with them." Again, he believed that "He who would speak German must not adopt Hebrew modes of expression, but see to it, if he understands the Hebrew, that then he should grasp the sense and afterward ask, How would a German express himself in this case? If he has found appropriate German words for conveying the idea, let the Hebrew words take care of themselves, and let him give freely the best translation possible." Conformably to this principle, he often set aside figures and tropes which were entirely too foreign to the German imagination. He replaced Hebrew and Greek expression, and sometimes, in the book of Proverbs and Jesus Sirach, entire proverbs with the more usual German ones; and where conciseness had rendered the text obscure and unintelligible, he employed circumlocution. In short, he every-where made full allowance for the style of the German popular language and for the intelligence of the common people. In his later editions he takes a greater liberty in methods of statement, though fully conscious of having done so to some extent from the beginning. This is eminently true of the Psalter, a book upon which he had devoted the greatest care. Here by far the greatest number of the later changes aim not so much at a more literal translation as at rendering the text more intelligible and in better German, as Luther explains in his epilogue to the Psalter of 1531. He says that his former edition was nearer the Hebrew and farther from the German, but the new one is nearer the German and farther from the Hebrew.* In a few instances, and only a very few, Luther has gone too far in his efforts to make a thoroughly German Bible; as for the rest, we must agree with

* Compare Schott, p. 67. Hopf, p. 117, f.

Goethe,* that this was the very thing which destined it to become the Bible of the people. None of us would exchange those free translations, where, after all, the real meaning is correctly expressed, with such as in their phraseology are much better imitations of the original text. Nor would any one, relying upon Luther's former translation of Psalm xxxiii, 4, write with Von Meyer and Stier, "His words are pure truth," instead of "Whatsoever He promises that will he certainly keep." Nor even in Psalm lxiii, 6, "Then would my soul become satisfied as if it were with fatness and oil [Feisten], and my mouth would praise with joyful lips," instead of "That would be the joy and delight of my heart, when I should praise thee with a joyful mouth." Nor of Psalm lxiii, 7, "When I remember thee upon my couch, so I think of thee for whole night-watches," instead of "When I lay myself to bed, I think of thee; when I awake, I speak of thee." Compare also the following (Psalm lxxiii, 25, 26): "Whom have I in heaven? and upon earth nothing pleases me when I am with thee. My flesh and my heart waste away. God is the safety of my heart and my portion forever," with a later translation: "Provided I have thee I do not ask for heaven and earth; and although my body and soul waste away, yet thou art always God, the comfort of my heart and my portion."

It would be a great mistake to think that Luther made no effort to copy after the modes of expression or construction of the original. It is exactly here he shows his great skill; for he succeeded marvelously in doing this and at the same time in writing good German. This is especially true of some expressions and phrases (Redewendungen). Whenever a word, a term, or a figure suffices for the full expression of the meaning of the religious feeling, or frame of mind, or the various character

* "That this excellent man (Luther) handed down a work composed in the most different styles, and gave us a poetical, historical, commanding, didactic tone in our mother tongue, as if all were cast in one mold, has done more to advance religion than if he had attempted to imitate in detail the peculiarities of the original. In vain has been the subsequent endeavor to make Job, the Psalms, and other lyrical books, capable of affording enjoyment in their poetical form. For the multitude upon whom the effect is to be produced a plain translation always remains the best. Those critical translations which vie with the original really only seem to amuse the learned among ourselves." — *Goethe's Autobiography*, part iii, book xi.

and circumstances of the inner life, then Luther adheres
the word. For he could not allow that even a particle of th
meaning of the divine word should be lost. In a circular le
ter to Linck he says: "Yet, on the other hand, I have n
allowed the letters to go too freely, but I, as well as my assi
ants, have always been very careful to retain even the ver
letter wherever that appeared of any consequence, and
should have preferred to let the German suffer, than to depa
from the word." And in his treatise upon the causes of th
translation, he says: "Sometimes we translated absolute
literal, although we might have done differently and bette
because it was important to give the exact words." He cit
as instances: John vi, 27, "Him hath God the Father *sealed*
where *designed* or *purposed* would have been better; also Ps
lxviii, 19, "Thou hast captured the captivity," where "Tho
hast redeemed the captives or prisoners," although bett
German, yet does not express the fine rich sense of the Hebrew
He also incidentally justifies other expressions literally tran
lated!* He further says: "We had to retain such words o
doctrinal grounds and for the relief of our conscience, and w
had to familiarize ourselves with them, and thus give place
the Hebrew wherever it does better than the German ca
possibly do." In the Psalter, where he has translated mo
freely, he boasts that he has weighed every word with th
greatest care (auf der Goldwage gehalten), and then with th
utmost diligence and faithfulness has translated it into Germa
Thus through Luther quite a number of Hebrew expressio
have been introduced into the general, and still more into th
ecclesiastical, language of Germany. Not only in isolated pa
sages, where the sense demanded, did he conform to th
original, but he also fully apprehended the work before hin
and conformably to the prescribed object often imitated in
masterly way the mode of statement in the original. Th
richness of his religious experience, his keen perceptive faculty
his readiness to understand whatever moves the human hear
his clear sense of every thing great, beautiful, and holy, h
natural eloquence, his acquired mastery over the German la
guage, his high practical endowment, qualified him to reproduc
the varied shades of meaning and the peculiar cast of biblica

* Compare Hopf., p. 255.

language in a fine, lucid, and often unexcelled manner. In a strain of ever-recurring changes, his language wonderfully conforms to the mode of statement as well as to the sense of the original. Now in the even tone of the narrator, or the more quiet language of instruction; now in that of emotion, alive with fire, or soaring aloft in the realm of poetry; now in brief, pithy, and terse sentences; and again with an easy, graceful fullness of diction. Take, for example, the lamentation of David for Jonathan, 2 Sam. i, what a fervent and touching expression of feeling do we find there! Take again the announcement of Jehovah's judgment day, Isa. ii, how shrill and piercing the words! How fully expressed is the anguish of that heart crying to God from the depth of sin, and how great the joy of him who hath found pardon! How full of consolation and assurance to the heart such words of mercy as: "Although a woman might forget her little child, yet I shall never forget thee!" And how happily has he rendered the beautiful language of the book of Job! Take, for example, the magnificent description of the battle-horse. It was indeed a well-deserved praise of Duke George of Anhalt, when he boasted that in Luther's Bible, "even David and the holy prophets spoke German as distinctly and intelligently as if they had been accustomed to it from the cradle up."

I must forego the pleasure of speaking at greater length of the simplicity and naturalness, of the power and animation, the richness and dignified beauty of diction in Luther's Bible; of the rhythm and euphony of its language, as well as of the constant care with which he continued to improve it in all particulars. Whoever would like to investigate this point more at length can do so by reading Hopf, pp. 263–293. Those who are well read in Luther's other writings will certainly admire the tact with which he avoided harsh terms in his translation of the Bible, yet even here he always calls every thing by its right name. One cannot help noticing the more refined language in the later editions.* Much could be said of the free thought and critical sense which he manifested, both in the arrangement of the New Testament Scriptures† and in

* Compare the following passages in the first and later editions: Luke xxiv, 14, 15; John i, 15; xi, 43; xii, 44, etc.

† Luther was inclined to accept as Pauline, "The letter to the Laodiceans;"

expunging of unauthentic passages, and sometimes also in the correction of textual errors according to his own conjecture. The same is true of the Old Testament and Apocrypha.*

Only a few more words concerning that which fitted Luther above all others to be a translator of the Bible for the Germans, and renders his Bible a jewel which cannot be replaced. Says he, "In order to translate well, one must have a very pious, faithful, diligent, fearful, Christian, instructed, experienced, and skillful heart."—(Herz.) What above all other things made him a master as Bible translator, was the fact that he more than all others was a hero of faith and of prayer, used to temptation and to victory in the hour of trial, living, as it were, in God's word. He was accustomed daily to find spiritual food in the Holy Bible, consolation in his troubles, counsel in the time of doubt, strength and courage in all his troubles. Almost every day, as Melanchthon testifies, he used to spend a portion of time in reciting psalms, and with them intermingle, with groaning and weeping, his own petitions as well as intercession for the universal Christian Church. He regarded the Bible, not as something that had been spoken in past ages, but as the living word of God spoken particularly to him and his contemporaries. Thus he reproduced out of his own heart, having as it were the tone and impress of holy life. The deep effect produced in his own (inner) life is every-where reflected in his translation. Though, as already mentioned, he knew well how to distinguish between translation and exposition or application, nevertheless throughout his translation he was always intent upon bringing the lasting, practical application as near as possible to the reader. He often, for example, changed the past tense into the present, applying as it were God's dealing with his ancient people to himself. Without doubt, the extraordinary success which his Bible had as soon as it appeared, and the impression which his translation, more than any other up to this day, has made upon every susceptible nature, must be attributed chiefly to the fact of its being the

although the ancient Church had rejected it, it was recognized by Gregory the Great, and often in MSS. of the Middle Ages it was found; also, in the Bible of Worms, 1529, that of Strasburg, 1530, and in some others.

* He was also inclined to recognize the Third and Fourth Books of Ezra and the Third of Maccabees.

fruit of faith and prayer; viewing it in this light we see how easy it is for us, as it was for Luther's contemporaries, to appropriate the written word.

But, certainly—and this should not be concealed—this great excellence of Luther's Bible has its reverse side. The impress of Luther's personality, and of the time when it originated, is stamped upon it in no small degree.

Let us notice a few things. If Luther did seek to obviate some false applications of the word, which were common in his time, it was simply to avoid expressions found in the old German translations, and which were used in justification of ecclesiastical abuses of the time and many pretensions of the clergy. For instance, to the great chagrin of his papal antagonists, he changed in the New Testament the word priest, derived from πρεσβύτερος, into elder; again, the *regere ecclesiam* of the Vulgate, and "die Kirche regreren" of the old German Bible into the more literal "die Gemeineweiden." The word *Kirche* (church), though often used in a good sense, yet owing to the idea which the people connected with it, he always replaced in the New Testament with Gemeinde (community or congregation), and in the Old Testament used it only when referring to heathen temples, or the irregular sanctuaries of the Israelites. Neither was he sparing of various polemical allusions which forced themselves upon him. It is not difficult to see what he is aiming at when he uses the word "Pfaffen" for heathen priests and soothsayers, when he makes the following rubric read: "Neither shall he make baldness upon his head" (Lev. xxi, 5); or when we read a description of the idolatrous priests in Baruch vi, 30: "And the priests sit in their temples in full copes, their beards shorn, and their heads shaved; then they sit with nothing upon their heads. They roar and cry before their gods."

The great intellectual and religious struggle of the Reformation against papal errors and superstitions exerted a more general influence upon the Bible of Luther than any one of the things above mentioned. One feels while reading the Psalms, especially the prayers against enemies and persecutors, that he is carried into the very struggle, occupying the same ground as our great and heroic leader, pouring out his soul before God. "Thou wilt never agree with the iniquitous throne,

which interprets the law wickedly" (Psa. xciv, 20), as well many other such passages in the Psalms, as they open bef us the hearts of the saints under the old dispensation, show more clearly, if possible, where the heart of our German he full of faith, fled for refuge in danger and trouble of all kin Luther very often—no less than eleven times in the Psalm when the original text refers to vain or deceitful language, false doctrine or false teachers, uses the word "*lehren*" teach) instead of "*reden*" (speak).* The cardinal evangeli doctrine, the *sola fide*, which the Reformation was to bring light again, found a permanent place throughout the Bible Luther. He often finds reason against placing any value up external, devotional works; the inventions of men, and especia justification by works; and likewise reasons for justification faith, and salvation through grace, not only in passages wh they really exist, but also, as Emser upbraids him, often in pla where the original has no reference to one or the other. T words, "to preach, preacher, and sermon," favorite expressio of Luther, and so often employed by him, show very clea what value he attached to the sermon, which he considered t most important part of the service. Emser and Wicel proached him repeatedly for that; but their reproach cou not lead him astray, and he even changed his original trans tion, "to call upon the name of the Lord" (Gen. iv, 26), a many like passages, into "to preach of the name of the Lor The Catholics, in course of time, became more reconciled the expression, and were convinced that Luther's translati of Isa. xl, 6: "A voice says preach, and he spoke, What sh I preach?" is better than that of Eck, reproduced from t Vulgate: "The voice of the one speaking exclaimed, Wh shall I exclaim?" Thus we now find "preach" and " preach" adopted by the Catholic translators.

Should one try to lay aside this element of Luther's in viduality and personality, and those things flavoring of the a in which he lived? I reply, in places this would be advisab especially where these are a hinderance to the correct unde standing of the connection or introduce matters entirely t foreign into the text. Generally, however, these must regarded as characteristics rather than deficiencies of the Luth

* See Schroeder's Psalmen, in revidiertem Text. Halle, 1876.

Bible. They often serve to reproduce the real power and life of the original word into the translation. In the Psalms, for example, many prayers, expressions of sorrow or of faith, have an historical basis, namely, the condition of the psalmists as compared with that of their enemies. These are of practical value only when the application is brought home to the German people, and when these things are spiritualized and referred to the arch-enemies of genuine religion and true Christianity in our day; that is, to popish superstition and frivolous skepticism, as long as we have the Romish Church, with its justification by works, to contend with on the one hand, and unbelief and religious indifference on the other. The fact that Luther's Bible gives us this indirect testimony of God's word against them in a clearer light must be regarded as a perpetual excellence, as it still gives the German people the sword of the Spirit, well prepared for the fight against their arch-enemies. The impress of Luther's age and personality is most intimately connected with the chief excellency of his Bible, namely, the fact that in it the word of God is reproduced, full of life, in the spirit of faith and prayer; and the measure of that, by which, in consequence of this reproduction, the imperishable and life-giving energy of the divine word is brought to the human heart is so overwhelming, as to make it impossible for the above spoken peculiarities ever to reduce it into the significance of a great monument to a past ecclesiastical development. Let us, then, regard Luther's translation as that through which the mercy of God has given the word of life for all time to the German people; and with Prince George of Anhalt say, that it is "by special grace and gift of the Holy Ghost," or with Marheinicke, that it was "not brought forth without the living energy of the very same divine Spirit which pervaded its original manuscript."

Of course, Luther's Bible can never obtain the same significance in our Church as the Vulgate has in the Catholic. The accusation of the Papists, that it is regarded by the Lutheran Church as the authentic text, has been refuted most energetically from the beginning, and emphasis has been laid upon the duty as well as the privilege of falling back upon the original text. It certainly needs no false glory. Its immeasurable and blessed importance for the religious and ecclesiastical life

has been fully ascertained, down the centuries, from the da when it first satisfied the hunger of the German people for t Gospel, and, as Cochläus laments, it made even cobblers a ignorant women defenders of the evangelical truth again priests and monks, yes, against masters and doctors. It is we known that De Wette, in his private and family devotions, us Luther's translation and not his own. Other modern theol gians have given substantial testimony of their high appreciatio of this translation, and their preference of it to all others. W ought to give special prominence to another point. Luther Bible, in a great measure, may be regarded as a bond unitin the Protestant Churches of Germany, and from time to time other countries also. Wherever Luther's teachings went, the were followed by his Bible; and where its language was n understood it was translated into the dialect or tongue of th country. Thus, even during Luther's life-time, it was render not only into Plattdeutsch, but also into Danish, Swedis Dutch, and Icelandic.

It is also of much interest to know that its circulation in th Reformed Churches is continually growing. Luther's Bibl from the beginning, was used not only in the German Reforme Church and in Bâle, but also that the principal part of the Z rich Bible was nothing more than a translation of Luther with few changes, into the Swiss dialect: the prophetic an poetical books of the Old Testament and also the Apocryph were, however, the independent work of the Zurich "Pred kanten." But this Zurich version was exclusively used only i a very few cantons, which were dependent upon Zurich; i most of them Luther's Bible was used along with this; whil in quite a number it was used to the exclusion of the Zuric Bible. The circulation of the Zurich Bible so often and, a one must recognize, so carefully revised, continued to decreas as time rolled on; while the unrevised Bible of Luther contin ally gained in favor. This is a fact which demands the mos earnest consideration of all those who are over-zealous for Bibl revisions. Again, the effort of some to make the literal trans lation of Piscator of Herborn the official Bible of the Bernes Church had only temporary success, for it was soon entirel displaced by that of Luther.

Just as the rupture between the Lutheran and Reforme

Churches could not prevent the circulation of Luther's Bible in the latter, even so impossible it was for the Catholic Church to avoid its influence. Not only the Protestants, *but the Catholics as well, have reasons to be grateful for Luther as Bible translator.* It is known that the New Testament of the "very learned" (hochgelehrten) Emser, which Duke George of Saxony introduced into his country instead of Luther's heretical Testament, was, aside from few changes based upon the Vulgate, nothing more than a reproduction of Luther's translation. Justice requires us to remark, that Emser, in his Conclusion, does not attempt to conceal the fact of having used Luther's Testament, at the same time he is very careful not to mention Luther's name, speaking only of the "New Translation." Luther, however, had good reasons for saying: "This is indeed enough for me, and I am glad that my work, as Saint Paul also boasts, is helped on even by my enemies, and that Luther's book without Luther's name is read as the work of his enemies. What better vengeance could I have?" Eck's translation is certainly by far a more independent work, though the German is wretched. It is a servile literal translation, like the pre-Lutheran German Bible, and very closely adhering to the Vulgate. Yet in spite of all that, there are many sections in Eck's translation which, with trifling changes, were evidently reproduced from Luther's. The later Catholic translations of Allioli, Ess, Läck, and others have followed Luther, even in many places where he differed from the Vulgate. They have even set aside some references to regulations of the Catholic Church, for example, the reference to the confession in Psa. c, 4, and, further, they have accepted Luther's text in several passages that had been most severely criticized by Wicel and Eck.* Thus the *approved Catholic* translations of the Bible now in use are to a very great degree dependent upon Luther's, though the source of these corrections has been concealed most carefully.

When we consider the national significance of Luther's Bible, the obligation of our Catholic people to be thankful for Luther as Bible-translator becomes more and more apparent. This is very clearly seen and easily established when reviewed in relation to the German language. Luther, as is well known, has been recognized by our greatest philologists as the real

* 1 Hopf, pp. 145–172.

creator of the New High German written language. True our language, from the time of Ulfilas's great masterwork, had become more and more adapted as a medium for the expression of biblical truth.* But in Luther's time it had fallen entirely into disuse. The formation of words had become clumsy and harsh, forms were rendered discordant by the great number of consonants, foreign constructions had crept in, and thus the construction had become awkward and unwieldy, and, indeed, unintelligible. And how could it be otherwise, since Latin was the language of the Church, as well as of the educated generally? The German language, owing to this mechanical dependence of our people upon the Latin, and at the same time of their barbarous ignorance of its real nature, had become very corrupt, and most of all in the literature of the German Church. Intelligent men saw the danger, and above all others Luther himself. After having finished the translation of the five Books of Moses, he said: "I see now that I have not yet learned my native German language up to this time. I have neither read a book nor even a letter in which correct German was found. No one tries to speak German correctly." Johann Agricola makes a similar complaint: "Nobody, or at any rate very few, can speak German." Besides, in the time of Luther there was a marked difference in dialects; thus German people separated by short distances could not understand the language of one another. The emperors from the 14th century, especially Charles IV. (1327–78), Frederick III. (1440–93), and Maximilian I. (1493–1519), had, indeed, commenced the formation of one united German language for the empire. This language had been accepted by many courts, free cities, courts of justice, and universities, and especially by the electors of Saxony. This, and not the Misnian dialect—as is often erroneously believed—was the one which Luther made the basis for the language of his Bible. He did this in order that both Upper and Lower Germany might understand it. This could only serve as a basis, because it could furnish only a relatively small supply of words and expressions for the Bible of the German people. The superstructure was created by Luther. He gathered the material in a most careful manner, partly from German books (of which up to the year 1520 more than a

* Comp. Hopf, p. 2 ff.

thousand had been printed) and partly from the lips of the people. With his fine philological taste, he formed from such material a more correct and euphonious language; and though no friend of new forms, yet he himself has enriched our language with many expressions which are happily formed and full of meaning. As a Bible translator, he was the pioneer in simplifying the construction of sentences. This recasting of the German language cost him immense trouble and hard work. We learn, from his own words, that he and his assistants often spent two, three, and four weeks trying to find an expression for translating a single word, and sometimes then did not succeed. He also complains of how the prophets—Isaiah, for stance—had stubbornly striven against speaking in the clumsy German tongue. Neither did he succeed in accomplishing every thing at first. So he was untiring in his efforts to improve the German in his later editions.*

His carefulness did not cease with construction and selection of more appropriate expression, but extended even to orthography. His first editions of the New Testament still show a very irregular orthography, rendered quite ungainly by the overabundance of consonants. Perhaps some of these mistakes may be set to the account of the type-setters and proof-readers. Luther, however, after 1530, constantly supplied the orthography, and rendered it more uniform and regular† And how well has he succeeded in his translation of the Bible to bring the German language in all its beauty and richness to a degree of development which may be regarded as a model! His great care in the correct use of German, and purity of language, is more apparent in his Bible than in any of his other works. One can easily comprehend why his contemporary and admirer, Erasmus Alber, calls him "a genuine German Cicero," and "boasts that from the beginning of the world no man has ever spoken or written German better than Luther."‡ The fact that the first popish critics of his translation speak of "Luther's German," gives a conclusive proof of his creative powers in the realm of language. They not only recognized his German as "eloquent and euphonious," but also showed their appreciation in a more palpable way, inasmuch as they have continued to appropriate

* Comp. Hopf, p. 112. † *Ibid.*, 315, ff.

‡ Comp. W. Grimm, "Kurzgefasste Geschichte," u. s. w., § 305.

it more and more. In 1530 Luther could write: "It is n difficult to see that they learn to speak and write Germa from my translation; thus they steal my language also, which they used to be so ignorant; they do not thank me f it, but on the other hand prefer to use it against me. I not begrudge them, for I am pacified when I reflect that have taught even my ungrateful pupils, even my enemies, speak German." It is also known that J. Grimm designates t New High German as "the Protestant Dialect," whose fre dom-breathing nature, long ago, overpowered the poets a writers of the Catholic, though they were not cognizant it. As time went on this Protestant dialect, the language Luther, went out in an ever-widening circle, subduing the di ferent German dialects; at first Upper Germany, where t dialectic declensions of few words and forms soon becam unnecessary; then in Lower Germany, for which the last Plat deutsch Bible was printed in 1621; and finally in Switzerlan where the Zurich Bible was changed into German in 166 True, many different factors have contributed to the develo ment and ever growing diffusion of the New High Germa but beyond controversy, Luther's Bible was by far the mo important factor in giving one language to all the Germa tribes.* No other book has exerted as great an influence up the further development of the written High German languag as Luther's Bible, whose language served as a model to ma of our best authors.† It served to purify it from many foreig words which had been introduced during the 16th and 17 centuries, and to rejuvenize it during the period of our Germa classical writers. And even to-day Luther's Bible serves in va ous ways to suggest corrections in language and orthograph Besides, Luther's Bible, above all other books, continues to exe an ennobling influence upon the language of the common peop of Germany. Says Radlof:‡ "Wherever Luther's Bible w or is read, the language of the lower classes is every-whe more intelligible, accurate, and noble."

* Comp. Th. Mundt in Hopf, p. 305. † Comp. Hopf, p. 226, f. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 23

ART. V.—METHODIST CHURCH POLITY.

METHODIST polity, in some of its features, is common to all divisions of the general body, but this paper treats especially of that of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is the further purpose of this paper to mention only salient points, with brief and practical elucidation, rather than to present an extended historical review or philosophical analysis and criticism.

The word polity, from the Greek *πολιτεῖα*, in its application to nations or states, stands for civil government. In its application to Churches, it denotes their principles and practices of government in theory and administration.

Methodism, doctrinally (of the Wesleyan type), and that which in this country is most largely represented and most successfully propagated by its episcopal branches, has been the same from the beginning. From the organization of our societies, in accordance with Mr. Wesley's methods, the standards of faith, the things accounted fundamental and immutable in Christian belief, without which no organization can claim to be part of the Holy Catholic Church, as well as the things which all along have given to Methodist preaching and teaching a recognized distinctiveness, have not changed. The dogmatic faith of the fathers is the faith of the Church to-day. No new doctrines have been introduced, nor have any of the old been abandoned or essentially modified. And the Church is effectually protected for all time to come against doctrinal novelties by the first restrictive rule of its constitution

But the case is quite different with our polity. That has been a growth, its expansion proceeding gradually with our denominational progress, and, as we believe, under providential supervision. As in England, so in America, Mr. Wesley's word was originally law. Whatever government there was came from him; it is hardly too much to say he maintained for some years an autocratic headship. The rules that were the law for the early Societies he gave and directed to be enforced. These were few and simple, chiefly confined to methods for securing moral discipline among the members, and for promoting the work of religion among the neglected populations to which his preachers were sent. And yet, almost from the

start, they embodied in principle and in inchoate experimen
form not a few of the vital features of the later expanded a
compacted polity of Methodism. The class-meeting, with
financial feature, something from every body for the work
God; the Leaders and Stewards' Meeting; a superintendi
head and chief authority in the direction of the affairs of t
Church; well-defined responsibility on the part of all chu
officers; the concentration of all church agencies through a l
ing connectionalism upon one great end, missionary aggressi
ness; the itinerancy—all these, and more that might be nam
had at least rudimental existence in the rules of Mr. Wesl
and in his own administration of them among the people call
Methodists.

Writing for Methodist readers, such general acquaintan
with our polity may be assumed as to render unnecessary h
more than a merely summarized statement. It can be no l
a reproach to a church member to be without a general kno
edge of his ecclesiastical government than to a citizen to
ignorant of the political government under which he liv
The composition and prerogatives of Quarterly, Annual, a
General Conferences; the duties of those who represent t
several grades of office in the Church, from the chief past
down through the list, and how they are made officers; t
nature of our episcopacy, what sort it is as to ministerial ran
official privileges, and administrative powers; the itinerand
its bearing upon the ministry and laity as to mutual relinquis
ment of original rights and privileges, and its regulated ope
tion; the judicial system of our economy, by which church
order is conserved and purity of doctrine and of life is pr
tected; the plans by which the various benevolences of th
Church are maintained and prosecuted; the legislation co
cerning finance, or "for raising supplies for the propagatio
of the Gospel;" the obligations involved in membersh
among us as they relate to private and public behavior, and
the diligent use of established Christian ordinances or th
means of grace—all these, which are inherent in our polit
and whatever else belongs to it, are set forth clearly an
fully in our Book of Discipline. The Methodist who has n
a fair understanding of them through careful study of th
manual is unworthy of the place he has in the Church, and

disqualified for meeting the grave responsibilities he has freely assumed.

Dispensing with further allusion to particulars in our polity, if we survey it in its wholeness, the following marked features and facts appear:

1. Its development through the years, from the fewest and simplest provisions to the comprehensive summary presented in the latest edition of our Discipline.

Some idea of this development may be obtained by remembering that at the beginning of our history, prior to 1784, a few pages of the Conference Minutes contained the "Rules and Regulations" for the Societies, and that the first published Discipline, in 1784, which includes a good deal of matter that does not come under the head of polity, is reproduced entire on fifty-six pages of Emory's "History of the Discipline." At present a volume of over four hundred pages is largely taken up with the elaboration of our polity.

Two inferences may be drawn from this historical fact in our ecclesiasticism:

First, it was the faith of the fathers, as it is ours—a faith resting upon the impregnable testimony of Christian history covering eighteen centuries, as well as upon Scripture—that no finished or invariable form of church government is imposed in the New Testament; that the most that can be found there are comprehensive, guiding principles, whose application is consistent with a large degree of freedom. Or, as Dr. Bangs has put it, restating the conclusion of Stillingfleet in his "Irenicum," that "the determining of the form of government is a matter of liberty in the Church,"—"no specific form of church government is prescribed in Scripture, and therefore it is left to the discretion of each Church to regulate these matters as the exigencies of time, place, and circumstances shall dictate to be most expedient and likely to accomplish the greatest amount of good, always avoiding any and every thing which God has prohibited." Thus holding that the economic arrangements of the Church may be modified from time to time as circumstances require, in order to the largest and best results—the limitations of the New Testament always being regarded—Methodism from the first has not hesitated to change its methods, by excision, addition, or otherwise, for the

sake of greater efficiency in fulfilling its appointed mission. It recognizes no obligation to retain what has been simply because it has been, when something else promises earlier and richer fruit. When ruts become obstructions to success, it is not restrained by an idolatrous reverence for antiquity from abandoning them for even untraveled paths, if these surely point to it. And as it has dealt with its polity in the past, so it will continue to do, being careful, as hitherto, to pay due respect to those unalterable and inviolable directive principles which the New Testament lays down.

A second inference is, that we have always trusted to providential guidance in constructing and reconstructing our polity, and the results prove that we have not trusted in vain. "Lo! I am with you alway," has been relied on and appealed to as an abiding promise of the Lord to his Church. Not a measure has been incorporated into its economy, it may be affirmed, without humble prayer for the Spirit's help, and the firm conviction of approval on high. Southey says Mr. Wesley "believed" that "God would always provide means for his own ends." So his sons and successors have steadfastly believed.

It would be assuming too much to say that mistakes have never been made in our economical legislation, that the best thing has always been done, or that at any period we have had a perfect system. But this much is claimed, on the basis of indubitable Scripture authority and of the historical development of the Church through the centuries, that divine guidance is promised to the Church when it is true to its Lord and to the mission he gives it; that while it may not pretend to infallibility in any of its measures, except those primarily and permanently fixed by Christ himself, it may, when fully consecrated and trustful and prayerful and earnest, within the sphere of liberty allowed it, connect its conclusions as to both spiritual and temporal administration with the enlightening Spirit and leading providence of God. Holding such belief—looking out for the hand of God in all human affairs and discerning it as it opened doors and invested every opportunity with responsibility, clinging to the abiding presence and revealing function of the Holy Ghost in the Church, willing to follow where providence and the Spirit manifestly led and called, Methodism has built up its polity. And as it

and the world have beheld the unparalleled results attending its operation, its confession has always been, "This is the Lord's doing; it is marvelous in our eyes."

While it retains its place among the evangelical forces of Christendom, Methodism will doubtless be called from time to time, as it has been, to modify its polity at various points. It is not likely, however, to lose its identity, nor to change its great, underlying principles, the forces that give it uniqueness and compactness and effectiveness in work, especially its itinerancy and general superintendency. But since the world will not stand still, Methodism cannot. New environments will call for new appliances, or the reconstruction of old ones. Much of the old will attest that it has served its purpose. Let none tremble with alarm at prospective or possible changes while this confidence endures, that only those required by new social or political or moral conditions, and providentially ordered, will be ventured. And while the Church preserves its spirituality in faith and life and power, and keeps to its mission of spreading scriptural holiness over all lands, it may expect in all things to be taught and led by its omnipresent and omnipotent Head. It will always be true, as Wesley believed, that God will not fail to "provide means for his own ends." Any Church that parades its polity as an immutable one, and on that ground arrogates exclusive right to churchly titles and prerogatives, if it does not thereby prove that it ought never to have been, does evince from within itself that the moving, growing world would lose but little if it ceased to be. An invariable ecclesiasticism, while it may hold on to pomp, must inevitably decline in power—the power that lifts men to God and purifies society. The very assertion of undeviating adherence, in principle and practice, to an ancient polity, demonstrates, and all the more when the plea of infallibility is urged because of such adherence, that the organization represented has forfeited its credentials as a truly witnessing Church. As a relic of the past, remembering a dignity and usefulness that once belonged to it, we may try to venerate it. As a part of the present, we can only treat it as the expression of sickliness and feebleness in spiritual life and work, not mentionable among the meliorating, regenerating forces of the world, whose absence it would miss and mourn as nature would the light of its sun.

2. No review of our polity can omit reference to its *unity*
Methodism is not a jumble of inharmonious, clashing fra
ments, but a solidified whole, whose essential parts are close
correlated, and combined to make up a self-consistent and vig
ous economy. It is a remarkable fact, reflecting highest cred
upon the far-seeing sagacity and judicial wisdom of those wh
through successive quadrenniums, have shaped our polity, th
all our legislation rounds out into a unified system, unexcelle
in symmetry and in the nicely adjusted balance of its part
Each part, as just remarked, has relation to every other; all
together with admirable adaptation and reciprocal helpfulnes
while none are so insignificant or so distant as not to feel the
bration when one is touched. Of course some parts of our poli
have, relatively, higher value than others. Some could not
dropped out without disastrous consequences. The abolition
the itinerancy or of our general superintendency, for exampl
would work such a revolution in Methodism that, as we no
know it, but little else than the name would remain. F
these are foundation principles in our economy; they are t
driving-wheels of our machinery. When they stop, all moti
is arrested; when they break down, the whole machine is po
erless. And yet so real is the unity of our system in its e
tirety—so interlocked are all its parts—that it is allowable
appropriate Paul's language, and say, "If one member suffe
all the members suffer with it," for "the body is one."
would be well, if some who are clamoring for extreme chang
in our polity would get a broader view and better understan
ing of this aspect of it than they seem to have, as thereby th
might be enabled to see that their proposed improvements i
volve, not a single change, but so many radical changes that,
effected, we would have practically a new system throughou
There is yet wanted proof that Providence or the times dema
it, or that it would be an improvement upon what we have.

Now this unity of polity has not come to pass by chan
or accident. It is not the outcome of guesses, or of mere
impulsive and experimental legislation. It has been steadi
aimed at; it was designed to be. It is a necessity with us, a
has been felt to be such from the beginning. Without
there could never have been that consolidation and mutuali
of interests and responsibilities which we have made our wor

ing principle, and to which our success is in no small measure to be referred. Nothing less would be a true expression of the paramount idea of our organization. That idea is, and since 1784 has been, an all-embracing connectionalism, consolidating the individuals of the Church into one body, and concentrating all resources and forces for a common cause. It links all the parts together by connectional ties for connectional use.

Methodism makes little account of individualism, except as it may appropriate and utilize it as an element of power in strengthening the whole and in carrying on the general work. Without pressing too far the idea of the proprietorship involved, it may be said of all the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, its ministry included, that they *belong* to the Church. They are in the Church *for* the Church, their membership in one society or conference allying them to every denominational plan and movement. So the separate societies and congregations *belong* to and are *for* the denomination. They are parts of a whole. The conservation of the whole, and its equipment for the largest possible effectiveness as an evangelical working agency, is the supreme reason for the recognition and retention of the parts. No self-assertion of the parts is admissible that conflicts with primary and paramount obligations to the whole. Congregationalism in Methodism, while we keep in view the purpose and spirit with which it started, must be pronounced a contradiction, by nature unfitted to represent the distinctive principles and accomplish the mission of which the name, Methodism, is the recognized symbol.

There is much needed throughout our membership, in both its ministry and laity, a more intelligent appreciation of the strictly connectional character of our Church, and of the corresponding unity of its polity. Each explains the other. They are indissoluble. As the former is appreciated and approved, the latter is likely to be, and *vice versa*. If the Church at large shall have been brought up to such appreciation during its centenary year, it will not have been celebrated in vain.

3. Methodism looks to results.

It was formed, and is fitted, to bring things to pass. Methodism has never made much of mere show. It has but little use for the millinery and tinseled ornamentation for sensuous

effect; the spoiling of worship by "a round of dramatic pan tomime, with... scenic accompaniments... only adapted to the lowest stage of human thought," as if the Church were satisfied with itself, and asking the world to be satisfied with it,—when fashionable society condescends to patronize it, and when its fruit is chiefly gathered from harvests whose seed it never sowed,—it will imitate those who cleave to "beggarly elements," and either altogether discard the living, quickening power, or subordinate it to the dead form. Methodism prescribes an order for public worship; but that order does not conflict with the inspired teaching that "where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty." It has a ritual, indeed, but such is its simplicity and practicalness that it guards against abuse, and, with its conformity to Scripture, secures uniformity and admitted propriety in the services of the Church. Its ritual is not a yoke, but a teacher—an inspiration.

In a word, all the methods of Methodism, in its several departments, contemplate substantial, and generally early, results, which mark progress and growth. When there are no results after sufficient efforts, and the failure can be traced to the unsuitableness of the methods employed, they are quickly displaced. Fruit is the test of value. Nothing is esteemed as worth having out of which something does not come. We should be damaged by fossilized forms and ornamental appendages that do not signify either force or fruit.

To the work which, with divine favor, it has wrought, Methodism confidently appeals for the vindication of its polity and of its right to be. The work and the polity under which it has come to pass cannot be dissevered. They must be connected in any intelligent, ingenuous investigation, and the one is, on the human side, the chief solution of the other. The wonderful achievements of Methodism are mainly due to its singular economy. Taking the test-principle, that applies to churches no less than to individuals and nations, "by their fruits ye shall know them," and applying it to ourselves, we feel warranted in asserting that our case stands. Our vine, we believe, produces the fruit which proves it to be of the heavenly Father's planting.

The work of Methodism is before the world, and it well-nigh covers the entire earth. It is the religious phenomenon of the

nineteenth century. In our own country its proportions are largest and most impressive. This country could not have been what it is without it. To it, more than to any other single agency, it is indebted for the Gospel. But all the nations have shared in the blessings that have flowed from it. Universal civilization owes it an immeasurable debt. There is not a Christian denomination in America or Europe which has not been brought under obligations to it. Only bigotry can fail to acknowledge this work, and only bigotry intensified by inexcusable stupidity can disallow the inference which the simplest logic requires.

We do not claim that our polity constitutes us *the* Church, to the exclusion and unchurching of others. But we do aver that, as far as mere polity can, it invests us with a real churchhood.

As to recognition by others, from whose polity ours differs, we do not beg for it, but assert our right to it, and our perfect equality with any and every other body styling itself a Church. At no vital point has any other body the advantage of us. We owe it to ourselves and to truth never to concede such advantage on any sort of superiority. As to the Pharisaic narrowness which refuses recognition because we prefer substance to shadow, power to pomp, the living present to the dead past, spiritual life to worn-out fables, a ministry that brings men to Christ anywhere without prayer-book or candles or gown to one that has to hunt its legitimacy and authority amid the rubbish and rottenness of the papacy—we need not be concerned about that. We give it our pity and go ahead with our work, neither distressed nor discouraged. "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

As Methodists, while humiliation is befitting because of unfaithfulness in making the most of our appliances and opportunities, we have abundant reason to be grateful for the past and hopeful for the future. It is not presumptuous to believe that, if true to our mission, God will continue to use us in extending his kingdom. A deep sense of our responsibilities as a Church, duly shared by all the preachers and people of Methodism, and a vivid realization of the fact that our perils are more from within than from without, will go far both to prevent the impairment of our system, and to bring out continuously the greatest efficiency of which it is, or may be made, capable.

Art. VI.—THE CHRISTIAN LIFE OF REV. JOHN INSKIP—A STUDY.

"One seldom finds, even among sincere Christians, that sy metry of life, that balance of character, which the promise the Scripture holds out to our expectation, and which mak the life of our Lord the ideal life. Where we find great amiab ity there is apt to be a want of steadfast manliness. Where gre force of character exists, we are apt to be disappointed in th lack of the ornaments of a meek and quiet spirit. Where gre faith has enabled a soul to step beyond the ordinary reliance most Christians, we are so often disappointed to find the ful ness of a complete faith marred by the divergences of fanat cism, and superstition taking the place of reliance on truth."

We find the above in a modest and little-known volume, kind of autobiographical memorial of a chronic bed-ridden i valid, in whom the suffering graces seem to have very nearl realized the divine ideal of completeness. Its author was Quaker preacher, who had been in that sick chamber, and foun it to be a veritable Bethel, and was almost persuaded that h had found the exceptional case in which the distinctive an characteristic graces of the subject were neither marred nc discounted by their opposing faults or infirmities. The par graph is introduced in this place to recognize and affirm an in portant fact among the phenomena of the Christian life, tha nearly every form of graciousness of character is liable to b come faulty by verging into an unwholesome or excessive de velopment, so as to destroy the spiritual symmetry and mar th completeness of the divine image in the soul: a considerati well calculated to teach us humility, to mitigate our exaction toward each other, and to induce greater charity in our judg ments respecting the character and lives of professed Chri tians. It is also introduced to indicate the spirit in which w desire to consider the Christian career, experimental and activ of an eminent Christian minister.

Rev. John S. Inskip was born in Bradford, England, abou seventy years ago. While he was yet a child his parents re moved to this country and settled in Eastern Pennsylvania where their son passed his childhood and youth, and came t

the critical period when the world lay before him and his life's career must be entered upon. His outfit for that great enterprise was neither large nor liberal. He was not learned nor wealthy; but he had a sound mind in a sound body, was trained to habits of industry and self-reliance, and, being endowed with a full share of hopefulness and buoyancy of spirit, the outlook was to him quite the opposite of discouraging. But just at this point in his history, that is, as he was nearing manhood, an event occurred in his experience that changed the tendencies of his aspirations and gave a new direction to all his purposes, and which effectually determined the course of his life. His father's house was not at that time, in the higher and better sense, a Christian home; and yet it was not destitute of religious and Christianizing influences, which also largely permeated and tempered the social community in which he lived, and of whose spirit he became unconsciously a partaker. At sixteen years old he was converted, and became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The value of such a transition in the case of an active and self-reliant American youth, just bursting forth into life's activities, with the unrestrained freedom and large self-consciousness that one recognizes in that class of persons, is quite beyond any comparative estimate. It directly and at once introduced him to new and better relationships, placed him in more wholesome and conservative associations, and surrounded him with influences that pointed him to a high spiritual ideal, as both possible of attainment and altogether to be desired. If he was truly converted—which need not be doubted—the fundamental elements of his character, the first principles of his being, the law of his life, his will and affections, had all been brought into new conditions. Obedience to God had taken the place of the natural self-will; devotion had replaced the naturally dominant egoism; and the instinctive trend of the whole moral nature had become Godward. The course of living and the objects to be aimed at—the pleasures, ambitions, and attainments that had risen up before the youthful imagination—were now to be cast down, and an entirely new path entered upon, that was to be pursued from motives before unknown to him. We are considering our subject as simply an ordinary Christian youth, born of the Spirit, and honestly endeavoring to fulfill

his baptismal vows, "to renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so as not to follow or be led by them;" and the after life, which we are now to consider, answers to and proves that he was such in his experience and in his conduct.

It is also agreeable to the known facts of the case to assume that his conversion was the great and commanding event of his history, because his whole after life was fashioned by it; that this was something *real*, a spiritual regeneration that raised him to a higher plane of being, with better aspirations and a broader and clearer spiritual vision. It would be vain to conjecture what he would have been without that great change; but whatever he became—all that we contemplate in his life and character as seen in his history, or that we cherish as worthy to be remembered respecting him—depended upon, and in some measure grew out of, that great event. Instead of continuing in his natural estate of unspiritual carnality, he had been brought to know his Maker as a sin-pardoning God, and to accept his high calling to serve and please God in newness of life. And although we might suspect that his later life was not entirely free from doubts and fears, and perhaps occasional and partial backslidings, yet the better impulses prevailed in the sequel, and the Christian life triumphed.

Then there came another crisis in his experience, when he seemed to hear the voice of the Spirit speaking to his deepest religious consciousness and saying, "The Lord hath need of thee," and so calling him, with a specifical designation, to the ministry of the Gospel. It was an original Methodist doctrine —it may be devoutly hoped that it will never become antiquated, and the more so because the more spiritual of other denominations are beginning to recognize it—that the call to the ministry is direct and specific, the voice of the Spirit coming directly to the spiritual consciousness of the child of God; and, accordingly, there must be, in the history of every one whom the Head of the Church chooses for the special service of the ministry, a time when the soul seems to hear the "still small voice" of the Spirit intimating "the Master has come and calleth for thee." To this the first response is not unfrequently a decided protest of unwillingness—pleading unfitness

and inability, like Moses, or rising up in open rebellion, like Jonah. To the devout the work may appear too great and too sacred, and in not a few cases the flesh will suggest that the sacrifice is more than should be required. As in the soul's conversion there is in every case a conflict and a conquest, so, in the call to the ministry, the trembling soul yields only with reluctance, submitting as a willing captive to bear the yoke of Christ. We assume all this in respect to our subject, because he was inducted into the office and work of the ministry by the normal and prescriptive Methodist processes, and because he professed, and the Church accepted his profession, that he thought in his heart that he was truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, to this sacred and responsible work. He accepted his calling, not from motives of human prudence, nor simply with the reasonable hope that he could in that way most surely glorify God and save his own soul, but because he was assured that such was the divine will, *and he dared not disobey.* As we are not writing a memoir, we need not pursue his life-story through all its changes. It is enough to say that he became a traveling preacher in the Philadelphia Conference in 1836; that after successive appointments in Ohio, New York, and Baltimore, he at length gave himself entirely to the work of an evangelist, preaching especially the doctrine, and calling Christians to the experience, of Christian holiness; and while so occupied he ceased at once to work and live.

A man's natural cast of mind and his inborn peculiarities remain specifically the same in all the stages of religious experience. Even among the apostles may be traced their several characteristics, which survive in the thoughts and images shown us in the New Testament. So in the Christian and ministerial life of him whose career we are now considering, his mental peculiarities and spiritual habitudes are clearly indicated. The impulsive fervor of his nature was readily detected in the moods of his religious life, and especially in the character of his preaching. His constitutional frankness, sanctified by grace, rendered him intolerant of *shams* and *cant*, and made it impossible for him to present the truth in consciously recognized disguises. Because he was loyal to his own convictions and to the spirit of God's truth, he sometimes uttered unacceptable things, and often exposed and denounced the specious false-

hood. The certainty and the rapidity of his intuitions of the *true* and the *right* compelled him to the front in reforms, which, though at length triumphant, were achieved in opposition to public favor, and only through struggles and conflicts. And even in those special manifestations of the Christian life for which in the sequel he became chiefly distinguished, something of this downright and thorough fidelity to his heart's convictions may still be detected. He accepted with a ready faith the Methodist doctrine of an advanced and elevated form of Christian experience; and because he believed it he preached it, although his own heart told him that he had not himself attained to it, and he earnestly exhorted his hearers to lay hold by faith on this their high calling and gracious privilege. And when the thought was pressed home to his mind, by the Holy Spirit, that what was so clearly the duty of others was equally so to himself, with characteristic fidelity he confessed the claim and surrendered himself to the gracious requisition. And, having accepted the promises of the Gospel in their fullness, and demonstrated their saving power in his own heart, he freely, and with all the native ardor of his soul, declared what great things the Lord had done for him.

The religious history of our subject is inseparably connected with certain well-known forms and phases of personal Christian experience. More than thirty years after his conversion, most of which time he had been engaged in the ministry, he was seen to enter upon a new and definitely distinguished form of religious experience, but not in *kind*, nor yet clearly differentiated in its form and phases. There certainly are not two distinct kinds of Christian life, but equally certainly there are higher and lower stages of grace, and these are so definitely marked that they may be clearly discriminated. This is much more than a matter of speculation, because it is intimately related to our knowledge of the deep things of God. All will concede that the Christian life is a progression, and that they who have received Christ by spiritual regeneration are called to grow up into him in all spiritual fullness. Nor is this spiritual ascent usually a steady and uniform advancement, without definitely indicated transitions, nor a development without distinct crises; but it has its marked changes, with struggles and birth-throes, to be followed by new and clearly ascertained

attainments in divine things. These crises serve as stations and mile-stones along the "King's highway,"—they are seasons of real travail, in which victories are won, and spoils taken, and through which the soul rises into a higher plane of spiritual life. The experience of him whose case we are now considering, as many times related by himself and so largely attested by his subsequent life, abundantly affirm this view of the subject. He had himself, so he testified, dwelt and walked for more than thirty years on the lower level of Christian experience—not, indeed, without the consciousness of God's favor and with a measure of religious comfort, and yet not wholly satisfied—and then, by a clearly marked transition, he passed into another and a higher spiritual estate. Others have testified to a like experience, and have in like manner attested its genuineness by the godliness of their after lives. It need not be denied that some who have professed such an experience may have been charlatans or superficial pretenders—some self-deceived and some consciously false—but the facts still remain, and the sober devotion and manifest integrity and the godly living of very many who have witnessed this confession, render it impossible to set aside their testimony.

It may seem conventional, and perhaps belittling, to speak of these later spiritual crises as "the second blessing," and yet perhaps no other form of words can so adequately describe the thing intended. Nor is there any lack of scriptural warrant for such an experience in the religious life of the fathers. Even in the Old Testament we find examples of it. Jacob at Bethel saw the vision of the Ladder, and there and then entered into a covenant with the God of his fathers, from which it does not appear that he afterward departed; but his religious life during the next twenty years was certainly an unelevated one. But when on his way returning to the land of Canaan, the home of his early life, he was met by the Angel with whom he wrestled all night; and there he received a new name, and began a new and better course of living. David was from his youth up an obedient servant of God, so steadfast in his devotion that he was recognized as a man after God's own heart; but not only was his outward life, for a time, very far from perfect, but he himself confesses that his heart was not right with God; he was envious at the prosperity of the wicked,

and his heart was brutish toward God. But at length a change came upon his spirit; he went into the sanctuary of God—the secret chamber of his own heart—where the Spirit met him and taught him better things by raising him into a higher spiritual estate. Isaiah—the prophet that more clearly than any other saw the coming glory of Messiah's kingdom—when called to the prophetic office, felt and confessed his unfitness for that work till the seraph had touched his lips with a coal from God's altar, and declared to him that his "iniquity was taken away, and his sin purged." The apostles walked with Christ three years, and they so profited by his teachings that he himself spoke of them, with a single exception, as "clean;" and yet the experience of the day of Pentecost was to them at once a new revelation and the beginning of a higher degree of the spiritual life. The first stages of the Christian life constitute, in their usual and normal development, a period of spiritual infancy, and yet with the possibilities of the largest attainments. Every thing is at that stage only inchoate and incomplete. The germination of the grain of mustard seed, and the after growth of the plant—the fermentation of the leaven that was placed in the meal "till all was leavened"—are the divine Teacher's illustrations of the phenomena of spiritual increase in those who are born of the Spirit.

There are in these direct and obvious aspects of Christian experience important and far-reaching implications of theological truth. They assume the reality of "sin in believers," from which devout souls groan to be delivered. And since "there is now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus," the presence of this abiding sin is not in itself a cause of personal guilt. But in order to this state of the case, the sin so recognized must be abhorred and resisted, and its power to bring the soul into condemnation must be constantly, unceasingly, thwarted by the perpetual renewed efficiency of the merits of Christ's death, made effective in the soul by faith. The Christian who walks in the light, and rejoices in the fellowship of love, and with unwearied faith appropriates the blood of Christ both for pardoning and for cleansing, still confesses, from the depths of his spiritual consciousness, his need of the merits of Christ's blood.

It also clearly distinguishes the essence and reality of sin from the volitionary activities of its subject. No real Christian, what-

ever may be the stage of his attainments in grace, consciously chooses to do wrong; and yet there is clear and oftentimes very pungent conviction of sin, against which the soul strives with all its powers of will and action. The whole theory of the "second blessing" implies the presence and the activity of indwelling sin, against which the will of the true Christian is perpetually striving and overcoming through faith. And because this form of sin is common to all men, and exists independent of both volition and consciousness, it seems to inhere in our nature. It is "original sin," which must be eliminated "through sanctification of the Spirit" and "the renewing of the Holy Ghost."

However humiliating the confession may be, yet the truth is too plainly manifest to be doubted, that the average Christian life is pursued on a comparatively low level of spirituality; and even Christian ministers, though honestly sincere, and maintaining a moderate degree of religious enjoyment, are too often found walking in incompleteness of faith, and having very limited religious attainments. That this should be so is indeed not necessary, and certainly it ought not to be, for the whole purpose and spirit of the Gospel calls its subjects to a higher estate of grace and to a more complete and holier life. And yet, while we are compelled to recognize the fact that for thirty years before his remarkable transition the subject of this study was only an average Christian, we do not, therefore, conclude that he was false to his profession, but rather, beyond a doubt, that he was a true believer, honestly purposing to do the will of God. And it is greatly to his credit that when he was raised into a higher plane of experience, he neither denied nor depreciated the grace that he had before received, and in which he stood during the earlier years of his ministry.

The practical value of these considerations may justify their further examination. If we grant that it is according to the economy of the grace of God that believers, being found in Christ, shall, by walking in him, go onward to perfection, then two practical thoughts, closely related to this subject, call for our attention. These are (1) the phenomenal character of this progress, and (2) the nature and conditions of the state so attained. The former of these may seem to be only partially alike in the experience of different persons, and the latter are,

no doubt, somewhat varied in their aspects by differences of individual temperaments, and also by the character and extent of former religious instruction and culture, and by accidental environments. But a careful inspection and analysis of the cases in which these differences are the most manifest, will show that such diversities are only apparent or that they are merely superficial and incidental, while the sum and substance of the Christian life, and also its fruits, are wonderfully uniform, and its movements strangely harmonious among those that experience its power.

Progress in spirituality is the normal condition of the religious life, without which, steadily operating, that life cannot be maintained in a state of wholesome effectiveness. As the young plant must grow, or else it will wither and perish, and as the young animal that is not so nourished as to develop into its proper fullness of growth becomes dwarfed and deformed, with a constant perilous liability to death, so the soul that is "born again" is, by the conditions of its new life, designed for a course of spiritual increase, growing up into Christ and the Christly character in all things. And to such a process of spiritual growth and development, going on to "perfection," the whole of the spiritual nature—the "new man"—certainly and naturally tends with all the force and steadiness of its instinctive being. And certainly the very idea of "growth in grace" implies a gradation in Christian experience, the going forward by successive stages to more and more nearly perfected forms of spiritual manhood. There are in the personal history of every true Christian the successive stages of childhood, of young manhood, and of patriarchal maturity, but these severally are very far from synchronizing with the stages of the natural life.

The phenomena of this progress through its several stages are interesting and profitable for study. At the beginning there are, indeed, peace and joy, and there are also seasons of perplexity, and not unfrequently the shadows of doubts that occasion fears. But if by diligence and fidelity of devotion all recognized sin is carefully avoided, the soul's peace with God will remain steadfast. But this state of religious growth may itself at length become the occasion of spiritual disquietude. The quickened and clarified spiritual consciousness at

length discovers, deep down in the soul, hitherto undetected, depths of "indwelling sin," giving pain to the conscience, and awakening anew and with increased intensity longings to be delivered; and this conviction of *the sin of the soul*, this self-abhorrence in view of the infinite holiness of the divine law and of the soul's lack of conformity to its spirit and precepts, is often as distinct and as great a burden upon the spirit of the truly regenerate as was the sense of sin and guilt and consequent danger at the first awakening. This is the believer's seventh of Romans. Then the burdened spirit cries out, "Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity;" "Create in me a *clean* heart, and renew a right spirit within me;" and at length it formulates its emotions in the petition, "*Break off* this yoke of inbred sin." In all this there is indeed "no condemnation;" for in the midst of this tempest of fears and hopes and longing desires the face of the Sun of Righteousness is not hidden, but it is an earnest struggling to be delivered from *this body of death*, with the accompanying prayer, to which only the promised Comforter can give effective utterance:

> "Speak the *second time*, 'Be clean,'
> Take away *my inbred sin*."

And in answer comes the gracious assurance, I "will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be *clean:* from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you." The work of faith is fulfilled, and the soul rests in God, filled with joy of the Holy Ghost.

And now we are prepared to consider the second of the thoughts before referred to, and in doing so we will repeat what we have said in another place:

"But what is the condition, as to indwelling sin, into which the soul is thus brought? Is it, or is it not, an absolute destruction and extirpation of the 'carnal mind?' Here is an open question, and one of real interest. The best Methodist authorities—and among them Wesley and Watson—treat that question very cautiously, and the former directly declares that he had never taught the doctrine of the possibility of a *sinless perfection.* Possibly, however, when carefully and understandingly examined, the question will be found to be one respecting the meaning of words rather than of the substance of things.

According as different persons define the terms 'sin' and 'purity,' the question may be answered either YES or NO, just as more or less shall be included in them. It is certain, however, that at such a crisis a mighty and thorough victory is achieved; that indwelling sin, if not absolutely cast out, is most effectually bruised under the feet of the incoming Conqueror."

But as a subsidiary question it may be asked, Can we, for ourselves, judge and determine in this matter? May any one answer, with certainty, what is the state of his own soul in respect to "inbred sin?" Let us see:

There are three several sources of self-knowledge that may be consulted in such a case: *consciousness*, *experience*, and *divine assurance*. 1. Consciousness takes notice of the soul's active processes, but the range of its observance does not extend to the quiescent states. Whether, therefore, the carnal mind is only subdued into *inaction* or utterly *extirpated*, consciousness cannot answer, because the subject is beyond its range. And even should some of the motions of sin very faintly show themselves in their thick disguises, it is not certain that the power of introspection would infallibly detect them as such. And it is even more likely that the tender conscience might miscall the innocent infirmities of the soul, *sins*. 2. Nearly the same remarks will apply to the reports of experience. It is no certain evidence that there is no indwelling sin in the soul because its motions have not been felt for a given season, short or long, for certainly we cannot always and infallibly distinguish between natural moral incompleteness and spiritual depravity. 3. As to the evidence of *divine assurance*, while we hold to and glory in the doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit, we do not see how, in its usual methods, it can bear any testimony upon this subject. It witnesses to our acceptance by creating our peace, and raising our hopes to God. It testifies to our sonship by giving us the filial spirit, "the Spirit of adoption," from which the apostle infers (by a logical process) our heirship through Christ. But in none of these is there any direct communication to the understanding, no interjection of logical ideas, as there must be in order that the fact of personal sinlessness shall be assured. And if the individual himself cannot certainly determine this question, much less

can another determine it for him. It is, however, our privilege to know that the most complete victory has been achieved and is maintained; and by divinely-begotten hope its glorious consummation is assured to the faithful.

But turning from these questions, which are only of secondary importance, to the certain and positive things in this work of grace, we find in them a rich *inventory* of the most excellent spiritual gifts. Because of the soul's illumination all the great things of spiritual religion become manifest to its vision, and the tendered conscience feels and responds to their touch. All of the heart's affections—its *loves* and its *repulsions*, its hopes and its fears, its joys and its sorrows—are attuned into harmony with the mind of Christ, who also, with the Father and the Spirit, becomes the supreme object of LOVE. Dwelling thus in the divine presence, the soul, with all its ransomed power, becomes engaged and absorbed in unutterable *wonder*, *love*, and *praise*—in holy and all-comprehending *worship*. In this is found the realization of St. Paul's inimitable prayer for the Ephesian saints: "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the *breadth*, and *length*, and *depth*, and *height;* and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, *that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God.*" This is the spiritual fulfillment of that which was long before assured to the natural Israel under literal and material symbols: "Happy art thou, O Israel: who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency! and thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee; and thou shalt tread upon their high places."

We have thus dwelt at length upon these things, both on account of their intrinsic excellence and because of their close relationship to the life and the Christian experience now under consideration; for whatever else may be remembered or forgotten respecting him, John S. Inskip will be remembered as a *confessor* and an *apostle* of the doctrine and experience of Christian holiness. For thirty years he was an average Methodist minister in respect to spiritual attainments and Christian fidelity. He was doctrinally orthodox and evangelical in his methods; diligent and zealous in his ministry, and blameless in

his life before men. But he came at length to a profound conviction that his religious life was proceeding on an altogether unelevated spiritual plane, and that his duty as a minister, and his privilege as a Christian, united in calling him to a higher experience. As a Methodist he had learned the doctrine of Christian perfection, had accepted it as his own, and had solemnly professed to be groaning after its realization in himself. He was at length led by the Spirit to see its attainment as a present duty and privilege, and he "*was not disobedient to the heavenly vision*," but joyfully accepted the great salvation.

It will be pertinent at this point to say something respecting the existing state of the subject of advanced Christian life, variously designated "sanctification," "Christian perfection," and "holiness," among the Methodists of New York and vicinity during the second and third quarters of the present century, and coming down to the date of the things now under our notice.

Before that date it had been a prominent subject of pulpit instruction, and eminent practical examples of its truth and excellence were not wanting. It is quite certain, however, that, about the middle decades of the century, there had been a falling away in respect to the subject in both the pulpit and the class-room. It was, however, during all this time pressed upon the attention of the Church by not a few faithful ones; and especially by a distinguished Christian woman, whose name need not be mentioned, and by those who became associated with her as confessors and propagandists of that form of faith and experience. And now that the actors in those things and the partisans in the controversies that arose about them have nearly all passed away, and it may be believed have come together in the goodly company of the redeemed and sanctified, it is not too much to admit that the influence of that voice crying in the wilderness was both needful and productive of good results. Possibly there were infelicities of doctrinal statement, and sometimes, we think, there was quite too little meekness in resisting opposition, but whatever deductions may be deemed necessary for these things, it is still quite certain that the resultant balance of good was not inconsiderable; and as the memory of the contests of the past faded out, and the zeal that would have called down fire from heaven to consume the opposers gave place to the gentleness of spirit that breathed

only the apostolic exhortation—"Little children, love one another"—we were all ready to magnify the grace that had matured so richly. And yet it was painfully manifest at the time of Mr. Inskip's wonderful spiritual transition that in the Church generally the fires of the divine life in its higher forms were burning only comparatively faintly. A deeper impression and a more active inspiration seemed needful to reinstate it in the hearts of the people, and especially among the younger ministers, so as to secure for it a voice in the pulpit and in the churches.

The external conditions of Mr. Inskip's experience, in connection with his great spiritual transition as related by himself, and as it has become a part of the religious history of the time, are remarkable and instructive. He was simply pursuing the leadings of his own heart's convictions, as these came to him from the word of God and the teachings of the Holy Spirit, and setting forth in his ministrations the high privileges of believers to receive the heavenly baptism, though as yet he had not attained to the fullness of that blessing. But that which he preached to others the Spirit repreached to his own heart and understanding; and so, convinced of his own great opportunity, he surrendered himself to be dealt with as the Spirit might dictate. And it was done for him according to his faith. Historically and phenomenally the whole transaction appears as a simple act of faith in self-surrender, followed by a great spiritual baptism, which is proved also to have been a marvelous uplifting of soul and a casting down of the strong man of sin; the spoiling of his goods, and their replacement with the furniture and adornment of the graces of the Spirit. And then all things were at once and freely consecrated anew, a *living* sacrifice, to *testify* and to *work* for Christ. To any one capable of appreciating these things, and seeing them in their manifestations and results, they must appear as *indubitable* proofs that the work then accomplished was *genuine* and *thorough*,—a real and a marked spiritual transformation, raising their subject into a higher plane of Christian experience and superinducing new habitudes in his whole spiritual being; a sanctification not only in the soul's victory and cleansing, but also and eminently in the earnest and lively consecration of himself to the Master's service.

We may not fail to observe, as is indicated in the words that stand at the head of this paper, that such an experience, and the after life to which it leads, are beset with peculiar and very formidable dangers. To say nothing of spiritual pride, which will assuredly be presented by the tempter, on the one hand will be the *whirlpool* of fanaticism, and on the other the quicksands of *quietistic mysticism.* Nor need we assume that in this case either of these was absolutely and completely avoided. We *may* and *do* say, however, that he suffered less from them than have many others who have been made partakers of the same excellent grace. The glowing fervor of his soul could not fail to make him aware of the comparative lukewarmness of his associates in the ministry and of the Church generally, and with this would come a liability to censoriousness and a tendency to separation, which might readily mature into a Pharisaic self-complacency, and result in a kind of incipient or even real "come-outer-ism." That this temptation was actually felt is sufficiently evident; and that, at times, and to a limited extent, it was listened to, may be suspected; but however that may be, it is certain that it did not gain any permanent ascendency in either his heart or mind, and that, with advancing years of experience, his spirit was drawn more and more intimately near to his Church and his brethren.

Nor have we far to inquire for the influences by which he was saved from these perils; for they arose directly and spontaneously from the character of his experience. That was, indeed, a work of faith and a baptism of fire; but it was of a faith that works by *love*, and a fire that *fused* the *affections* and separated them from earthly elements. The growth of Christian charity in the renewed heart is often more gradual than is that of the primary fruits of faith; and it is possible that these, if not duly tempered by that, may induce censoriousness, and result in alienations, thus making a *schism* in the body of Christ. But in this case the spirit of charity, at length, in every instance, gained the ascendency, till finally it dominated the whole man and became the ruling habit of his mind and life. John S. Inskip was characteristically a social and a lovable man. He loved especially his associates in the Christian ministry, and eminently those to whom he was most closely related by the mystical affinities that bind kindred souls to each

other; and his heart could never separate from them. He loved his Church relations, and cherished them as *inestimably precious* and *helpful;* and his expectations of the success of the Gospel were fixed in the Church and its institutions and methods.

Those who carefully observed his course during the years of his later and more strenuous evangelistic labors, and who had some knowledge of his spiritual history, could, during his last years, clearly note the ripening of his spirit in unfeigned love of the brethren, the broadening of his charity, and his increased confidence in good men. As the forest fires at first dash and destroy with smoke and tempest, but at length subside into quiet in the intense fervors of all-consuming coals of fire, so in the processes of spiritual growth, there appears less and less of the outward, of demonstrative zeal against opposers, and of that exclusiveness of spirit which is blind to all excellence but of its own class. The militant Church never presents a more beautiful image, shows no other so lovely an embodiment of heavenly grace, as that of the matured Christian, in whose person and experience is exemplified the pre-eminence of *Charity*—that greater grace than either *Faith* or *Hope*, as is "seen" in him whose trusting spirit dwells in Christ and finds the world entirely beneath his feet—and in whom the spirit of the Divine Love has become incarnated and humanized. And while *Faith* views the promises with undimmed vision, and *Hope* realizes them by anticipation, this higher grace calmly reposes in the "peace of God." The warfare is accomplished, and even zeal abates its human fervors, "as Ætna's fires grow dim before the rising day."

It would be to fail in one important point in the general subject now brought into notice, if nothing were said respecting the influence exerted upon the spiritual *status* of the Church, and even beyond our Methodism, upon those of other communions, by the specific religious movement of which *our subject* became the accepted head and leader. We have recognized a manifest defectiveness in the spiritual estate of New York Methodism thirty or forty years ago, and the same state of things probably existed in most other places, and still more in other evangelical communions. And now it seems too obvious to admit of any opposite opinion that there has occurred a most

gratifying change for the better, to which change there is scarcely any room to doubt that that movement has effectively and largely contributed. Ministers of the Gospel have become more thoughtful respecting both the matter and the spiritual tone of their preaching, and also of their outward life. The duty and privilege of personal consecration are more generally recognized among our people, and, if we mistake not, it is now much easier than formerly to introduce and dwell upon matters of personal religion in the ordinary intercourse of Christians. Other causes may have contributed to this change, but quite certainly the things which we have noticed have been among its effective agencies.

The doctrine of Christian Perfection, "the Higher Life," has become better understood than before, though the modes of statement adopted by some may not be generally accepted. We recognize that work as much more than an act of self-consecration; for, as with the repentant sinner a change of purposes and determinations falls entirely short of the conversion of the soul, so to "lay one's self upon the altar" is not the same as the spiritual sanctification that cleanses the heart and fashions it after the divine image. To sanctify the soul is God's act, in which the subject of the inwrought grace *receives*, rather than *works*, and is only active in accepting what is freely given; and the sufficiency of his faith is tested only by its results. It is due, however, to the memory of him of whom we have thus written, to recognize the fact that he was not much given to theorizing on the subject, and that his own experience, as well as the cast of his mind, made him averse to all refinements and metaphysical niceties in treating upon these things. His was a faith that grasped the substance of the prize, without pausing to analyze or inspect it over carefully, and, having gained it, he rejoiced in it as one that has won great spoil; and he was satisfied with the possession and the enjoyment it afforded.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

'A MISSIONARY BISHOP FOR AFRICA."

THEY who witnessed the consecration of Bishops at the late General Conference will, perhaps, recollect the form of words used by Bishop Foss in laying his hands upon William Taylor, setting him apart to the office and work to which the General Conference had elected him. Recognizing the special and exceptional nature of the work now to be committed to the candidate, the officiating Bishop so modified the language employed as to distinguish the trust, so devolved, from that which had been delivered to those who had just been inducted into the episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and instead of saying, as had been said in those cases, "a Bishop in the Church of God," he said, "a Missionary Bishop for Africa." This difference in the words of the consecration indicate an essential unsameness in the office to which Mr. Taylor was designated and that of those who had just then been inducted into the constitutional episcopacy of the Church; and because the whole nature of the office of a Missionary Bishop—and the history of the office as well—shows it to be something else, and specifically another than the regular episcopacy of the Church, it was only right and proper that that difference should be indicated in the form of the consecration.

This service, being somewhat novel as a public performance, and altogether unique, very naturally gave rise to some thinking and questioning as to the legal *status* of the new "Bishop"—the nature of his office, and how it is related to the polity of the Church, and how differentiated from that of the regular Bishops. The asking of such questions makes it plain that the case has not been clearly apprehended by many of our ministers and most intelligent laymen—perhaps not by the incumbent of the new office himself. It, therefore, has seemed good to the writer hereof, having, like the author of the third gospel, "had an [approximately] perfect understanding of all [these] things from the very first," to write them out in order, in doing which we have, of course, sought to supplement our own recollections, and correct any possible misapprehensions from the recollections of others, by the use of all needful historical records, but not so as to bring any responsibility for what we write upon any others. The opinions offered are simply our own.

The idea of originating a missionary episcopacy grew out of the necessities of the work in Liberia, the insalubrity of the climate of which seemed to make it unsafe for any of our Bishops to properly superintend that work. It seemed questionable to some whether, on account of the limitations of its powers by the third restrictive rule, the General Conference possessed

the right to provide for the case. The question, however, was but very little looked into, since those who were chiefly active in promoting the measure were willing to test the feelings of the Church in respect to such a superintendency; and, accordingly, the subject was brought to the attention of the General Conference of 1856, sitting in Indianapolis, and that body, by a constitutional majority, voted to append to that rule what seemed to be a modification; and the action so taken was sent down to the Annual Conferences for their ratification, agreeable to the *proviso* subjoined to those rules, indicating the process by which changes may be made. The words so added are: "But [the General Conference] may appoint a Missionary Bishop or Superintendent for any of our foreign missions, limiting his jurisdiction to the same respectively." Concerning this it may be said, in the first place, that the addendum in nowise modifies the force and application of the third restrictive rule. That rule forbids the General Conference to do either one of two things—"to do away episcopacy," or to "destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." The first of these it certainly did not propose to do, nor does it appear that there was any thought of "destroying," or indeed modifying, the "plan" of the episcopacy as it had existed from the beginning. Had it been suspected of having any such design or tendency, there is certainly good ground to believe that it could not have received the favor of the General Conference, nor the concurrence of three fourths of the members of the Annual Conferences. It was scarcely at all discussed in the Church papers, but it seemed to go forth, with the indorsement of the General Conference, as a desirable and entirely harmless arrangement for the prosecution of our work in Africa, and so it was ratified by general consent. At that time this writer was a member of the Indiana Conference, and when the matter came before that body the question was asked, "What does it mean?" and he was requested to explain the matter to the Conference as he understood it. In answer to that request he said, that there did not seem to be any proposition to modify any thing connected with the episcopacy we now have, but to *create a new kind of episcopacy*, with limitations both local and otherwise. To this nobody objected, and the Conference voted, substantially unanimously, to concur. So far as we have ever heard, that was the view of the subject generally entertained in the Church, and because of that understanding it was ratified without any serious opposition.

The General Conference had provided that, in case of the ratification of the proposed action, the Liberia Conference might elect a Bishop; and, the Missionary Secretary and the Bishop having charge concurring, the Bishops might formally set him apart to his office. Rev. Francis Burns was accordingly elected in January, 1858, and consecrated the following October; and soon afterward he returned to Africa and presided over the Liberia Conference in January, 1859, and continued in the work until his death in 1863. The General Conference of 1864 authorized the Liberia Conference to elect a successor to Bishop Burns, and, accordingly, Rev. J. W. Roberts was so chosen in 1866, and, coming to New York the

same year, he was duly consecrated, and at once returned to his field of labor. In January, 1875, he also died, and his place was not filled till the session of the General Conference for 1884, when Rev. William Taylor was elected by that body itself, and consecrated at the same time with the regular Bishops, *but by a different formula.* A fact of some legal significance is seen in the method by which Bishops Burns and Roberts were chosen; that is, by the Liberia Conference, and not by the General Conference, as is provided in the case of the regular Bishops; for it is certain that that body is not competent to relegate so high and delicate a duty to any other body. Certainly the General Conference has no right to order any one or more of the Annual Conferences to elect a Bishop, who, having been properly consecrated, shall thus become one of the General Superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The fact that it provided for the election of a Missionary Bishop for Africa by another body is proof positive that the office so to be filled was not looked upon as the same as that which can be filled only by "the election of the General Conference." A special law, enacted for that purpose, empowers it to authorize the election of a Missionary Bishop by some other body, as was done in the cases of Burns and Roberts; or, acting in its own authority, it can make its own choice, as it did in the case of Bishop Taylor.

It must be borne in mind that the General Conference of 1884 made no change whatever, neither by new enactments nor by amendments, in the law respecting Missionary Bishops, and that Bishop Taylor's election was subject to the same legal conditions with those of Bishops Burns and Roberts, though made by the General Conference itself instead of by another body acting under its authority; and the office of a Missionary Bishop for Africa, with William Taylor for its incumbent, is precisely the same that it was when it was held by Francis Burns or J. W. Roberts. In the administration of the missionary office the entire Liberia Conference is considered and treated as a missionary field, and every member of that body, and the Bishop, when it has one, is tacitly and formally accounted a missionary. Accordingly, the support of both Bishops Burns and Roberts was drawn from the missionary treasury, and, obviously, that of Bishop Taylor must come from the same source.*

The Methodist Episcopal Church has no work or field in Africa except in Liberia; nor has it projected any other, and, accordingly, in the strict sense the name of Africa as applied to that work, as under the authority of the Church, can mean only the Liberia Conference. But that Conference has only one boundary line—the western coast-line of the continent; eastward and southward and northward it has no local limitations, and it extends just as far as its work may go, anywhere between the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans, and from the Mediterranean to the Antarctic Sea. If, then, Bishop Taylor or any of his co-laborers shall, under God, make converts and found churches anywhere in the Dark continent, such churches will constitute integral parts of the Liberia Conference, and any traveling

* See Journal of General Conference for 1856, page 177, Resolution 4.

preachers sent out to such interior work must belong to that body. As every regular Bishop, if accused of immoral conduct, may be called to account by the presiding elder within whose district the immorality is said to have been committed, and may by him, with the aid of at least four traveling elders, be subjected to preliminary proceedings preparatory to a trial, so, by the analogy of the case, a Missionary Bishop must be treated, as far as may be, in the same way within his own field. And although there is good reason to hope that this provision of law will not be called into use, yet, as it is according to the genius of Methodism that all of its ministers and members shall be subject to law and responsible for their behavior, it is needful that the legal relations and responsibilities of a Missionary Bishop should be clearly understood.* During the hundred years of the existence of the episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church no one of its Bishops has been so charged, and yet the legislation made and provided for such a contingency is not at all a dead letter.

The nature and legal relations of the missionary episcopacy was pretty thoroughly discussed at the late General Conference—first, and most fully, in the Committee on Episcopacy, and afterward in the open Conference; and in both places it was clearly stated—and the statement was not called in question—that the episcopacy under consideration was altogether distinct and different from the regular and constitutional episcopacy of the Church. While this subject was before the General Conference, and the chairman of the Committee on the Episcopacy was presenting the action of that Committee, he was requested to indicate clearly his views of the nature of the office in question, when he replied: "*It is that of the superintendent of a mission clothed with certain definite episcopal functions;*" and to that statement no exception was taken. With that view of the subject before it, the General Conference voted with great unanimity to elect a Missionary Bishop for Africa, and the same day William Taylor was elected, and consecrated a day later, as *a Missionary Bishop for Africa.* He is, therefore, a Bishop, but of a different kind from that of a regular and constitutional Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and should some future General Conference desire his service in the latter office it would be necessary that he should be elected and consecrated as all others are, and without respect to the missionary episcopacy in which he now stands.

The relations of the two episcopacies to each other, and the powers of each, jointly or severally, may require a passing notice. If, as has been shown, the addition made to the third restrictive rule relative to the appointment of "a Missionary Bishop" does not empower the General Conference, in any wise, to change or destroy the "plan" of the General Itinerant Superintendency, then the authority of the regular episcopacy is unabridged, and co-extensive with the Church's field of action; and no act of the General Conference could make it otherwise.† In every place, therefore, in which the Methodist Episcopal Church has a local existence,

* See Journal of General Conference for 1856, page 177, Resolution 3.

† *Ibid.*, page 147, Resolution 2.

there, by the very nature of the "plan," which makes the superintendency general and itinerant, its authority is paramount in respect to episcopal jurisdiction; but in the absence of any and all of the constitutional Bishops, a Missionary Bishop may, within his proper field, perform all requisite episcopal duties. Nor does it appear but that the General Conference might, by a simple resolve, confer the same power upon any superintendent of a foreign missionary field.

The office of a Missionary Bishop is somewhat anomalous in the working machinery of the Church, though perhaps it is a necessity in the absence of some more thorough and adequate disposition of the relations of our foreign work to the home Church and its administration. It is at best only a make-shift, a temporary and imperfect arrangement designed to meet the requirements of the work until better and more complete arrangements shall be brought into use, which, it may be hoped, will not be unduly delayed.

Within his own field, and for the work committed to him, Bishop Taylor's powers are ample and largely subject to his own discretion; and there is ground to hope that he will use them to good purpose. His enterprise has evidently touched the heart of the Church, and a warm response has been elicited. A little enthusiasm, verging slightly to wildness, may not be, in such a work, entirely out of place. It is better to incur the risk of a little unwisdom, by excess of zeal, than to lie idle through overmuch prudence. For fifty years the Church has been professedly essaying to establish missions among the millions of Africa's heathen tribes; and still the work is to be begun. May it not be well, then, to allow Bishop Taylor and his associates to go about the work in their own way? At one stage of the late war of the rebellion it is said that Secretary Stanton complained to the President that General Grant was transcending his orders and would not obey instructions. Mr. Lincoln's response was worthy of the man and the occasion: "I have tried to carry on this war, and have failed; and you, Mr. Secretary, have tried, and you have failed; now, perhaps, it will be wise for us to let General Grant try it." So we say respecting this African missionary work: let Bishop Taylor and his associates try their hands upon it, and the Church will follow them with prayers and blessings, and not without large, though trembling, hopes for their success. And should the scheme of "self-support" prove a fallacy—as probably it will, at least in part—then the Church will not fail to provide, according to her legitimate methods, for whatever emergencies may arise. Already the Missionary Board has voted Bishop Taylor a salary twice as large as what was ever given to either of his predecessors, and, no doubt, any other cases that may arise will receive equally just and generous treatment. Practically the principle of "self-support" has been abandoned in respect to Africa, wisely so, we think, in favor of the "Pauline" methods, by which the Gospel was at first carried to the Gentiles. But it may be hoped that its abandonment will be only temporary, or at least that among the Christian duties that shall be taught the churches in Africa will be that of caring for themselves.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL HYMNS AND MUSIC.

The "Sunday School Times" not long ago presented to its readers, apparently from the pen of the editor, a very suggestive article on the general subject of Sunday-school hymns and music. It was in the form of a series of ordinary book notices, with the titles of twenty-three books, recently published, devoted to the subject, which list might have been considerably extended by additional titles of other books published within the period covered by the appearance of those given. With his characteristic disposition to find something to commend in each work noticed, the writer professes to be not at all dismayed by this remarkable fecundity of the Sunday-school Muse. He recognizes a decided improvement in this department as to both its literature and its art since it first made its appearance in the not remote past—an advance in good taste in both the poetry and the music used in that class of works. It is less than half a century since books of the kind here noticed began to be published, and the contrast between the earliest of their kind and the better class of their successors of the present time, is alike remarkable and gratifying. Composers and compilers have become more proficient in their calling, and publishers have aimed to produce better works; and, better still, the public taste has steadily advanced, until it now demands something far in advance of what was once tolerated.

The progress in this department of arts is marked with certain noteworthy facts, which are both curious and instructive. The making of books of this class has become a department of productive industry, the supply naturally responding to the demand; and because those that have appeared have usually proved unacceptable as soon as the charm of novelty was gone, the demand for more has been perpetual and insatiable. But, as the store of ready-made materials was very limited, and the stock generally of a poor quality, there arose a wide demand for original matter both of words and music, and so each bookmaker was compelled to play the part of a hymn-wright and a musical tinker; and it is only an act of justice to grant that the work done has been better than might have been anticipated. An improvised work of art is seldom of marked excellence, and such creations, if made to order, seldom measure up to a high standard; and yet, during all these years, while Sunday-school songs and song-books have come and gone like the changes of the moon, there has still been a perceptible improvement in the later over the earlier—another illustration of nature's great law of "the survival of the fittest." Tried by any correct principles of criticism, the "service of song" in our Sunday-schools must be assigned an unelevated place. The hymnody, though not so bad as it was in the early days of Sunday-schools, is still very imperfect in both thought and structure; and the music, which is much better than that which it has replaced, is still scarcely up to the level at which criticism must begin. These manifest deficiencies are indeed the necessary results of the prevailing lack of taste and culture in

respect to both poetry and music among the people generally. The supply has answered to the demand, and because the public taste has not required any thing better, and because the caterers to that taste have had nothing better to offer, only defective specimens have appeared; and yet, because the artistically faulty very soon ceases to please even the uncultivated taste, there has been a steady demand for new books, both hymns and tunes; and, since there was "money in it," the supply has been equally steady and increasingly abundant. And yet we are assured that in the face of all these unfavorable conditions there has been a steady advance in the quality and character of both the hymns and the music.

Those who have had some knowledge of the secular songs and melodies of fifty years ago, know very well the pedigree of a large share of the most popular of the songs of the Sunday-schools. The refrains of returning troubadours, old English ballads, and some of the once favorite Scotch-border songs, variously mutilated and transformed, reappear in countless variations, but still bearing unmistakable evidences of their origin. Not a few of the popular "spiritual" songs heard in our Sunday-schools are well known to be old songs—of love, heroism, drinking and battle and hunting songs—only slightly parodied, or rather travestied, and, as is usual with such productions, the changes, as to style and thought, have usually been for the worse. It is probably supposed (though quite incorrectly) that Sunday-school people will know nothing of folk's lore and border minstrelsy, and that it is therefore altogether the right thing to exercise them on "Auld Lang Syne" and "The Soldier's Return" and "The Braes of Balquidder," *et id omne genus*, with a very few of the words of the once popular songs, indicated by those titles, so changed as to seem to give to the "hymns" a *quasi* religious expression. It is curious, if not edifying, to trace the shreds and the colorings of these once famous pieces, both the poetry and the music, as they continually crop out in scraps and shreds in some poetical image or the stave of a melody in these "religious" song manuals—the old and profane wrought into the sacred—much as the heathen art of Greece and Rome was utilized in mediæval ecclesiastical architecture and embellishments.

The financial profitableness of the trade in books of this kind results not only in the production of a multitude of separate compilations, it has also originated a properly-manned profession of hymn and tune makers, some of whom have attained to very considerable proficiency in their art. With only moderate natural aptitudes one may, by practice, acquire a ready facility in verse-making and in spinning light melodies; and one, two, or three hundred such fitted together and bound up in a volume and happily (or otherwise) named, claims its place in the hymnody of the Sunday-school. The readers of our modern Church hymnals must be struck with the fact that not unfrequently some well-known hymn appears as the sole production of its author, whose name would have been hopelessly forgotten but for that one production. It is found, however, by tracing such pieces back to their origin, that they originally appeared, each as one of a collection of hundreds of so-called hymns, all by the same writer.

And the thought is thus suggested, that not a few well-filled volumes have sunk into oblivion, with the names of their authors, for want of a single piece that the world chose to remember. And there is comfort in the thought thus suggested in respect to these modern collections. In the absence of standard hymn-books for public worship, which are a comparatively recent institution, these sporadic clusters of religious doggerels often found their places in the services of the Churches, especially so if the author was himself a minister, and still more if he was the head of a coterie or a school of religious thought and action. And so with our juvenile song-books; because there are no generally accepted standards, each hymn-wright and tune-spinner manufactures his own wares, and, with the help of his publisher, pushes them into use. That these are "only born to die"—the best of them destined to wither as the grass or to fall away as the leaves in autumn—may be safely predicted; and yet even these, as the succeeding generations come and go, show some advancement toward a higher standard; the joint result of better skill in the manufacturers and better taste in those who use such productions.

It is gratifying to notice that some of those who have undertaken to supply the public with this class of wares indicate a suspicion that there is something not altogether unworthy of their attention in the good old hymns that were used by their fathers and mothers. Occasionally some old favorite is taken bodily and set to a jingling melody, with a long caudal appendage in the shape of a chorus or refrain, made up of meaningless repetitions of platitudes. Again, some specially cherished hymn is taken and revamped, using both its language and its imagery in new and strange combinations, usually ending with some sort of ding-dong finial. In this kind of application one may meet and recognize, despite their grotesque settings, such universal favorites as "Rock of ages," "Jesus, lover of my soul," "O happy day, that fixed my choice," and others of like character. The taste that leads to such selections, though still very wide of the correct standard, indicates a hopeful feeling after something really excellent, which it detects in the pieces it so mars and mangles in its endeavors to bring them within its own faulty range. If not turned aside, there is cause to hope that it will at length rise to something more worthy of its aspirations. In order to give a better tone to their poetry, these hymn-wrights sometimes draw largely upon both the Oriental imagery of the Bible and also upon external nature. In recent productions there seems to have been a less liberal use of the machinery of the Apocalypse than prevailed in former times, but, instead, we have a superabundance of "spicy breezes" and "shining shores," of groves and palms, of birds and flowers, and all the scenery and furniture of "Beulah Land," such as Bunyan never dreamed about. These, however, mark a stage in the transition of the public taste from the low level of the past toward the better ideal yet to be realized, of which realization they are indeed the prophecy, perhaps the partially assured promise.

The place now assigned to the "service of song" in the Sunday-schools

is a comparatively recent concession, previous to which there was not much singing in them, and that little was identical with that used in public worship. There were some decided advantages in this (as well as great disadvantages), especially in the fact that by that process the memories of the children became stored with forms of language of a high degree of literary excellence, and conveying the purest and loftiest religious thoughts. The modern Sunday-school, as an agency for religious instruction, falls very far below that of the former times, on account of its disuse of the Catechism, and by its substitution of the fashionable lighter songs that have replaced those formerly in use. And yet this latter change was evidently a necessity, and though its results may have been evil in some important particulars, still, as there can be no going back to the old and discarded methods, the remedy must be sought by improving that now in use. And here there are encouraging signs of better things. No doubt the musical taste of the people is perceptibly though only slowly improving, and so calling for a higher standard of music than has sufficed in the past; and of this both the book-makers and the publishers are quick to take notice. It may require the life-time of a generation to get rid of the trashy matter that has so long occupied the field, and which has largely molded the public taste to its own faulty conceptions; but these will surely give way before the better models which are already appearing. Neither hymns nor tunes that can answer to the requirements of good taste can be made to order; they spring into being spontaneously by a sort of non-volitional inspiration; and when they appear they are recognized and confessed by all whose tastes have not been corrupted by false teaching. But such hymns, with all requisite adaptations for the use of children, are now abundant in the poetical literature of the Church; nor has the gift of sacred song entirely departed. The outlook, therefore, is hopeful, though we still view the goodly heritage far away in the future.

PRESBYTERIAN PEDOBAPTISM.

Dr. Henry J. Van Dyke, of Brooklyn, is well known as a clear and forcible writer, but he seems to have exceeded his own average in his article on "The Baptism of Infants," which appeared in the "Presbyterian Review" for January. He is also known to be a Presbyterian of the "straitest sect" or section, and hitherto he has been accounted a Calvinist; but the paper referred to renders that fact very uncertain if tested by the clear meaning of the "standards." He is, however, a pedobaptist, according to the popular signification of that word, though not unlikely he would object to the term, as indicating a special kind, while he insists—and all will agree with him—that there is only "one baptism," whose identity is not changed by its application to different classes of persons. His objection to such phrases as "*infant* baptism," "*adult*

baptism," and "*believers'* baptism," though urged with some earnestness, do not seem especially weighty, as it must be obvious that the several substantive-adjectives found one in each of these phrases do not qualify the common substantive-noun, but only express its relations to the different classes of persons indicated by the nouns-predicate. No intelligent person will fail to perceive that the phrase "infant baptism" is identical in its significance with "the baptism of infants," though the latter form of words may excel in fullness of expression, but at the cost of compactness and brevity.

The writer's design seems to be chiefly to assert and defend from Scripture and the writings of the early Fathers the practice of admitting infants to baptism, and then to explain the doctrinal theory, as entertained by Presbyterians, upon which it rests. On the former division of the discussion, to which his paper is principally devoted, all who agree with his views will think that his arguments are not only incisive, but also decisive; and those who dissent will find that he has given them no inconsiderable job by way of restoring the breaches made by his artillery.

It is well known that the anti-pedobaptists rely very largely, in their argument against the practice referred to, on the absence of any direct proof in the New Testament of its recognition by the apostles, and that such silence on the subject is conceded by those of the opposite side, and accounted for in what is assumed to be a satisfactory manner. But after very briefly referring to that form of argument, the review changes front, and, ceasing to stand on the defensive, carries the war into the positions of the enemy. The argument based upon this silence is assumed by the opposers of the baptism of infants to be conclusively fatal; against which determination, however, the other side presents what many will esteem an altogether satisfactory contra-argument. Reduced to the form of a syllogism, the anti-pedobaptists' argument first assumes that no doctrine or practice not explicitly taught in the New Testament can be accepted as duly authenticated; and next it is asserted that "the practice of infant baptism is not so taught." These two positions constitute the major and the minor premises of the syllogism, and if accepted as correct the conclusion is inevitable, that the indicated doctrine and practice are without scriptural warrant.

This may seem conclusive; but if tried in another case it may not be so convenient. If, with the same major premise, in the place of the above minor, we substitute "The practice of admitting women to the Lord's Supper is not explicitly taught in the New Testament," we shall reach the unwelcome conclusion that there is no scriptural warrant for admitting women to the Lord's table, and therefore it should not be allowed.

The same form of argument, it is also shown, would be fatal to the divine authority of the Christian Sabbath, and to marriage as a religious ordinance. The argument from the silence of Scripture on any given subject must therefore be given up, because, if insisted on, it proves altogether too much, and also because, if applied, as it has been, in respect to baptism of infants, it must also apply in like manner in all similar cases.

The argument drawn from the language of Christ's commission to his apostles, to "teach all nations," in which, according to this argument from silence, baptism is restricted to them that believe, may be disposed of in the same way; that is, since only believers may be baptized, and infants cannot believe, therefore infants are not proper subjects for baptism. But this form of reasoning applied in the same case, with the change of a single word, would bring us to a rather undesirable result; for it is added, "He that believeth not shall be damned;" and therefore, since infants do not and cannot believe, they must necessarily be damned.

But since nobody will accept this last conclusion, so must this whole form of reasoning be rejected, and we are brought to the conclusion that the silence of the New Testament in respect to any specific practice or rule of discipline in the apostolic Church, is itself scarcely a presumptive proof against such a practice or rule, and that it is wholly worthless in the face of implications or indirect suggestions to the contrary; and it is further claimed that with such implications both the New Testament and the history and literature of the early Church abound. The oldest post-apostolical church history presents the practices of Christian marriage, of "Lord's day" observance, of admitting women to the holy communion, and the baptism of infants, as in general use in the Church, and all are recognized as of apostolical authority; and this being the state of the case, the antipedobaptists are put upon the defensive, with the whole burden of proving their position resting on their hands. Our reviewer, however, goes into the arena and aggressively contests the ground with his antagonists in a rapid but comprehensive statement of the arguments drawn from the unity and solidarity of the human race, the nature and perpetuity of the Abrahamic covenant, the substantial unity, in nature and design, of circumcision and baptism, and the close relations of the family and the Church, all showing that the work of Christ was wrought out for aggregate humanity, in which considerations of individualism are subordinated to the common rights and interests of the race. In this part of his argument the writer displays a decided leaning to *churchism*, a tendency that has recently manifested itself in certain unusual quarters.

All who sympathize with the opinions which Dr. Van Dyke so ably and earnestly asserts and defends will agree in saying that in these few pages he has completely vindicated his positions; but in the application of his principles, in actual church work among the conditions and traditions of his own Church, he evidently finds his path not altogether free from difficulties. He escapes from the obstacle imposed by the doctrine of predestination, which distinguished infants as "elect" and "non-elect," by quietly disregarding that discrimination, so very clearly and strongly marked in his accepted standards, and which doctrine is an essential part of the remarkably compact structure of Calvinistic theology, and by assuming that all infants belong to Christ; and, therefore, any dying in infancy will assuredly be saved. The natural, and indeed necessary, inference from that position would seem to be, that since all infants are

embraced in the Abrahamic covenant, of which Christ himself is now t
manifested Mediator, they should receive its sign and seal. Nor is t
denied, but rather conceded, as to their original title by the reviewer, a
yet, for obvious reasons, he contends, very justly we think, that it is
lawful to dispense the ordinance without proper discriminations. T
question, "What infants is it lawful to baptize?" is, therefore, a practi
one, and not without its perplexities. Our reviewer encounters these d
ficulties, especially intensified in the language of the Westminster Conf
sion and Catechism, which, contemplating the whole theory and syst
of the Gospel in the light of the "divine decrees," shut up this spec
privilege of the Church to "those who do actually profess faith and ob
dience to Christ," and "*also* infants of one or both believing parent
But why all these and none else is not altogether clear.

The reviewer ingenuously confesses that as a Christian pastor he fin
himself somewhat at a loss in respect to his official duty, and especially
as to the condition in which the matter stands in the Presbyterian Chur
"It throws upon the minister the responsibility of deciding in every c
whether those who ask for the baptism of their children are members
the visible Church and make a credible profession of faith;" and here
may well be asked, What is the scriptural standard by which to determi
such cases? Very frankly the good doctor confesses his perplexity, a
also tells us how he cuts the knot that he cannot untie:

> After much study of this question the writer has come deliberately to the c
> clusion to baptize the children of all who have themselves been baptized, w
> have never repudiated their covenanted obligations, and who, at the time of t
> administration of the ordinance, are prepared to make a credible profession
> their faith in and obedience to Christ. . . . If any parents will deceitfully
> carelessly make such a confession and assume such vows, the accountability is
> them, not on us.

This may probably be understood as substantially the practice of t
ministers of the Presbyterian Church, and in it they assume whatev
may be its legitimate doctrinal implications. Dr. Hodge, in his gre
work on theology, grants that "the sacraments are to be confined to t
members of the Church;" but he immediately adds that the Church "i
cludes all those who, having been baptized, have not forfeited their me
bership by scandalous living or by an act of church discipline;" a
here again appears the peculiar form of *churchism* before referred to, a
cording to which a succession of baptized unbelievers and practical re
robates may transmit by inheritance, through any number of successi
generations, a special and peculiar right to the privileges of the Christi
covenant. The end reached may be all right, but the process is not
well made out and justified.

We have watched with very great interest, induced by a lively and d
cidedly friendly sympathy, the recent movements of the great minds of t
noble Presbyterian Church, and listened to their utterances, while ma
ing the transition from the wilderness of ultra-Calvinism, in which the
predecessors so long wandered, into the Promised Land, in which we a

now happy to greet them. We are aware of the superficial character of many of the popular, and, perhaps, practically the most effective, objections to their moribund system of doctrine, and are quite ready to concede that within the range of natural reason the logical positions of high Calvinism are impregnable, and that all attempts to soften down its so-called asperities, and to reconstruct the system on some other logical basis, must be egregious and manifest failures. And yet every body knows—and most people are glad of it—that the great body of the Presbyterian ministers have ceased to teach, and their people to hold, the distinctive doctrines of that system, as they stood forth and were recognized from the time of Augustine down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The doctrinal *status* of the Presbyterian pulpit of to-day, and of its current literature, is quite as far from that of the Synod of Dort or of the Westminster Assembly, as was that of Arminius and the early Remonstrants, or of Wesley and his associates and followers. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the theology of Methodism is not more conservative of all that was really valuable in the old school Calvinism (and of that there was very much) than are any of the modified forms of that system, which though apparently careful to retain the husk, seem to be quite ready to give up the kernel. Dr. Van Dyke tells us, at the close of his discussion, that "The salvation of any soul turns ultimately upon the gracious counsel of the divine will," which is a great and precious truth, but not the whole truth, and half-truths are often the worst kind of untruths. To save that sentence from that censure it should have inserted in it, after the word "ultimately," the qualifying clause, "but not unconditionally." The "means" of personal salvation, of which baptism is a not unimportant item, are divinely appointed, and if properly used they will prove effective; but they may be neglected or perverted, and so the end itself defeated.

METHODISTIC VIEWS RESPECTING INFANT BAPTISM.

At the end of the seventeenth of the twenty-five "Articles of Religion," which to some degree represent the doctrinal *status* of American Methodism, occurs the sentence: "The baptism of young children is to be retained in the Church." This injunction may seem to require a fuller presentation of the doctrinal basis and the purport of what is enjoined, and also fuller practical instruction respecting the conditions to be considered in obeying it. Possibly some will say that there is a lack of understanding and appreciation of this subject among us; but, if so, the fault must lie with those whose offices and relations bring them into contact with the average thinking of the people—the pulpit, the Sunday-school, and the periodical press. The Church's literature on the subject, both in its general treatises and in works specifically devoted to the subject, is sufficient to answer all reasonable requirements, and the utterances of these works give no uncertain sound.

It is scarcely to be questioned that Mr. Wesley was all his life-time a be liever in the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. His "Treatise on Bap tism" (see Works, vol. vi, pp. 12–22, Amer. ed.), which he several times re vised, and which, as it now appears, he made in his celebrated Poll-dee the unalterable doctrinal standard of his "Societies," is capable of no othe interpretation. His words are: "By baptism, we who were 'by natur children of wrath' are made the children of God. And this is more tha barely being admitted into the Church; being grafted into the body o Christ's Church we are made the children of God by adoption and grac . . . Herein a principle of grace is infused which will not be wholly take away, unless we quench the Holy Spirit of God by long-continued wick edness." "In consequence of being made children of God (by baptism we are heirs to the kingdom of heaven," and "supposing this, as it admit us into the Church here, so into glory hereafter."

It should be noticed that Mr. Wesley clearly distinguished between th ceremony of baptism and the spiritual grace of which it is, as he believed the infallible condition and procuring cause; for he states expressly, an without qualification, that "the outward baptism is a *means* (not simply *sign*, nor only a *condition*) of the inward." He also concedes, and seems t concur with the position, that the Church of England "supposes that a who are baptized in their infancy, are, at the same time, born again." An in the same sermon from which this last passage is taken he defines hi meaning of the words "born again" as indicating "that great chang which God works in the soul when he brings it into life, . . . the chang wrought in the whole soul by the almighty Spirit of God . . . when it i 'renewed after the image of God in righteousness and true holiness.' It is plain, then, that the author of the "Treatise on Baptism" and of th sermon on the "New Birth" (No. xlv) was, at their writing, a believer i baptismal regeneration; and as both these compositions were incorporate into the doctrinal basis ordained to be held in perpetuity by his "Socie ties," it is evident that he died in the same faith.

It is certain, however, that Mr. Wesley's views and opinions on thi subject were never fully accepted by his followers—not even those in Grea Britain, and still less by the Methodists of this country. Mr. Watson whose "Institutes" is accepted as a faithful embodiment of Wesleya Methodist theology in both countries, thus states the case, historically "As held by the Romanists, the hereditary corruption of our nature, an all actual sins committed before baptism, are entirely removed by it; and "in this notion of regeneration, or the washing away of original si by baptism, the Roman Church followed Augustine. . . . The Luthera Church also places the efficacy of the sacrament (of baptism) in regenera tion, by which faith is actually conveyed to the soul of the infant;" an "the Church of England . . . has not departed entirely from the term used by the Church of Rome." His own view, with large illustration drawn from the Abrahamic covenant, is condensed, as to its results, in few concise sentences: "Baptism, as a *sign* of the new (the Christian covenant, corresponds to circumcision (in the old). Like that, its admin

istration is a constant exhibition of the placability of God to man; like that, it is the initiatory rite into a covenant which promises pardon and salvation to a true faith, of which it is the outward profession; like that, it is the symbol of regeneration, the washing away of sin, and 'the renewing of the Holy Ghost;' and, like that, it is a sign of peculiar relation to God, Christians becoming, in consequence [of what it symbol izes?] 'a chosen generation—a peculiar people'—his *Church* on earth as distinguished from *the world.*'" Here is certainly no "baptismal regeneration" *ex opere operato*, though room is given for the inference that the act of baptism performed in faith, whether upon an adult or child, may be not altogether without attendant spiritual advantages, and that even the "unconscious infant" may be spiritually profited by the sacrament so given and received.

In Dr. Pope's "Christian Theology," which seems to be accepted as the standard of the Methodist orthodoxy of the present day, though perhaps the author is a little less removed from the older sacramentarianism than most of his co-religionists, the subject, as viewed by "many," evidently including the writer himself, is thus summarized: "By many the regeneration of the soul is regarded as *sacramentally pledged and promised* in virtue of the general grace bestowed upon mankind in redemption. Baptism is, therefore, a sign of the blessing into which *preliminary* grace is to mature; and the seal [the assured pledge] of its bestowment if that preliminary grace is used aright. . . . In this scheme regeneration stands connected with all the blessings of the Christian covenant, and baptism is not more intimately allied with the new birth than with remission of sins and sanctification to God. . . . Children baptized are externally [provisionally?] pardoned, adopted, and made holy; the internal reality corresponding to these is sealed to them by the preliminary grace that belongs to the family of redeemed man. . . . Baptism in this doctrine, which, carefully stated, is irrefragible, is the sign and seal, and the *instrument* [as an aid to faith] *to adult believers* of their pardon and renewal and sanctification." The above, especially as we have annotated it, by italics and bracketed comments, presents, we believe, about the form of the doctrinal conception generally accepted and taught by the best Methodist thinkers, both British and American. Only a few years ago the British Wesleyans adopted a revised ritual, including a baptismal service, from which every form of words that could be construed to favor baptismal regeneration, or sacramental efficacy *ex opere operato*, was carefully eliminated.

In the same paragraph from which the above quoted sentences are taken, the author indicates a limitation of the applicability of the benefits of this sacrament to a specific class of infants described by their relations, to the implied exclusion of all others. He continues: "To the *children of believers* it is the sign and seal, and the instrument of imparting these blessings, so far as they are capable of them. . . . If what may be loosely called the germ of grace is regeneration in the infant, then it becomes new birth in the adult." This limitation of the privilege of baptism to the children of believers runs through much of the later Protestant teaching

on this subject, but just what is the authority for it is not so obvious. I the older Calvinistic creeds, in which the discrimination of little childr as "elect infants," and, by silent implication, "non-elect," which mea children reprobated from their mother's womb, it was according to reas that only the presumptively elect should receive the sign of the covena of grace; and because it was held by them, as by the Anglicans, that "t baptism of young children is to be retained in the Church," following t sentiment of parental affection without any ground in reason, and in t absence of any Scripture warrant, it was kindly assumed that "the chi dren of believers," and only such, might be baptized. But why any w holds the doctrine of a universal redemption provided by the death a resurrection of Christ should so limit that privilege, is not so apparen If every soul is redeemed, is not every one entitled to the "sign a seal" of his redemption? A limitation of the use of baptism may argued where there is a manifest impossibility that the Church shou fulfill the duties that it assumes in its administration; but these conditio are not determined with certainty by the child's parentage. Children believing parents are sometimes found in circumstances that preclude t possibility of Christian nurture; and should such be baptized? And n infrequently, through Christian beneficence, children of the most godle parents are found among the most favorable conditions; and may not suc receive the sacrament of their redemption?

The position of the Methodist Episcopal Church on this subject expressed both very clearly and equally felicitously, though even in i utterance there is one point that needs to be explained; that is, What is be done for unbaptized children? seeing that what is directed to b done applies exclusively to the "baptized." The forty-ninth paragraph the "Methodist Discipline" presents this whole subject both affirmativel and with the requisite discriminations, and remotely with just practic limitations. In it the Church declares: "We hold that *all children*, by virtu of the unconditional benefits of the atonement, ARE *members of the kingdo of God*, and, therefore, graciously entitled to baptism; but as infant baptis contemplates a course of religious instruction and discipline, it is expecte of all parents or guardians who present their children for baptism, th they will use all diligence in [order to] bringing them up in conformity the word of God; and they should be solemnly admonished of this oblig tion, and earnestly exhorted to faithfulness therein." This is a nob utterance, and worthy of the great evangelical body which makes it. claims "all children" for Christ and his Church, not simply "elect i fants," or "children of believers," simply because they are Christ's "b the unconditional benefits of the atonement." Christ's ministers a bound to so consider them, and, whenever permitted, to extend to the the Church's ministries, of which baptism is an eminent part, and also th divinely-ordained symbol and pledge of all the rest. But the Church ordinances should not be separated from its "instruction and discipline, and, therefore, an indiscriminate baptizing of infants would be a profana tion; and, accordingly, proper assurances are required that the children t

be baptized shall receive the requisite religious care and discipline. In this brief declaration is comprised the entire theory of Methodism in respect to the relations of young children to Christ and the Gospel, and of their place and privileges in the visible Church.

But after making this grand and comprehensive declaration of God's impartial love to all, without respect to conditions and circumstances, the very next paragraph makes what seems to be a strange discrimination: "All children who have received baptism" are regarded "as placed in visible relations to God, and under the special care and supervision of the Church," which is all very well; but how about those that have not received baptism? There seems to be here an implication by the law of exclusion by omission, that the Church's duties extend only to those who come formally within the covenant of the Gospel. But in many cases the baptized children constitute the lesser part of those to whom the ministries of the Church in the form of "instruction and discipline" may extend; and is there, then, no obligation to care for those of that majority? We are happy to know that the practice of the Church is more comprehensive than this one of her rescripts would imply. We do not say that no special care should be directed to those to whom the Church has given the signature of the covenant of grace; but we say emphatically, that because all children are Christ's by the purchase of his blood, the duties of ministers and of the whole Church extend to all; and that, without respect to parentage or race, or hereditary faith or unfaith, in every case where there is good reason to believe that the child can be duly subjected to "a course of religious instruction and discipline," it is right and proper that such a child shall be baptized.

This conception of the moral character and spiritual relations of young children, as implied in their baptism, is in harmony with the fundamental theological position of Methodism. The ritual for "The Ministration of Baptism to Infants" opens with the recognition of the fact that "all men are conceived and born in sin," and that another, a spiritual birth, is a prerequisite to admission to "the kingdom of God," all of which is in perfect harmony with the article (vii) "Of Original or Birth Sin." The "kingdom of God," as that term is here used, evidently implies a state of spiritual regeneration; but there is also an important sense in which every soul born into the world is "of the kingdom of God;" and for that reason they are entitled to baptism. In "Clarke's Commentary" (revised edition) on Matthew xix, 14, is this note: "The 'kingdom of heaven,' in its original purpose and in its actual scope, as the gift of the Father to the Messiah, comprehended all souls (Psa. ii, 8), and accordingly all were redeemed by Christ's blood simply as members of the human family; therefore 'little children' are of the kingdom of heaven; and because they are Christ's they should be brought to him, by whatever process or methods redeemed souls are taken out of the *world*, and formally united to the *Church;* and because they are of the Church, they are entitled to its proper watch-care and nurture, together (as far as they are applicable) with its most sacred ordinances." The title of children to baptism has no reference to

their moral fitness as some have argued (see Mercein's "Natural Go
ness"), but the opposite is steadily implied; nor is it supposed t
any properly moral or spiritual change accompanies, or is *directly* procur
by baptism. In his own nature the child is the same after that he
before baptism.

And now some one may ask, "What advantage, then, hath the *christe*
child, or what profit is there in baptism?" And the answer is precis
the same that the apostle rendered in a parallel case: "Much every w
chiefly because unto them are committed the oracles of God." Bapti
is valuable to its subject, not so much for its direct influences upon
spiritual character as for the "course of religious instruction and di
pline" which it "contemplates," and which is pledged to him by his p
ents or guardians, and by the Church at his baptism. The risen Christ co
missions his apostles to *proselyte* "all the nations"—that is, all manki
—which, beyond reasonable question, included all children, and bapti
was to be the sign of their initiation into Christ's family—being taken
of the world. The Master gave that sign, to be used upon all whom
servants should "disciple," and it is for them to *obey*—not to *reason w*
though the command is obviously a reasonable one. Nor is it impo
ble, nor indeed improbable, that not inconsiderable spiritual advanta
may come to the baptized as results of the new conditions and relati
into which they are brought. Baptism is itself an act of faith to wh
God will have respect, and which he may honor by special providen
watch-care, and the better disposition of circumstances for the salvat
of the soul, so favorably placed within the covenant of mercy; and lar
measures of the Spirit, and of the universal grace that brings salvati
may be expected for "those that be planted in the house of the Lord
that they may "flourish in the courts of our God." And so, consideri
the subject, Methodists are fully convinced that "the baptism of you
children is to be retained in the Church."

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE EUROPEAN OUTLOOK.—The Protestant Churches of Germany have begun the year with renewed vigor, and the general outlook is good for active and practical work. The several Synods have made a general movement toward the matter of increasing the income of the working pastors, and propose to go to the general government with petitions to that effect. There is also a great desire shown to have a reform in Sabbath observance, which is now very lax; efforts will be made to induce a reduced service on the railroads and in postal matters on the Lord's day, and the places of public entertainment are likely all to be closed, at least during the hours of church service. In addition to this, there is also a great desire among the churches to have a better preparation in the candidates for the pulpit; measures are being adopted to secure that end.

In Austria a host of petitions has been sent to the government in favor of schools for Protestant children, and it is believed that the emperor favors the measure, and will soon give his assent to a bill in parliament that will satisfy the large number now without school privileges except with the condition of Catholic training. In Hungary there is much complaint that, while in the House of Magnates there are representatives of the Catholic and the Greek Churches, the Protestant Church has no voice. A bill will likely soon come up granting to the Evangelical Church six members—three from the clergy and three from the laity.

The Swiss are still fighting the Salvation Army and the Mormons—with more zeal than judgment, we fear—and at the same time they are trying to cure some of the worst wounds caused by the "Kultur-Kampf." In the diocese of Basle the destroyed bishopric is about to be restored, and in Ticino an episcopal vicariate will probably soon be established. The annual convention of the Reformed Association will be held this year in Geneva, in the month of August. The subjects for discussion on this occasion and the speakers are already appointed. At the same time the three hundred and fiftieth birthday of the Reformation will be celebrated also in Geneva. Old Catholicism is also again rising into hope and notice, and will, in the course of the year, hold a conference in some portion of Switzerland on the line of the Gothard Road, so as to be easy of access from both sides of the Alpine range.

In the Scandinavian States there is just now not a little of discomfort at the unsettled state of religious affairs. The State Church gained no laurels in the opposition to the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in the leading capital, and Denmark was decidedly the gainer in welcoming that body to its capital. The Swiss Synod meets only once in five years, which fact shows that it is indeed a very slow coach. At that rate, in these fast days, the government might abolish it before its own veto could be interposed. In Norway there is a movement on foot to call during the present year an ecclesiastical conference to discuss the proposition to make

the Norwegian Church independent. At least it is expected that a sync constitution will be obtained which will be a step toward self-governme

Holland is quite thoroughly permeated with civil and religious libe ism, and this latter has gone so far as to give it *godless schools*. This, Europe, where the Sunday-school system is not very well develop means just what it says, so that the children may pass through their cou with but little intimation of divine truths except what they may rece in their homes. An effort is now being made to remedy this evil. T Reformed Church of Holland has more kinds of adherents within its li than it can conveniently carry, and the time is near when there must b reorganization into liberals and orthodox. The Ultramontane journ declare that these latter, in case of a division, will return to Rome; b in this, we venture to say, that their reckoning is a little premature.

In Belgium, notwithstanding the fearful commotion between the Cath lics and the Liberals on the school and other civil questions, circumstan are not entirely unfavorable to the spread of evangelical religion. T "Belgian Christian Mission Church" is entirely independent of the Sta and proposes to hold its Synod this year in Liege, while the State Protesta Church will meet in Brussels. In Antwerp there will be held a "Univ sal Exposition," at which, it is said, there will be evangelical service several languages, while the Bible in various tongues will be offered the visitors. In Spain alone do the prospects of the Protestant Chur look gloomy. The present Conservative ministry is hostile to the Go pel, and lays every obstacle in its way.

The French Protestants are rapidly learning their strength, and the tr means of carrying on a successful aggressive and defensive warfare again their enemies of various shades. The "Revue Chretienne," their offici organ, so far as they have one in common, has passed into new hand and greatly increased its corps of co-workers. Edmond de Pressens who so long controlled its pages, yields to the demands made on him the French Senate, of which he is now a member, and retires from th leading place. But his spirit will still animate the work, and his pen wi contribute the usual and acceptable monthly review.

Rev. Frank Puaux now enters the editorial sanctum to take up th mantle of the master and lead on in the conflict. And the central plan in his platform runs as follows: "Separation of Church and State pr sented as a principle and a goal; while expecting cordial sympathy fo every tendency which shall prepare the way, but with the reserve that n action of the State is admissible to establish or maintain the profession faith as long as the Concordat rule shall exist." And another plank thus worded: "In political matters, invariable Liberalism against all th authorities, whether of the Right or the Left; and every-where, an always, the defense of the liberty of conscience."

In opening this new series of the "Review" the editor retains its time honored device: "The Gospel and Liberty." And under this, he and hi *confreres* expect to move on to great conquests. They do not believe, a is often asserted, that liberty is dangerous to the cause of true religion

The crisis before them is one that springs from modern philosophy rather than from political development. They believe Christ more necessary now to the French nation than ever before, and propose to present him in simplicity as the Son of God and Friend of Man. They would have him mingle with the crowds, and have compassion on the people as in other times, so as to confound the sophists who would mislead the masses. To this weary and despairing nation they would repeat the apostolic words: "We have found the Christ." To do that they consider their duty and the secret of assured victory.

They do not regard numbers nor success alone, but the mysterious power of the truth that they preach. And, without conceiving great designs, they believe in their power to inspire and increase a truly Christian spirit, exempt at once from violence on the one hand, and too easy companionship on the other. Among the corps of workers on the magazine, in addition to the old and well-known names, we observe the new and celebrated ones of Lavelaye, Hollard, Kuhn, Bastide, Lacheret, Doctor Gibert, and others. With such a corps of co-laborers the sympathies of French Protestants are assured in advance.

THE ULTRAMONTANES IN BELGIUM.—The well-known publicist, Lavelaye, has a searching article in the January number of the "Revue Chretienne," on the religious crisis in Belgium, from which we give, in brief, these thoughts: The triumph of the Catholic party in the late elections, the advent to power of a cabinet resolutely clerical, and their hasty action in the matter of primary instruction, have induced a profound impression in the political life of the country. And this impression will, without doubt, find its counterpart in all Protestant nations with free institutions —such as England, the United States, and Holland.

The real question at stake is not often seen or regarded. The Ultramontanes believe that the Catholic Church, with the restoration of royalty by divine right, will have order, peace, and true liberty. On the other hand, the Liberal Catholics think that the Church can and ought to be reconciled with the modern spirit in spite of the anathemas of the syllabus. The freethinkers and the greater part of the Liberals imagine that the Catholic Church has lost its power, and that, while it is expiring, the State can organize new methods without caring for the resistance made. These three groups form the great majority, both in France and Belgium.

The author considers all these three mistaken in certain particulars, and believes that they ignore the teachings of history and contemporaneous facts; which assertion he supports about as follows: Experience proves that a country completely subjected to Rome may enjoy a peaceful happiness, and a certain liberty, on the condition of being protected from the invasion of modern ideas. This is seen in the Tyrol and in French Canada. But this supposes that heresy and free thought do not penetrate such lands, or are violently expelled from them, which is not easily the case in an epoch which hesitates at the Inquisition.

If the modern spirit enters a good Catholic land, the struggle agai the Church will be most acrid and persistent. This has been seen Rome for the last fourteen years, and it is this antagonism which n causes the crisis in Belgium. The Conservatives and the religious peo who desire the overthrow of the Republic in France, in the interest religion, are singularly blind. A restored monarchy would find its s port in the clergy; and then against this power there would reappea more violent hostility than at the period of the Restoration. If the thr were again supported by the altar, Catholicism would be attacked w greater bitterness than now. Liberal Catholics are mistaken when t imagine that the Church would be reconciled to modern ideas. No minds, even Tocqueville, have racked themselves with this chimera. they forget the anathemas of the popes, and the decisions of the counc The Church of Rome has always condemned liberty of conscience, a she demands to-day the extirpation of heretics in governments under Concordat.

The CHURCH IN DENMARK is exerting itself with unusual vigor in line of home mission work, and an ancient association is renewing its in this intent. For two years it has had a local center in the best port of the city, and thus attracts general attention. Large contributions h of late come to it from private sources, and it has built a great hall t will accommodate two thousand persons. Over a thousand meetings various religious and philanthropic purposes have here been held in course of the year. An adjunct in the form of a yard or court miss has been established to carry the Gospel into the inner courts or yards the most densely populated quarters. This effort has revived the chu attendance, which is now exceptionally good for a European city. T churches are filled every Sunday; even the early morning service of nea all the new churches is largely attended.

This fact has developed the want of more places for public worship the masses, and this want is likely to be supplied. These home missi are adopting the modern methods of taking to the poor and their child small papers and tracts, and especially appropriate hymns, the singing which forms a strong attraction. The pastors, after holding off for a li while, are now inclined to aid in the work, to which they also bring theological students. This movement has thus given life to the Sund schools, of which there are now many in the city. They have, of cou met with some contumely and opposition, but the people at large are w them, and their cause is growing in spite of opposition. This spiri now spreading to other Danish cities, and thus Denmark is leaving other Scandinavian realms quite in the background in the line of religious work. Within the last few years five new churches have b erected in Copenhagen, a few of them quite beautiful architectural m uments. Some of the churches have been aided in this enterprise private men of wealth, who think it wise to use their means thus in or to resist the advance of socialistic ideas.

A conflict in the CATHOLIC CHURCH OF FRANCE is causing the Pope considerable trouble. It arises from the different opinions entertained by the two parties—Liberal and Conservative—in regard to a Life of the late Bishop of Orleans, the famous Dupanloup. The Ultramontane press is attacking the author with unwise zeal because of his panegyrics, which to them are not agreeable; but they are, without exception, laymen who have certain control of the papal organ in France. These fanatical attacks on the Liberals bode no good for the Church at large in France, and the pontiff has addressed to them, through his nuncio to the French government, some very earnest warnings. The Papal Embassador declares that these unwise words can only make more difficult the mission of the bishops, which is now to conciliate a government that is, in many ways, protecting the Church from the assaults of the Radicals, and aiding it in its mission work abroad, especially in China, Japan, Madagascar, and other parts of Africa. The Cardinal-archbishop of Paris has also bid these over-zealous champions be still.

Old Catholicism is again resuming its activity in various parts of GERMANY. There is a large congregation in Wiesbaden that is leading off in the new movement. Several new periodicals are being established for circulation among the adherents of this Church, and Bishop Reinkens recently addressed a thousand persons on the theme, "German bishops a thousand years ago and now." The well-known Professor Braun, who left the Church on account of its dogma in regard to the Immaculate Conception, died recently without retracting his views, though a great effort was made by certain Catholic prelates to induce him to become reconciled to the "Holy Mother Church." One quite distinguished lady of this faith has recently published a pamphlet on the "Rights and Duties of the Women of the Present," in which she speaks very plainly of the celibacy of the clergy, and its evil influence on women whom it takes from their natural sphere, and uses for the advancement of tenets and creeds that are of infinite harm to society and social life. Old Catholicism is, therefore, by no means so moribund as the *Church* has represented it to be.

The Catholics of Germany have just formed a "Palestine Society," which is not in the line of exhumation as are most others. Its object is to look after the interests of their faith throughout the Holy Land, and by efficient arrangements to control the religious and social development of Catholicism in those limits. To this end they propose to establish in Jerusalem a hospice, with church, school, and hospital attached, in which German Catholics who come as pilgrims to the Holy Land may find a hospitable welcome, and assistance and care in case of need. And Catholics who, for any reason, wish to settle there, especially for the propagation of the faith, will receive advice that will help them in introducing genuine Christian culture into Palestine. A Franciscan monk has already secured some land and a roomy house in Jerusalem, as well as a piece of land in

Emmaus, which purchases have just been passed over to the hands of committee, for the purpose of starting the work.

The Christian Colonial Association is the cognomen of another new bo just founded in the Fatherland under the influence of the colonizing spi now abroad in that country. Its object is to collect funds for the purpo of founding or aiding Christian colonization in all those parts of Afri now being acquired by Germany. It is intended to favor the acceptan of such persons mainly as find it difficult to gain a livelihood through t abundance of hands at their homes. The colony is to form a Christi community to be controlled by persons appointed by the association. is to be the duty of those accepted by the association to exert themselv to make the colony an example and attraction, as well as an object lesso to the natives. As soon as there is sufficient means in the treasury, commission will be sent to Africa to acquire lands and pave the way f a beginning. In order to hasten and broaden the work, branch societi are being formed in various cities.

The German Puritans have received quite a ventilation from a rece work of colossal proportions, entitled the "History of Pietism." Th book is not yet indeed finished; more is promised. What is now befo the public treats of the mysticism of the Lutheran Church in the seve teenth century, of the fundamental forms of Pietism in the Luther Church, and of that of Halle. The book is by Dr. Albrecht Ritsch which is to say that the subject is handled with great thoroughness, an with a peculiar illumination. The author shows great respect for th founders of the schism or sect—Spener and Franke—and grants fu acknowledgment to their high worth. He does not so much censu Spener for inoculating Pietism with sickly germs, as for not preventin them from penetrating the body. Critics promise to give the work complete overhauling, with the view of showing the influence of Pietis on the development of the present German Evangelical Church, by whic Pietism will be more likely to suffer than to profit.

Russia and the Vatican.—The Concordat concluded last sprin between Russia and the Vatican, though it seemed to grant unusual priv ileges to the Catholic Church, is not working very harmoniously. Russi has called a synod of the Greek Church in a district that Rome claims fo her own. She also demands that her own officers in the Department o Public Worship shall have cognizance of correspondence between th Vatican and the government, and that the Roman Catholic fraternitie for the protection of the faith shall be under police surveillance. An again, the orthodox Church accuses the Romish hierarchy of endeavorin to proselytize, while the official organ of the government threatens th Vatican with another break in diplomatic relations. All these trouble show how weak is the foundation of the peace that now ostensibly reign between Rome and Russia, despite the Concordat.

The eighth general meeting of the deaconesses of Kaiserswerth on the ine, was recently held in the famous "Mother House." Over a hundred legates were present from the various centers that have been established these good women of God in Germany and other lands. They came from ris and Pesth, from Switzerland and Austria, from Finland and Den-ark, and other distant centers. Their object was to renew their faith conference, and to discuss all questions pertaining to their wonderfully eful work. They now propose a closer union, with a view to harmony action and purpose, and are inclined to make a code for the better pro-tion of those in foreign lands. They propose to withdraw the sisters om the clinics of hospitals, and employ them more exclusively in char-ble institutions; and demand at least that the nurses in clinics shall ve a little Sabbath rest. The main object of the conference thus seems be to elevate and improve the condition of the workers.

A German scholar, Dr. J. M. Raich, has undertaken the peculiar task showing Shakespeare's position toward the Catholic religion. The gument is based on his very correct presentation of Catholic doctrines, remonies, and usages, and the special preference of the poet for those ints of Catholicism which are generally marked in black by its oppo-nts. Such are the asceticism, the frequent prayer, the vows, the whole onasterial life, as well as the sacraments and purgatory of the "True hurch." On the contrary, Shakespeare shows very little knowledge of e doctrines of the Reformation, of total depravity, and of justification by th. And still more instructive is the difference made by the dramatist the delineation of the clergy of the respective faiths—on the one hand, e Catholic monks, nuns, hermits, bishops, and priests, and, on the other, e Puritanic or Anglican clergy, and their surroundings. The book is etty roughly handled by some critics, who claim that Shakespeare had good deal of Protestant blood in his veins.

A very acceptable book to the French Protestants, bearing the title Adolphe Monod—Souvenirs of his Life," has just issued from the press Fischbacher, in Paris. It contains, among other treasures, extracts om his correspondence. A more cherished present could scarcely have en made to the Protestants of France. The pious hand that selected e letters was well suited to the task. The first volume—there are two is a model biography. The precious documents taken from the archives the family are connected with tact and discretion, and the recital is mple and graphic. Monod is presented as he lived—a humble, fervent hristian in his pleasures and his struggles. A French critic calls these olumes the "gift of God," and says: "They do more than interest and ove us—they humiliate by placing us in the presence of the highest hristian ideal, which is the greatest blessing bestowed on us."

A new movement in LONDON, gaining its animus from the late "Bitter ry of the Outcast," and bearing the name of the "Third London Mis-on," bids fair to have a great field for labors, and promises much success.

It is virtually a stepping down into the arena of all shades of the Estal lished Church, from the most decided Rituals to the extreme wing of th Evangelicals. The whole movement is voluntary, though springin largely from the suggestion and support of the Bishop of Bedford. Th pastors of several churches have called to their aid the assistance of som of the most gifted preachers, and, in their own circles, have received th aid of a great many volunteers among the laity. Mission sermons are t be preached in more than two hundred churches; and, in some of th filthiest and vilest portions of London, the pastor, in full clerical attir will head a procession with lanterns and flags bearing the invitatio "Come to the Mission." And, after passing through the principal street will return to the church, singing hymns, and followed by a crowd for s audience.

The question of Christian benevolence in the Middle Ages is very tho oughly and effectively discussed in a recent work by Dr. Uhlhorn, calle forth by the fact that the Catholic world of Europe is quite inclined t attribute much of the social unrest of the period among the poorer an working classes to the rise and rule of Protestantism in many countrie The Catholic Church maintains, that in the good old times a great deal the suffering of the poor was alleviated by the cloisters, hospitals, and oth institutions of the day for the alleviation of human misery. Dr. Uhlhor treats the matter without gloves, and quite conclusively shows that man of these very institutions propagated beggary and idleness, instead destroying these evils. It was the Church of the Reformation that unde took the task of wiping out these so-called benevolent organizations whi spent far more money on themselves than on the poor, and of establishin in their stead evangelical Church institutions, that forbade beggars an dispensed well-ordered charity.

We have just received the last number of the new Italian review, entitl "La Nuova Scienza." It is devoted to the study of higher instruction an philosophical research. It appears to be plowing its way on with muc vigor, and is giving to its readers the "Italian thought of the day" the matters of which it treats. Many of our own terms and proper name as well as those of Germany, look strangely out of place among the pret vowel-ending words of the "Bella Lingua," in an article called "Angl Saxon Anti-Clerical Evolution," which is a very exhaustive and valuab treatise. One of the sections of this lengthy article is devoted to "Ge man Pietism," another to "British Methodism," and still another "American Methodism." We need hardly say that this latter, with i well-known names of the great worthies of our Church, looks very natur to us, and we thank God that they are being so rapidly and successful introduced to Italian Protestant Christians.

DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

BEATIFICATION ASKED FOR "AMERICAN SERVANTS OF GOD."—A noteworthy movement has been begun by a few dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States looking toward the "beatification" of certain "American servants of God." The candidates for this honor are Father Isaac Jogues, a Jesuit priest; René Goupil, a novice of the same society—both of whom are revered as martyrs; and Catherine Tegakwita, "the Indian virgin of the Mohawk." Father Jogues was a Frenchman, born in 1607. Ordained when about thirty years of age, he promptly dedicated himself to the Indian missions in America, and sailed for Canada. The story of his self-denying and heroic adventures among the Hurons and Mohawks has been told at length by Parkman and Bancroft. His religious zeal impelled him through dangers that deterred even the hardiest military men, and led at last to his capture by the hostile Mohawks. These savages inflicted inhuman tortures upon him and upon his congenial companion, "the good René." The priest had the sturdier constitution and recovered, but Goupil died, "uttering with his last breath the name of Jesus." As a slave to a Mohawk chief, Father Jogues spent several years in patient efforts to Christianize his savage master. When the outbreak of fresh wars made his ministry to the Indians manifestly unavailing, he was persuaded, though much against his own wish, to escape to New Amsterdam, now New York. He was the first priest who celebrated the mass in that city. Returning to Europe, he was received as a saint by sovereigns and people, and especially honored by the pope. But his zealous spirit soon brought him back to America, and before long he had begun a mission to his old tormentors, the Mohawks. He was received at first with dignity as an embassador from the French; but when his religious ministrations were begun, their hostility was again aroused, and the gentle hero was put to death in 1646, in the same village in which, four years before, he had been tortured and mutilated, and had beheld the martyrdom of his cherished friend. The claims of Catherine Tegakwita for beatification rest on slenderer foundations; she was an inconspicuous Indian maiden, who dedicated herself to the Church, and in early life faded from the earth, leaving an aroma of sanctity behind her. Legends of miracles have blossomed about her tomb.

The Plenary Council of Baltimore forwarded to Rome a conciliar petition, or *postulatum*, for the beatification of these worthies; so that "the whole American Church" is now on its knees before the Holy See, united in this request. This incipient movement looking toward the canonization of "Americans" has an interest that reaches beyond the pale of the Romish Church. Beatification, to be sure, is "a mere permission for a limited *cultus* of the beatified," whereas canonization introduces them as saints upon the altars, to be religiously venerated. But, then, their full sainthood is only a question of time, and their promotion will doubtless

be followed by that of others more closely allied in race to the present superstitious masses of our country—genuine Americans, of Irish or Italian extraction perhaps. A writer in "The Catholic World" tells us that already "one of the questions of the hour" is, Where are our national saints and shrines? And thoughtful Protestants may well pause and listen when Romish authorities answer that question. The *saints* have been already described; of the *shrines* one, at least, is to be found in the heart of our most populous State; and we shall soon, doubtless, see deluded pilgrims flocking to it by the hundred, just as now they crowd the roads to Knock and Lourdes and La Salette.

"ORTHODOX" AND "REFORMED" JUDAISM.—The thoughtful student of the tendencies of contemporary religious thought has few problems presented to him of greater interest than those which spring from the steady tendency of the "Reformers" in Judaism away from the orthodox standards of the ritualistic Hebrews. Gathering strength in Germany a generation ago, the reform movement has steadily gained in vigor and influence, and its representatives in America are now helping to mold the thought of the next generation of Gentiles as well as Jews.

A remarkable letter written by Jacob H. Schiff to one of the editors of "The American Hebrew" contrasts the tendencies of Hebrew thought in Germany and in the United States with great fairness. According to the writer, only the Orthodox wing in Germany now represents positive principles, and it declines to work hand in hand with the Reformers. The Orthodox are to-day as intolerant toward the Reformers as the latter were thirty or forty years ago, when they first gained in power, toward those who then continued to adhere to the ritual of Judaism. But Jewish reform in Germany can by no means stand the test of comparison with Reformed Judaism in America. While in the United States the Reformed Jew is ever ready to join hands with his Orthodox brother where the promotion of some Jewish interest demands it, and is at heart as true a Jew as those of more orthodox inclinations, in Germany the Reformer, as a rule, treats his brother in faith as he would a poor relative whom he cannot get rid of, and to whom he periodically pays a pittance not to be any further reminded of the relationship. Thus Reformed Judaism in Germany becomes more or less the bridge to Christianity, readily crossed by many, who consider their religion a dress only to be changed for a more comfortable one at the first opportunity. Mr. Schiff expresses the fear that a union between all factions, such as has been most successfully accomplished in America through the Ministers' Association, must in Germany remain a dream of the future, greatly to the detriment of Jewish interests. Anti-Semitism could not make the headway it is still making were the Hebrews really united. The general belief is, that the anti-Semitic agitation has by no means spent its force; and that the movement has secretly, if not openly, the moral support of the German government, as in Russia and Roumania, it can hardly be doubted, the anti-Jewish agitation has the "good-will" of the authorities.

"THE BAPTIST YEAR-BOOK" for 1885 contains a nearer approximation to accurate denominational statistics than has perhaps ever been reached heretofore. No ecclesiastical organization equals the Methodist Episcopal Church in its facilities for securing correct returns; but the difficulties are greatly increased where the tendencies of the denomination are toward congregational segregation rather than connectional unity. So greatly has this difficulty been felt by Baptist statisticians, that for years no attempt has been made to compile a complete list of the Baptist ministers in the United States. Such a list, we are happy to note, appears in the Year-Book, carefully arranged by States, and with the post-office address of each minister. Many inaccuracies and omissions in such a tabulation are unavoidable; but great care has evidently been taken, and the results are very gratifying. The summary of statistics gives these aggregates: Associations, 1,178; ordained ministers, 16,678; churches, 28,599; additions by baptism, 135,740; by letter, 60,206; by experience, 9,336; by restoration, 18,168; diminutions (by letter, exclusion, erasure, and death), 130,885; total of members, 2,507,753; increase, 93,060. This increase is ascertained, not by comparing this year's total with that reported last year, but simply by comparing the reported increase and diminution,—the additions being 223,445, and the diminution 130,385. The aggregates thus stated, being made up from imperfect returns, are, as "The Watchman" says, *within* the truth, so that it may be justly claimed that the Baptists in the United States number more than 2,500,000. Their number was increased during the year by the baptism of 135,740 persons. Disregarding the additions and dismissions by letter, which represent only changes of residence, and taking into account such changes only as affect the total aggregate, the baptisms, admissions by experience, and restorations amount to 163,239, and the deaths, exclusions, and erasures to 68,920; making the actual increase to be 94,319.

RECENT DOINGS OF THE SALVATION ARMY.—Attention was called in a recent number to the wonderful facility in adapting their methods to changing circumstances manifested in many places by the leaders of the Salvation Army. But on American soil their performances do not seem hitherto to have been guided by wisdom. In a land where every layer of society is continually receiving accessions from and making contributions to the social strata above and beneath, and where the most degraded classes have as keen a sense of the ludicrous as the highest, some modification in methods might be expected. But here the leaders seem to be destitute of tact and the organization to be without elasticity. The rancor engendered by divided counsels, and the laxity of discipline which has made it possible for thieves and ruffians to use a Christian profession and an Army badge to aid in nefarious schemes, have aroused a distrust which it will require great discretion to overcome. And the extravagances which have characterized the movement from the outset are indulged here without check. Nearly all the proceedings of the Convention held in New York were marked by whimsical extravagance.

While one cannot speak too highly of the genuine work of the Army,

it is to be feared that it is already yielding to the necessity for produci fresh excitements in order to maintain its position and influence. In l gland, it has now taken to the working of miracles. "Major" Pears in charge at Hanley, in the Potteries, professes to have the power healing the blind, the deaf, and the lame. At a meeting held recent an old woman who claimed to have been deaf for forty years professed have regained her hearing; a paralyzed woman, taken to the place meeting in a chair, staggered to her feet, and walked; another wom stone deaf, testified that she had been perfectly cured. This scene w repeated night after night. But in "The Christian Journal," a week two later, there appeared an account by an eye-witness of a scene blasphemous and revolting that one cannot read it without a shudd These excesses are as yet exceptional, but they indicate a very evide tendency; and the General and his advisers seem either unable or ind posed to check them. At its last meeting the "Convocation" pronounc its emphatic verdict against the Army on the ground that its work, thou in its earlier history, and even yet in some cases, commendable, is in t main a failure. This utterance is regarded in England as of great weigh

THE EXECUTIVE COMMISSION OF THE ALLIANCE OF THE REFORM CHURCHES, appointed by the Council of Belfast, is not by any means merely nominal body. Its work has been prosecuted with vigor and su cess, although, like many another beneficent scheme, its progress has be hampered by lack of financial support. It has been recently decided th there shall be one Secretary, who shall reside in Great Britain, and "co duct from thence the work which extends over the entire Presbyteri world." The European and American Branches seem to be working perfect harmony; and as a result "the great Presbyterian family" h been brought nearer together than ever before. In Scotland there is strong and growing desire for the reunion of the three Presbyteri Churches. The Free Church of Italy and the old Waldensian Church w probably be united before long. As a direct result of the meeting at Be fast, we are told, the Church of Hungary has been brought into closer r lations with the British and American Churches; and the movement behalf of the Bohemian Church is making encouraging progress. In t United States the Reformed Churches, both "Dutch" and "German and the Associated Reformed, join heartily with their Presbyterian bret ren in the support of the Alliance. The Committee on Foreign Missiona Co-operation is about to meet, and its doings will be watched with i tense interest not only by Presbyterian missionaries and their friends, b by Christians every-where who are interested in the progress of the Go pel in heathen lands. The tendency toward union now evident amo the Presbyterian Churches in all parts of the world is one of the mo hopeful movements in modern Christendom; it began in the heart Presbyterianism rather than in its head; and its strength increases b cause of an increase in Christian charity, and not because of the organi ing skill of ecclesiastical politicians.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

A NOTABLE CONVERT FROM MOHAMMEDANISM. — Converts from Islamism are much fewer in number than any, except close students of missionary work, would suppose. Almost ever since modern missions took their rise missionaries have been at work in Moslem countries and communities, and the superficial observer might well wonder why converts from the religion of Mohammed are not numerous. In Turkey, in India, in Syria, in Persia, great results have been obtained for the Church of Christ, but the masses of Moslems have remained untouched. In Turkey it is death for a Turk to become a Christian, and it is death for a missionary to endeavor to make him such. There have been no open efforts, therefore, to reach the Moslem population. The government will not tolerate them, nor will it allow a Moslem to accept Christianity and leave the country. Recently a number of persons who had been led to renounce the Koran for the Bible attempted to escape to a Christian country, where they could profess and live the religion of Christ, but the government intercepted them and threw them into prison. The missionaries have labored exclusively among the nominal Christian populations, the Armenians, Greeks, and other non-Moslem and non-Turkish peoples, and have won great triumphs, and now they begin to feel that it is time to attack the Mohammedan faith, but this cannot be done without martyrdom. The Sultan guards the religion of his people with the greatest vigilance, and it is only indirectly that they are affected by the influences of Christianity. Some of those who mix with converted Armenians, observe their lives, and occasionally look into their books, and come quietly to know the truth, but dare not profess it. In Persia there has been a larger measure of freedom, and a number of Moslems have been quietly drawn into the mission churches through the schools. Sometimes attention is attracted to such cases, and an outbreak of the populace occurs, but the government suppresses the disturbance and generally visits no further penalty on the missionaries than a solemn warning to let Moslems alone. In India there is, of course, ample protection for work among all classes of the population, and Moslems have been reached more directly and successfully than in any other country. One of the recent converts from the faith of the Arabian prophet is worthy of more than a passing notice. Abdul Haqq was reared a Brahmin, and as such he lived until about twelve years ago, when, attracted by a study of the character of Mohammed, he embraced the Moslem faith. He was given the best training that Delhi could afford, and became a Maulvie, wearing a signet ring as a badge of his scholarship. He was put forth as a sort of Goliath to go against the David of Christianity. To prepare himself for this special work he had to make himself familiar with the Bible, the study of which finally undermined his faith in Islamism. After the celebrated case growing out of the attempt of the local government to prevent street preaching in Calcutta was settled in favor of the missionaries, the Mohammedan opposition to Christianity received

a new impetus. Abdul Haqq, as the champion, learned in Mussulm Arabic, and Sanskrit lore, was hired at a large price to preach dail Wellington Square, and he succeeded in drawing some converts f Christianity even. Tracts were also circulated, and the missionaries v compelled to meet attack with attack, propagandism with propagandi tract with tract. One of the tracts put forth by the missionaries c tained these five questions:

1. How can Mohammedans know that God is good and almighty, seeing the Koran teaches that evil as well as good emanates from eternity from God?
2. On what ground does Islam claim to be the true religion: on Mohamm or on what the Koran says about Mohammed? If on Mohammed, what are marks of his being a true prophet? If on the Koran, what are the marks of being the word of God?
3. What claims can the Mohammedans advance to prove that Islam is supe to other religions?
4. Does Mohammed base his claims as a prophet on the performance of m cles, or not? If, like other prophets, he performed miracles, where are they?
5. Was Mohammed a sinner, or was he sinless? The Koran proves he wa sinner; how can he, therefore, save other sinners in the day of judgment?

This tract set the Maulvie to thinking, and a sermon which he he from Dr. Thoburn led him to examine the Bible. The result was preparation of the following notice, which was affixed to the doors of mosques as sealed with his signet:

NOTICE.—Be it known by the learned among the Islamites, that their serv Abdul Haqq, a follower of the traditions, wishes to represent to them that he been coming to Calcutta in the interests of the spread of Mohammedanism for space of nine years. More especially, during this year, 1884, has he spread hammedanism so much as to have established a mission in opposition to the P Sahibs. During this time a Bible fell into my hands, from which it bec evident to me that Mohammed Sahib had taken from those very books from which he had composed the Koran. Hereby I, therefore, publish my viction that Mohammed is not the prophet of God, nor is the Koran the wor God. If any gentleman can make any apology in defense of Mohammedan within a week, let him do so, establishing it with proofs from the writings of Koran; if not, after eight days I will become a Christian.

ABDUL HAQQ, Maulvie of the Mohammedan Community

This notice was followed by a reply to one of his co-religionists w had attempted to answer him. In the reply he said:

Let it be known by high and low, that Mantana Rahim Bakhsh, seeing thesis, wrote very abusively about it, concluding with the assertion of salva through Mohammed. The Mantana Sahib showed himself to be speaking in unthinking, parrot-like style, even in the same way as the false physician wh he follows, who asserts salvation through himself without being able to prove *vide* "*Surat Asar*" and "Sura Moonnin," in which we read, "Verily those w have believed, and have done good works, will enter into paradise."

Also from many of the traditions it is evident that Mohammed Sahib of promised salvation to the healthy, but in no place is there any direction to the ner to put his trust for cleansing from his soul's sickness upon him, nor did sinner ever look upon Mohammed as his healer or saviour. Let us take, as illustration, the case of a noted physician and a very sick man. Somebody poses to the latter to consult this doctor. Would he, upon hearing this, say, is only for healthy people to consult him; why should I, being sick, do so?" a doctor is for sick people, not for sound frames. A sick man who rejects skill is indeed foolish. There is a well-known proverb, "*Nim hakim bhatre ja*

, "A quack doctor endangers life." Now, we must remember that man suffers
om two forms of diseases—one of the body and one of the soul. It is prudent for
nan who is ill to see the credentials, or the diploma, of the doctor who treats him,
d not well that he should let him treat him till he has done so, or he may get
rm. In these days how many assert the claims of their skill, which, upon
amination, prove to be vain! When we look into it with unbiased minds, we
e that the medicines prescribed by such doctors are simply for our bodily ail-
ents. It is evident that cleansings and purifications in water can only remove
dily illness. But this "physician" (Mohammed) has given us no prescription by
ich our soul's disease may be cured. The following claim of his is also untrue:
on who would be friends of God follow in my path, then "God will forgive you;
rily, he who is the Forgiver of sins is very merciful." Taking such a prescrip-
n as that to the apothecary's shop, we should certainly be told: "I know not
en the name of this doctor, nor is his recipe complete; he having learned some-
ng in my establishment, has prescribed so incorrectly, that, rather than benefit
ur health, this will bring upon you a worse disease, even consumption. If you
not believe this, search my establishment and all my medicines, and examine
o the many mistakes that the doctor has made in altering my remedy."

MAULVIE MOHAMMED ABDUL HAQQ.

s Mohammedan friends now brought to bear all the influence possible
induce him to remain a Moslem, but they could not answer his ques-
ns and arguments, and he publicly renounced Mohammedanism and be-
me a Christian inquirer under the direction of Dr. Bauman. After two
nths' instruction and probation he was received into the Church at the
tion of the Church Missionary Society, Churchmen, Methodists, Baptists,
ning in the interesting service. Paulus Abdul Haqq desires to spend the
t of his life in proclaiming Christianity as publicly and earnestly as he
eached Islamism. There is reason to expect great good from his labors.

THE GERMANS AND THE CAMEROONS MISSION.—The German govern-
nt, in taking possession of the district of Biafra, on the coast of the
lf of Guinea, caused a great deal of mischief to the English Baptist
ssion. This mission is nearly forty years old, and its history, its suc-
ses, and its sacrifices deserved the first consideration from any civilized
wer, and certainly from a Christian government like Germany. The
ebrated Alfred Saker, on being driven from the island of Fernando Po
ty years ago, went to Cameroons, and bought property there for a mis-
n station. The natives were then cannibals, and nobody had tried to
ilize them. Baptist missionaries have labored faithfully among them
r since, and the society has expended more than $500,000 on the mis-
n. There are four stations—Cameroons, Hickory Town, Victoria, and
kundu. The southern part of Biafra is the seat of the American Pres-
erian mission, whose successes at Gaboon and other stations are well
own. The Germans bought the territory of a chief named King Bell,
o, however, ceded not only his own territory, but that of a neighbor-
chief called Joss Chief, entirely unknown to the latter. When Joss
ief heard of the transaction he repudiated it, and told the German
horities that King Bell had no right to sell his territory. One of the
ptist missionaries tells the rest of the story:

The Germans are not popular with the people, and many of the chiefs are an-
ed and vexed with King Bell for signing the treaty with the Germans. The

feeling against King Bell grew so strong that he and all his people were obli to leave Bell Town, and for the last five or six weeks they have been hic in Mungo Creek. A petty warfare has been going on for some weeks tween King Bell and Joss and Hickory Towns. About December 14, K Bell's people caught a Hickory Town man and put him to death. This so gered the Hickory Town people that on December 16 they came and bur down King Bell's house and town. It had been deserted some weeks previou On Friday, December 19, two German men-of-war arrived at the mouth of river. On Saturday, the 20th, about 10 A. M., I saw two small steamers, "Fan" and "Dualla," towing up about a dozen boats filled with German diers. Without the slightest warning or notice they steamed straight to Hick Town, firing upon and destroying two small fishing canoes on the way, and kil the poor men in them, who had done nothing wrong and were perfectly harml The Hickory people saw the Germans coming up the river. The men took t guns and ran into the bush behind the town. The women and the child belonging to the mission-house took refuge in our mission-house. As soon saw what was going on, I went immediately in the mission boat up to Hick and stayed there all day. Soon after the German soldiers landed. King Be people arrived and began to plunder the town. The poor people in their h and flight left every thing behind them. Bell's people seized the goods, furnit and every thing valuable, and even carried off the goats and fowls; then set to the whole of the town. When I arrived at Hickory Town I told the miss people to bring every thing they could carry into the mission-house and sit do quietly. I then shut the doors, and with the aid of a German soldier (gran to me by the commander) I managed to keep the Bell Town people outside mission-house. I am glad to say we managed to save the property and lives about fifty of our mission people. When they began to burn the houses ro the mission buildings I went to the German commander and King Bell, pointed out that if these houses were fired nothing could save the miss property. They both promised me most deliberately that the houses should be fired; but in a few minutes they had set them on fire. Mr. Fuller's beaut little chapel soon took fire, then the school-house, then the kitchen and outbu ings of the mission. The only thing that saved to some extent the missi house was its iron roof. It did take fire in two places; but we managed to it out. There is now nothing but the bare brick walls of the chapel and sch standing, and no house but the mission-house for miles on either side. After German soldiers left I got the loan of a large surf-boat, and brought about f Hickory mission people, women and children, with their goods, to Bethel Stati We lodged them in the mission-house and school-room that night. Decem 21, being Sunday, we held a prayer-meeting instead of our usual morning se ice, and held Sunday-school as usual. About one o'clock the Germans s rounded the Bethel mission buildings with about 200 soldiers. They roug searched the whole of the mission premises, and threatened us, with loaded pist and rifles at our heads. They only found one man, although we had nearly women and children in the house. This man, "Robert," a member of the Hick Church, was not one of the men brought from Hickory. He came to Acc Town on business long before the fight commenced on Saturday. The Germa took him prisoner; but I do not think any thing can possibly be proved agai him. The German officers were most insulting. They threatened and frig ened the poor people in the house as much as they could. In the afternoon th sent us a proclamation, which said that if we aided directly or indirectly rebellious natives they would consider us enemies, and banish us immediat from Cameroons. After this I thought it best to send the rest of the Hick refugees away, and most of the women have now gone to their husbands Bassa. Not only is Mortonville Mission Station destroyed, but there is no single house standing for miles on that side of the river. The people being p claimed as rebels are not at all likely to settle there again. Bell Town is a quite ruined as a station; there are no houses standing nearer than Acq Town. The teachers and members of the Jebari Church have fled for their liv and now Jebari is occupied by King Bell and his people. Many of the missi people round Bethel have gone to Bassa and other places.

The society very properly asks the British government to demand damages from Germany for the property destroyed.

RESULT OF FRENCH RULE IN TAHITI.—Tahiti is one of the islands of the Pacific which Christian missionaries have reclaimed from the savage state. It is beautiful and fruitful, with an agreeable climate, fine harbors, and a considerable trade. It is now wholly under the rule of the French, whose influence has been predominant in the island since 1844. The population, which is under 10,000, is of a most mixed character. Every island in the Pacific is represented, and Europeans, Chinese, and half-breeds come in to add to the confusion of race. For some years there has been full religious toleration, but whatever favor the government has for religion is given to the Catholics, for whom it built a cathedral. Catholics and Protestants have worked side by side in evangelizing the people, but Protestantism has nine adherents where Catholicism has one. And yet the priests use every artifice to gain converts. They use the Protestant Bible, and make their services as much like the Protestant as possible, and even promise the natives not to ask them for contributions; but they fail to get many hearers except Europeans. French rule is said to be more stable than native rule, but it is much more costly, and has a tendency to increase immorality. The Europeans and Chinese show an utter disregard for the marriage tie. Sunday has become, under French rule, a day of dissipation, and a large trade in opium has been developed. The most moral, religious, and law-abiding inhabitants are the natives. Says a South Sea missionary:

> It is truly wonderful the strong hold which true religion exerts over the native population. Notwithstanding the many influences at work—the great indifference shown by many of the foreign residents to religion, the eagerness for temporal gain, the baneful example of others, those again who scoff at religion and ridicule all the means of grace—there is much true godliness among the natives; they observe family worship; read, love, and strive to follow the teachings of the Bible; attend the house of prayer, and seek to serve the Lord, and are trusting upon Christ for eternal life. I have been thrown much among them, preached to them, assisted them in various ways, and, I can truly say, that it is surprising that so many are servants of the true God while so much that is evil surrounds them.

A PROMISING WORK AMONG THE KOREANS.—It will be remembered under what difficult circumstances the Rev. John Ross, of the Scottish United Presbyterian Mission in China, prepared the first Korean version of the Gospels, which were printed two years ago. Baffled at first in almost all his efforts to get a clew to the language, he persevered until from various sources he obtained a fair knowledge of it, and was able to make a good translation. The society for which he has been laboring so faithfully and successfully has had two missions in China—one in Manchuria, on the border of Korea, and one with its head-quarters at Chefoo. It has been decided to transfer the latter mission to another society, and concentrate the force of both missions in Manchuria, where the opportunity to reach Koreans in large numbers is very good. On the western bank of

the Yaloo River many Koreans have lived for twenty years under the juri diction of the newly founded city of Toonghwa. It was from some these people that Mr. Ross got help in making his Korean Gospels. H first compositor in Korean, who was of that nationality, became a colpo teur. The new compositor soon accepted Christianity, and he, too, h gone out to sell books, and another Korean has been engaged to set typ The second colporteur sold several thousand Gospels and tracts amon the people on the Yaloo, and brought back to Moukden a remarkable ma who had read the tracts and wanted further instruction. He is a nob holding the highest literary degree. He soon devoured all the Christia literature Mr. Ross gave him, and declared that he had at last found a fait in which he could rest. He was baptized at the end of two months' pr bation, and has gone to the Yaloo to preach the Gospel to his countrymer It appears that in his native home, from which he escaped on account political troubles, he had estates and thirty slaves. Of the former onl a little can be sold, but what can be sold he is anxious to realize on, t get his family and retainers out of Korea into the colony. These men, h says, will build him a house, and he believes that he will be able to carr out his wish to preach the Gospel at his own charge. Another refugee the same class has sought Mr. Ross at Moukden, and is receiving instru tion. The prospect seems very bright, not only as to work among th Koreans, but among the people of Manchuria, who every-where thron about the colporteurs, anxious to buy their books.

Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions.—It seems impossibl for the fairest-minded Roman Catholics to treat Protestant missions wit any degree of justice. Marshall's so-called "History of Missions," whil it naturally enlarges upon the glorious achievements of Catholic mission only discusses Protestant missions to caricature them. A grosser misre resentation it would be difficult to write of set purpose than is found i Marshall's pages. Alzog, in his "Church History," gives the fairest Cath olic view of Protestant effort for the salvation of the heathen; but even he liberal Catholic as he is, hardly approaches the true historical standard either in the adequacy or the fairness of his presentation. In the curren literature of the Catholic press nothing is more common than gross attack on the character and results of Protestant missions. Even the fact of th vast sums consecrated by Protestant Churches to the conversion of th world—Protestant liberality in this respect making a strong contras with the moderate giving of Roman Catholics—is used to throw doub and suspicion on the motives of Protestant missionaries. But the method and results of the two systems of missionary activity, when honestly com pared, do not indicate any superiority on the side of the Church of Rome It is true that Catholic missionaries often prove themselves to be grea heroes, and that they face the greatest dangers and privations withou flinching. They have penetrated to the most inaccessible places, and la bored with a patience and a faithfulness worthy of all praise; but the have shown no greater heroism than Protestant missionaries, by whom the

have been easily surpassed in notable achievements. As to results, Catholic missions are far behind Protestant, both in character and extent. It is well known that Catholic converts are not raised in the scale of civilization and morality as are Protestant converts. Priests might, for example, secure the conversion of all Korea or China without greatly affecting the civilization or national life of either, if we may judge by the character of the work they have already done in these countries. Much of the heathenism, much of the immorality, of the people they make good Catholics of, remains untouched, and it is sometimes hard to distinguish between the pagan and the Catholic. On the other hand, Protestant converts, whether in China or Africa—whether in India or the South Seas—become a marked community, advancing in all good qualities and works. Roman Catholics are far more numerous in China than Protestants, but it is Protestant Christianity almost solely that has effected the improvement in Chinese civilization. As an influence it is vastly greater than the Roman Catholic. The same thing is true of Japan and of India. The report of the government census in India will show what Catholic and Protestant missionaries do for their respective converts. We quote from a review in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," in 1875:

> The ignorance of the Mohammedan population is profound, and the Christians would be far in advance but for the fact that Romanists are included among them. Where the Romanists preponderate, as in Chingleput, the native Christians give the lowest percentage of education, on a level with the Hindus. In North and South Arcot it is much the same. The comment is, "The Native Christians are badly educated." In Tanjore, it is said, "The Christian population is badly educated, as is usually the case where Roman Catholics preponderate. The Romish Church aims more at conversion than education." It is much the same in Trichinopoly, "the reason being, that Protestant missions, with their educational establishments, have not largely entered upon this field of labor." In Madura, where ninety-three per cent. of the Christians belong to the Romish Church, and where Romish missions have existed for nearly three hundred years, the Christians "show to the least advantage." They are the most ignorant of the population. When we pass to Tinnevelly, the center of Protestant missions, the official report is, "This is one of the few districts where a large percentage of the population is classed as educated." In this district "the native Christians occupy a high place among the instructed." In Salem, where "the Roman Catholics have a large number of converts, the Christians are not so well instructed as the Mohammedans." In South Canara, where nearly all the native converts have embraced Roman Catholicism, "they do not show in the matter of education," and "their level of intelligence is very little raised above the level of their fellow-countrymen." It will be seen that Romanism and ignorance in India are identical. For all practical purposes Romanism in India is merely a fresh form of idolatry superadded to those already existing, and producing little or no moral or social elevation.

It is claimed for Roman Catholic missions that their influence is of a permanent character. There are, however, some very striking examples to the contrary. Congo is a conspicuous one. Three centuries ago Catholicism was the only religion tolerated in that whole region. Hardly an unbaptized person could be found. Almost all the orders—Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, Augustins, Bernardins, Carmelites—were represented in that territory. The ablest missionaries were sent out from Rome, and the treasure of Portugal, as well as the royal sword, were

freely used for the Church. Where, now, is the Congo Church? Wh are the Catholics of Loango? Melted away, long ago, because the c verts were such only in form—Christian only at the point of the sword. India, where Catholic converts have been counted by the hundred th sand, several Catholic missions, according to "The Indian Evangeli Review" for January, are in a "moribund condition;" and we are furt told that Protestant missions are making twice the progress that Cath missions are making among the Hindus, and that Catholics have given in despair efforts to evangelize them. "They have nothing," contin the editor, "of the perseverance of Protestant missions in untoward cumstances." A test of the quality of endurance as between Roman Protestant missionaries was afforded a year or two ago in Uganda, on Victoria Nyanza in Central Africa. The missionaries of the Church M sionary Society had penetrated to those savage shores at great cost privation and peril, and sought to Christianize and civilize Mtesa and people. Sometime after French priests arrived, and endeavored intrigue to drive the English missionaries away, and have the field themselves. They made, however, little progress, either in the g graces of the king or with the people, and at last retired confessing th failure. As to the frugality of Roman and Protestant missionaries respe ively, of which a great deal has been written, a missionary contributor a recent number of the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" gives the f lowing as personal testimony:

A further question yet remains, of missionaries who live on twenty pound year in China and in India, and deny themselves the comforts considered nec sary for Europeans. As it happens to have been the lot of the writer to have s a good deal of Romish missions and Romish missionaries in India, perhaps so jottings from his experience may not be out of place here. A good many years h now elapsed since he made the voyage round the Cape to India in company wit Romish bishop, a dean, and staff of clergy. For three months or more the wri sat between the bishop and dean at the cuddy-table. There was no symptom these gentlemen denying themselves "the comforts considered necessary Europeans." It is painful to record that within the space of four years no l than four of them died of *delirium tremens*. We vouch for two cases on the ass ance of the doctors who attended them, and a third from the excellent Christ judge who in the most humane manner watched over the terrible dying agonies the third. In the case of the fourth, the writer cannot speak so positively, fully believes the evidence furnished him. It would have been well if these Ir priests "had denied themselves comforts considered necessary in Maynooth Tipperary," but dangerous for Europeans in India.

This was, however, not the whole of the writer's experience. For a good ma years he rented more than one house from a Portuguese bishop, and had intim opportunities of judging of the spiritual and moral condition of the Portugu clergy. The bishop was a Portuguese grandee of high standing, and, althou sunk in sloth and sensuality, retained something of the manner and bearing a fidalgo. As on one occasion he was suffering from gout, an unusual maladv India, the writer remarked to his medical attendant, "How is it that Don A. got the gout so bad?" The answer was, "You would have it bad, too, K., if y had a quarter-cask of sherry on tap in your bedroom, and got up to it whene you were dry!"

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THERE is a strong paper in defense of infant baptism in the January number of the "Presbyterian Review." The senior Henry J. Van Dyke is known to many as one of the best furnished pastors of the Presbyterian Church, and his tone of mind is very far removed from the doubtful and uncertain. He makes much in this article of the absence of condemnation of this practice in the writings of the Fathers up to the time of Tertullian, and shows that his peculiar views had no adherents beyond the circle of the Montanists. Dr. Van Dyke is particularly happy in his review of the antipedobaptist argument from the silence of the Scriptures, though he admits that the Scripture warrant for the practice of infant baptism is not so much direct as inferential. We do not appreciate the strength of the argument for infant baptism drawn from its relation to the rite of circumcision as highly as does the writer; but what there is of it is strongly stated. With the answers given to the question, "Why do we not baptize all infants?" we have no sympathy whatever. If the practice is defensible, which we fully believe, it is so only on the concession of the right of all children to the ordinance on the ground that they are of the kingdom of heaven, and are entitled to the visible sign of that relation. We do not observe, in reading the article, any sign that the able author has considered a certain passage in the "Teaching of the Apostles" in its historical relation to the subject.

Many ministerial hearts will warm toward Dr. Leonard Woolsey Bacon when they read his paper on the "Double Function of Music in the Church." He shows how the torments of choirs and of "hymns by the choir" may be eliminated if the Church is willing to do it for the sake of the truth. The other papers in this well-printed Review are learned, but heavy, and principally valuable to those of Calvinistic antecedents.

The January number of the "Lutheran Church Review" is too denominational to be interesting beyond the circle of its own communion. The only exception to this is the review of Edersheim's "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah." While not a strong *critique*, it is appreciative, and not too much so. Edersheim is a Christian Jew, and approaches the study of Christ's life and work richly endowed by nature and education. Our Anglican brethren of High Church proclivities are having a hard time of it just now, as from many quarters their pretenses to "authority" and succession are being examined. The Rev. Dr. F. F. Burmeyer writes sharply of the Roman and Anglican doctrines of Church authority. It is evident to all who know the facts that these pretensions, as held by both the arrogant communions, have no historical basis beyond the ambitions and bigotries of an ecclesiasticism which is covetous of power and place.

The "Baptist Quarterly Review" is not open to the criticism of being too exclusively denominational, but seems to be made up with large com-

prehension of the value of timeliness in the treatment of topics. The mo
readable paper is by a layman, who follows "the footsteps of Whitefield
Dr. Stifler, one of the clearest and best thinkers of the Baptist Churc
expounds the "Relation of the Gospels and the Pentateuch." But we e
hort the editors to edit, not only to print, what may be offered, but to sc
the field, and with editorial foresight procure what ought to be written.

Very different, indeed, is the tone of the "Andover Review." Its su
cessive numbers cannot be taken up without seeing that this "editori
suggession" has the largest influence in the make-up of the Review. W
should place this able and live periodical at the head of all, in this respec
if we did not mean to make the METHODIST REVIEW the foremost. F
instance, the leader in the January number of the Andover discusses "T
Contemporary Pulpit in its Influence on Theology," than which there ca
not be a more timely subject. Professor Tucker sees, that while there
a revival of theological discussion in this country, and while the pulpit
not as theological as formerly, yet theology itself is being modified by t
necessities of the pulpit, which is in direct contact with souls. "T
modern pulpit has not been a critic of theologies. It has submitted the
to its working tests. Its only criticism upon them has been in their di
use at points where they have failed to work. . . . One very considerab
part of the work of the contemporary pulpit has been to give reality
the Christian experience and the Christian belief. . . . The preach
has found himself confronted, Sabbath after Sabbath, by Christianize
congregations, and has endeavored to make the beliefs which take
the life and lead it on, after conversion, as real in their power as tho
which lead up to the act of conversion. . . . The tendency to reach ba
of inherited doctrinal beliefs to the essential truths which they on
sought to embody is a conspicuous characteristic of the modern pulpi
. . . The ethical tendency of the modern pulpit has been its most mark
tendency." We confess some surprise that Dr. Tucker should say th
"The child, as such, has not acquired any definite theological standin
. . . Theology has not found any absolutely consistent way to save t
child of the world." We fear that the characteristic inability of the Ne
England Congregationalist to look beyond him has prevented him fro
the study of what the Methodist Episcopal Church has long taught co
cerning the *status* of the child in the kingdom of God. That relati
has been consistently stated again and again by our theologians. Bu
while Dr. Tucker has a large heart, it is plain that he has never given
tention to the consistency and beauty of that view which accepts all chil
hood as of the kingdom of God, and losing the divine favor only as
taints itself with actual sin, and which admits all children to baptis
not by some wire-drawn relation to the Abrahamic covenant, but becaus
being of the kingdom of God, they are entitled to its visible sign.
would be well for him to look over the fence and see that no consiste
theory being possible to Calvinism, one which is satisfactory in phrasi
the actual belief of the Calvinistic Churches may be found among "t

people called Methodists." And he can the better afford to do this, as Dr. Park has publicly stated that the Methodist Church must be looked to as the conservator of orthodoxy. And now the timeliness of the Andover's articles is exhibited in Mr. Dike's papers on the "Religious Problem of the Country Town." The writer displays genius in phrasing what many have thought and few have been able to express.

The February Andover, while less timely in its contributed articles, is even more so in its editorial matter. It gives a striking picture of the remarkable movement in London, under the highest ecclesiastical authority, by which the attention of the masses is called to religious services, and the churches filled and the people instructed by "missioners," a term recovered from Dryden. Those who wish to see how the methods of the Salvation Army can be improved upon and made effective by intelligence, will do well to read this paper and all others on the same subject. The best article, in a practical sense, in this number is that on the "New Charity," by the Rev. Henry Stimson. The writer traces the growth of the new charitable method from the experiment of Dr. Chalmers to the work of Miss Octavia Hill, in London, and some similar experiments in New York. The principles of the new charity are as follows:

1. Outdoor relief by the authorities in large cities is certain to become a political thing.

2. Aid so given goes almost wholly to those who can get along without.

3. Private benevolence is equal to the demands of the really needy.

4. Value should never be given (except in great emergencies, and then only while the emergency lasts) without securing some service and labor in return.

5. The condition of the poor can only be helped by helping them to help themselves.

No one can study the facts as revealed in England without seeing the truth of these propositions. They ought to be studied by all pastors and stewards who have charge of funds for the poor. Apart from the aged and ill of the Church, money ought not to be given without the Church receiving some work in return, and this can be managed with such safeguards that the self-respect of those who receive this aid can be preserved. The poor funds of the Church are better used to keep poor people at work than when they are given out in such a way as to release those able to work from the obligation of labor.

In a recent journey through the South we heard on every hand, "We of the South are the only ones who understand the Negro." We are not surprised, then, to find the same statement in the leading article of the Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Professor F. C. Woodward, of Wofford College, begins his paper on the "Freedman's Case in Reality" by speaking of Mr. Cable's recent paper on the "Freedmen's Case in Equity" as astounding, and then admits substantially every thing said by the writer he condemns. The spirit of the writer is excellent. But there is little trace of that vigorous grasp of the whole sub-

ject which is manifest in Mr. Cable's treatment, and the editor who fill out the form, with some observations of his own, shows much less than the correspondent he supplements. What is the use of praising the efforts to help the freedmen to education and self-respect, and then saying, "This is a white man's government and country, and white men will rule it as certain as fate?" This means that a minority will rule the South, and that this minority is the South. It is very evident that our Southern brethren fail to see how such statements justify the attitude of suspicion taken toward Southern utterances on the question of justice to the freedmen, not only by Northern political students, but by the freedmen themselves. Our brother editor surely sees that his statement makes color the foundation of political power on the one hand and of political subjection on the other. It is this remnant of the old days which is the chief hinderance to the South. It affects its administration of justice; of education; of business. It is this of which Mr. Cable complains as the chief hardship toward the Negro, and one of the far-reaching consequences to the whites as well as the blacks. The time will come when the South will be made to see, by forces which are within its own bosom that this is not a white man's country alone, nor a white man's government alone, but a government for all colors alike. The spirit which can give utterance to such statements is preparing the way for rebukes from those within its own borders which will be more terrible than any thing yet known in its history. If the South does not soon come to see that all must be equal before the law and in the free exercise of their political rights, it will be made to see it by movements among the blacks which will disturb Southern confidence as it was not disturbed even by the civil war. The belief that the ruling classes in the South are not, despite all their fair words, in sympathy with the ideas of political equality on which the republic is based, is that which keeps the North distrustful both as to investing capital in the South and of trusting the South, as at present politically directed with governmental power. The North sees that the Southern problem is a difficult one, but it does not believe that it can be settled by violations of justice and equal rights. The penalty for injustice, an injustice freely expressed and advocated in the language quoted, will be social convulsion, whose initial movement will be in the South itself.

Our exchange list has few better magazines from a literary point of view than "The Catholic World." Intensely denominational, it is yet broader and more sympathetic toward other than Roman Christianity than any Roman periodical we know. The American atmosphere is one in which such generous sentiments are likely to flourish. "The Educational Question in England" is discussed by Charles Kent. It is a plea mean for England, but, to use an "Hibernicism," intended for this country, in behalf of giving State aid to the schools of all denominations. How seductive are the following sentences: "Could bigotry be mastered and long rooted prejudice be subdued; could Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists, Wesleyans, and all the other religious sects in the country forget for once

their old dissensions, and work in harmony with the Catholic body and with each other, then the demand of the voluntary schools could not long be ignored, and their aim would soon be achieved." That is, every thing would be lovely if all would take the Roman Catholic position. There is much learning and some truth in the discussion of certain "Scriptural Questions" by the Rev. A. F. Hewitt. The paper on the Catholic National Council is wonderfully well written, and has some very striking passages. Referring to the "Pastoral" issued by the council, which all fair-minded men will admit to be one of the most stately and able papers ever sent out by any ecclesiastical body, the writer says, that "the pure atmosphere for religion to breathe is civil freedom. . . . The United States is the Church's home. . . . The Pastoral Letter shows that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States share the conviction that American political institutions are in advance of those in Europe in helping a man in saving his soul, and that they promise a triumph for Catholicity more perfect than its victory in mediæval times."

Some one has said that the Tory party in England is led by a cynic. The cynic is none other than the Marquis of Salisbury, whose portrait will be found in the February "Harper's." It is quite characteristic of English public men that they are almost always more than public men. Gladstone and Disraeli have been as eminent in the fields of literature as in the political world. The Marquis of Salisbury is an amateur chemist, as well as the leader of the Tory party. At this writing it seems that he may soon be the actual ruler of England, if not the prime minister. His face is a strong one, and he is one of the best speakers in England, though undoubtedly there is a cynical vein in his mental constitution, which does not increase his popularity. Possessor of one of the great homes of England, the sketch of his life, and of the ancestral house of the Cecils, is one of the best of recent magazine articles. Many will be interested in the account of the present *status* of the Lick Observatory, which, situated on Mount Hamilton, awaits the grand telescope which is yet only partially completed. "Harper's" has in every number at least one article of the highest class. This praise is to be awarded to the initial paper, by John Fiske, on "The Federal Union." Only a dull mind will fail to be interested in the paper on "Guardian Birds," by John R. Coryell. It has surprises for those who have not given attention to the study of the instincts and ways of the birds. But the article of the highest interest for all classes is the study of the peculiar city of Pullman, by Richard T. Ely. However beautiful the city may be architecturally, and materially prosperous, the writer makes it very plain that it is by no means an ideal town in its spirit. The company is omnipresent, and repression is the order of the town in many directions. It is absolutism of a very disagreeable and un-American order which prevails there. The frontispiece, an engraving of F. S. Church's "The Mermaid and the Seawolf," is a marvel of good work. It lacks only the color to make it as weird and as impressive as the original, which is a picture of great power. Almost equally good,

though much smaller, is the engraving of the California roadrunner
the rattlesnake, on page 423.

But when has American enterprise accomplished greater things tha
the midwinter (February) number of the "Century?" In matter and
gravings it is superb. Look at the frontispiece, after Bakhuisen. I
worthy of Rembrandt. The engraver has given texture as it has never
fore been rendered in black and white. If W. D. Howells does
know Florence, who does know the city of flowers? His Florentine Mo
is charmingly written, and the illustrations, especially of the Ponte V
chio, are beyond praise. Stedman's study of O. W. Holmes is of the
merit, and is accompanied by a portrait of Holmes as he was in the
when the Autocrat was most fruitful at the breakfast-table. But
popular interest of the number centers in Gen. Grant's account of the
tle of Shiloh. It is not only interesting in itself, but is a fountain of
terest, as it has brought out many criticisms and defenses. The Gen
does not admit that he was surprised, and gives evidence in favor of
position which cannot be easily met. His paper is followed by one
his great antagonist, Albert Sidney Johnston, of whom a striking
trait is given. In "Canada as a Winter Resort" W. George Beers sh
how the long Canadian winter is enlivened by popular amusements.
pictures of Canadian sports are good enough to set the young people
over the pleasures of a Canadian winter.

To the paper by Dr. Van Dyke, in the February number of the "Ho
letic Review," on "Ministerial Education," we give cordial appro
Especially is it true that "the qualification of professors needs the clo
attention. We hope the time will never come when the controlling in
ence in our seminaries will be in the hands of mere specialists, wh
breadth of vision and of spirit have been sacrificed to deepness. It wo
not be a bad rule to require that every professor should have filled a
pit successfully for five or ten years before he assumes a chair." We
also in full sympathy with the sentence, "If more care were taken a
those who enter our seminaries, there would be less ground of compl
against those who come out." What the writer says concerning
spirit of piety among seminary graduates deserves attention. "When
the atmosphere of a seminary becomes distinctively literary, philosop
or scientific, instead of religious—especially when its spirit is worldly
bition rather than zeal for Christ and his Gospel—the seminary has bec
a curse rather than a blessing to the Church." To all this we say, Am

The "Atlantic" has evidently given up the attempt to be a pop
magazine, and contents itself with meeting the tastes of those who
superior to pictures. As such it cannot be neglected. No one of
monthlies so well maintains the literary tone, and its title-page
always something to fix the student's eye. The "New Portfolio,"
O. W. Holmes, will of itself draw many readers, and the work done
that genial veteran is as good to-day as ever.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by Rev. JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., and JAMES STRONG, S.T.D. Supplement, Volume I. A-Cn. Royal octavo, pp. 993. New York: Harper & Brothers.

More than twenty years ago it was announced to the public that the authors and publishers above named would issue the work indicated, with the promise, "The work to be completed in about six volumes, royal octavo, of about one thousand pages each, copiously illustrated." The authors, compilers, or editors were not unknown to the public, and their reputation, together with that of the publishers, was accepted as a guarantee that all proper efforts would be made to render the undertaking successful. Dr. M'Clintock was widely learned, and possessed remarkable facilities for rendering his learning available, and also great aptness for utilizing other men's work; and Dr. Strong was recognized as a master of biblical and ecclesiastical learning, with almost exhaustless working powers. The first volume appeared in 1867, embracing all the articles under the letters A and B, comprised within fifty pages less than the promised thousand, altogether a satisfactory showing. The later volumes, which grew to be ten instead of the six first promised, appeared in alphabetical order, at slightly unequal intervals: vol. ii, 1867; iii, 1870; iv, 1872; v, 1873; vi, 1876; vii, 1877; viii, 1879; ix, 1880; x, 1881. Vol. iv contained as a preface a memorial of the senior editor, Dr. M'Clintock, whose death had occurred sometime in the preceding year. The conduct of the Cyclopædia then devolved on the junior editor, Dr. Strong, under whose management it was brought to completeness. That such an herculean task should have been accomplished within an interval of fifteen years between the dates of the first and the last volumes, would itself have been creditable to the industry and fidelity of those charged with the work, had that been their sole employment; but when it is known that all this was done as a side occupation by men charged with the duties and responsibilities of laborious and engrossing professorships, it seems simply marvelous.

The work as accomplished has received the decided approval of those best able to judge in such matters, not, indeed, as perfect or beyond criticism in respect to either the plan or the execution, but as vastly preferable to any other of its class in the English language, and as hopefully approximating the realization of its own ideal. Books of reference must be estimated almost entirely from their good points, since each one will value them in proportion to their trustworthiness in respect to the things upon which they may be consulted; and redundancy is only a venial fault, since no one need read any thing with which he is not concerned. Contrary to what often happens in a long-continued work, the scholarly and literary character of the Cyclopædia continued to improve to the end of the

last volume, so giving increased excellence to the whole work, but som what at the expense of the reputation of the earlier issues. The breadt of the field attempted to be covered renders the contents somewhat mi cellaneous, and in their alphabetical dispositions things quite unlike i kind often appear in close proximity. This work includes three class of subjects, each of which might have (and in fact has) its own cyclop dias—biblical, theological (including ecclesiastical), and biographical—an there are advantages to be gained by having them treated separatel There is also a convenience in having all these subjects combined in single work, and especially so since the alphabetical arrangement of to ics renders each subject or word readily accessible, and by reason of thi its omnigenous character this Cyclopædia is found to be a highly valuabl work for reference. It stands alone in its own department, and, in vie of the labor and the pecuniary cost of its production, it will probably lon remain without a rival.

It would have been easy for an intelligent critic to point out defect especially of omissions, in any one of these volumes as soon as they wer printed, for the highest perfection of such a work is only approximat and with each year the number of these would increase, all the more ra idly because of the rapid growth of nearly every department of learning and accordingly a Supplement began to be talked of before the main wor was completed; and so as soon as released from the principal work th surviving editor addressed himself to its preparation, and the first install ment is now in hand—the volume named at the head of this article. Tw more volumes are indicated as likely to be called for, perhaps more. I character the Supplement is very much like that to which it is appended being made up of condensed summaries of the recent additions made t biblical and theological learning. But the chief additions are in the de partment of biography, for which an explanation, somewhat like an apo ogy, is given in the preface, which says: "Many will find in the brie sketches, even of men whose names have seemed comparatively obscur one of the most interesting and useful features of the work." Perhap so; but the memory of persons and names is wonderfully perishabl against which tendency printer's ink is an unsafe embalming, and cyclopedia may readily become a mausoleum of unremembered greatnes

This Supplement to the Cyclopædia must, like the chief work itself, b a necessity to those who would aim at accuracy as well as breadth in th study of the subjects to which this great work is devoted, and to whic it is the most easily available key.

Encyclopædia of Theology. By Dr. J. F. RABIGER, Professor of Theology in t University of Breslau. Translated, with additions to the History and Literatur by the Rev. John M'Pherson, M.A., Findon (Scotland). Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 43 Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. (Clark's Foreign Theological Library, New S ries, Vol. XX.) New York: Scribner & Welford.

In the growth and development of the science of theology, the embodime of the whole system, its substance and form, with its history and literatur has become a necessity; and to this demand, as is their wont in such case

the theologians of Germany have responded with characteristic copiousness of learning and fullness of details; while, contrariwise, those who use the English language have simply touched the subject by rendering into their own tongue the productions of their Teutonic contemporaries. In Germany the subject has been treated systematically by Hagenbach, and Hoffman, and Rothe, and Pelt, and now by Räbiger, and scarcely less fully, though more incidentally, by Lange and a host of others. But our own writers, on both sides of the ocean, have done comparatively little, in the way of the formal statement and discussion of the subject, except to reproduce partial translations or abridgments of the works of their German instructors. Of these the best known is that of Hagenbach, which has recently been issued in this country, by the Methodist Book Concern, ostensibly as a new work, "on the basis of Hagenbach," a claim that, as we intimated in our recent notice of that publication, is scarcely justified by its appearance. Of that work, the translator and redactor of that now under notice remarks, with a freedom that we hesitated to use, that "in all essential respects the American work may be regarded as simply a translation of the German work; the translation being in certain parts somewhat free, but in other sections quite close and literal." The translator also notices, as we also did, the failure of the American editors to even attempt to adapt the work to English-speaking students or to bring down the history and literature to the latest date, an omission the more unaccountable because it is conceded that it was not the result of any lack of ability. Hagenbach's book appeared in 1833, and though revised by the author in the successive editions, yet it is now about as it appeared more than ten years ago, though in the meantime very much has been published on the subject, and, indeed, a new literature called into being.

Räbiger's work (of which only the first of two volumes is before us) is to date; the style is pleasant and easy to read, because less distinctively German than most of its class, for which, perhaps, the translator is especially to be thanked, and its presentation of its subject is luminous and vivacious. But it is thoroughly German in its methods, and in respect to its stand-point, and the consequent presentation of its conclusions; and by so much it is not well adapted to the use of English and American students in theology. It is, however, about the best available hand-book on its subject, and as such it is quite deserving of the attention of all scholars in its broad theme. As such we can heartily recommend it, awaiting, however, in the patience of hope, the appearance of a thoroughly wrought out treatise on the subject from the pen, and the brain and heart, of some American scholar, who shall be, also, a thoroughly evangelical believer.

Ecclesiology. A Treatise on the Church and Kingdom of God on Earth. By EDWARD D. MORRIS, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Lane Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 187. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The true title to this volume is given decidedly the more correctly in the head-line at the top of the title-page—"The Christian Doctrine in Outline." The term "Ecclesiology," though it may, in accordance with

its etymology, and in view of the functions of the Church, includ this, has by usage and in its historical scope a more definite and stricted meaning, by which it indicates the outward Church, with conditions and accidents, rather than either its indwelling spirit o truth and doctrine. Evidently, however, the title here used has chosen because it was the writer's purpose to set forth his outline of trines as they are held and taught by the Church. This method ha manifest advantages, though it is in some things specially liable to leading tendencies.

The book is made up from the substance of lectures prepared for delivered to the classes of the seminary in which the author is a profe of an honorable record, both personally and officially. But the ma has been thoroughly re-written, and cast in the form of consecutive ch ters. These are: the Historical Church, its impersonal constitu (doctrines); its personal constituents (members); its government and ity; its social nature (as a "congregation of faithful men"). By method the author succeeds in reviewing the entire subject contempla but not always aiming at the matter in hand the most directly. special value of the work is its character, as indicated by its chief t as indicating how God in his grace and Christ in his work uses Church with the indwelling Spirit as the one great agency for the sa tion of men. The idea is a good one, and, although it has been greatly abused, it is still to be cherished and made much of.

Revelation: Its Nature and Record. By HEINRICH EWALD, Author of "The tory of Israel," etc. Translated from the German by the Rev. THOMAS Goo B.A., President of the Baptist College, Nottingham, England. 8vo, pp. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clarke. (Clarke's Foreign Theological Library. Series. Vol. XIX.) New York: Scribner & Welford.

Ewald occupies a clearly defined position among biblical and theolog authorities, which is that of a rationalistic writer, but conservative in modes of thought and reverent in his spirit toward spiritual and religi truths. He thus occupies a kind of middle ground; the destructive tionalists have carried his first principles much further than he was clined to do, while the defenders of the supernatural in revelation h objected to them as entirely insufficient, and perhaps logically commit to the uses that have been made of them by the enemies of Christiani Respecting the ability and learning displayed by him, all are agreed t he has very few equals, and also that he is fair in his statements, and disposed to overdraw in making his conclusions; the objections of his ponents being not against either his manner or his logic, but against premises assumed at the beginning, which, if accepted, would sustain his conclusions—perhaps even more. But apart from these considerati the work possesses great merits for its learning, and especially for the su gestions that it makes, unpurposed perhaps, but very forcibly, that whole subject of which it treats needs to be examined in the light of broader scholarship than that which gives shape to the popular conc tions of the subject here named.

Critical and Exegetical Hand-book of the Gospel of Matthew. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D. Translated from the sixth edition of the German by Rev. Peter Christie. The Translation Revised and Edited by Frederic Crombie, D. D. (St. Andrews), and William Stewart, D. D. (University of Glasgow). With a Preface and Supplementary Notes to the American Edition by GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary (Madison, N. J). 8vo, pp. 539. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The production of the American edition of Meyer's great commentary on the New Testament is proceeding with assuring steadiness and sufficient rapidity. Nearly one half is already issued, and each succeeding volume more than justifies the promises originally made to the public by the publishers, and the hopes inspired by its predecessors. The last published volume, on Matthew, is especially interesting, both on account of its primacy in the canon, and also because its methods of discussion by the commentator indicate the tone and spirit of the whole work; and it may be added, that in it both the excellences and the objectionable peculiarities of the author are especially conspicuous, and, like all that follows, it is learned and able, with a strange commingling of rationalizing and evangelical supernaturalism, the latter greatly preponderating. In respect to critical exegesis it has few equals. The work has been thoroughly gone over and largely annotated by the American editor, with the design to counterwork some of the author's extreme Germanisms of construction and interpretation, and to re-examine and determine anew some of the many questions—historical, linguistical, and exegetical—with which the work abounds; and as the author's own statements are given, and also the editor's views on the same subjects, the reader has the opportunity to compare the two, and accept either, as may seem most probably correct. The work is designed for students rather than general readers, and the manifest intention is to show what the text declares, rather than to "improve" upon it, for either practical or homiletical purposes; and within that purpose the success of its execution is altogether satisfactory. This new edition of Meyer's great work, which hitherto has been known to English readers only by the Edinburgh issue, and so has become a necessity to all critical students of the New Testament, has some decided advantages over that other in its editorial arrangements and enrichments, and it will also be preferred for its more condensed form, and, especially, its much less price.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

George Eliot's Life, as Related in her Letters and Journals. Arranged and Edited by her Husband, J. W. CROSS. With Illustrations. In Three Volumes. 12mo, pp. 348, 324, 340. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Some thirty years ago, as we were about to make a journey by rail, we took with us, to read by the way, a new novel, by an unknown author, just issued by the Harpers, "Adam Bede, by George Eliot." The reading soon showed us that here was something decidedly above the usual

order of anonymous story-telling, and very naturally the question be to be asked, Who is George Eliot? and, What about Adam Bede? satisfactory answers to these queries were not readily forthcoming.

The American publishers could give very little account of the auth ship of the book, and so little expectation of any considerable sale they entertained, that they had not stereotyped it, but after striking o small edition they had ordered the types to be redistributed. But by grees the work became better known, and, of course, more highly app ciated; a new edition was called for (and now it was stereotyped), widely read, and then it became the fashion to talk about, and to pra "Adam Bede." And from that time onward a new novel "by the aut of Adam Bede" was sure of a ready sale and a large reading.

It soon appeared that the British critics knew as little as their Ameri *confreres* of this newly risen star, and conjectures were freely indul as to the writer's person, character, and sex (for somehow the latter suspected), and for a time—but not for very long—the great unkno remained undiscovered. At length it became known that "George Eli —a name assumed as a blind by the nameless writer—was indeed Mary Ann Evans, born November, 1819, at Arbury Farm, in Warwi shire, where her father was an "agent," and in the quiet seclusion that vicinity she herself had passed more than her first twenty ye It also now became known that she had issued one or more earlier p ductions, especially "Scenes in Clerical Life," which, however, tracted but little notice, and was not much known till it rose to fa with its author's later works. "George Eliot's" reputation as a nove was won at a single stroke, its recognition was immediate, and thou fairly well sustained by later publications, which continued to appear d ing a quarter of a century, it never grew beyond the altitude attained that single bound.

The inclination sometimes observed to find in the writings of novel and poets autobiographical references has a wide field for its exercise the early history of this remarkable woman. She was, as to her envir ments, a country child, living among moderately well-to-do, intellige and religious country people. Her school education was neither wh deficient nor yet extensive. She saw but few books, and yet occasion some stray volume of Scott, or some other popular writer, fell into hands, and became assimilated into her spiritual being. Her father a strict Church of England man, and religious after the fashion of sect; but it is quite evident that there was a decided Methodistic elem (probably not of the later Wesleyan type) in her social surroundings, tra of which appear very plainly in her works, especially in "Adam Bed and in "Silas Marner;" and some who have carefully noted her referen to certain spiritual phenomena among some of her characters have s pected that she wrote these things from her own reminiscences of ea experiences. The same things also appear more definitely in her lett But she was a thinker, a dreamy speculator, and very wayward; and her early experience was as has been suspected, then, evidently, l

another and a greater personage in the spiritual realm, she "abode not in the truth." It is quite certain that she became a negative or skeptical unbeliever, and that in abandoning Christianity as a system of faith she in certain important particulars also cut loose from its ethical restraints.

Her removal from the place and the relations of her childhood, girlhood, and early womanhood was simultaneously the epoch of her mental, spiritual, and social transformation. Going out into the great world, she, by the law of natural selection, became one of the coterie of learned infidels whose names are familiar to all readers of current literature; and, being the peer in intellect and availability of the ablest of them, she was sought for as a contributor to the class of periodicals of which the "Westminster Review" is the recognized and typical leader. About this time, and among her new associates, she met Mr. George Henry Lewes, with whom her future life became intimately associated. Mr. Lewes, for some unexplained reason, was living apart from his family, for whom, however, he made pecuniary provision; it is usually assumed, but not made apparent, that the separation was justifiable on his part. Pretty soon the relations between Mr. Lewes and Miss Evans became more intimate than those of friends; in plain English, she became his mistress, the two living together as though husband and wife, but never having been married, and he having a lawful wife, with a family of children, living elsewhere. This gross scandal was confessed by the parties to it, and the female partner, writing to some of her former intimate friends, earnestly justified her conduct, and assumed in one of her letters, which her surviving *husband*, Mr. Cross, publishes without comment, that no "unworldly or unsuperstitious person who is sufficiently acquainted with the realities of life can pronounce my [her] relations with Mr. Lewes immoral." Such was the practical outcome of Miss Evans's (popularly known as George Eliot, the ablest female novelist of the age) "emancipation" from the superstition of her early (and better) days. Her genius, in some degree, saved her from the fate that society usually visits upon notoriously unchaste women; but neither she nor her paramour could altogether escape the odium incurred by their unsavory relations.

Mr. Lewes died some two or three years before his *quasi*-wife, after which she married Mr. J. W. Cross, who is spoken of as an American, formerly on the staff of the "New York Herald," her junior by thirty years, who now becomes her biographer.

Estimated according to its literary merits, the biography here given is deserving of much praise. Agreeable to the modern fashion, it is preraphaelitish, painting the picture true to nature, of which fashion much may be said both for and against it. But it is neither the work of a Boswell nor a Froude; for the selection of matter given to the public seems to have been made conscientiously and with good taste, and, because her one supreme offense against good morals and decency could neither be denied nor palliated, the editor permits her to tell the story of her shame in her own way. Her genius, in the form of cleverness, is nowhere more signally manifest than in her letters, and by arranging these together, nearly

in the order of their dates, with only a slight *nexus* of narrative here there, the editor succeeds in making out a life-like and realistic pictur her career, with clear revelations of her interior history. It is a rem able and brilliant history; but the picture of its best stages is not q pleasing, and for the most the whole is the record of a fallen spirit— still brilliant, though fallen.

The Life of Rev. Philip William Otterbein, Founder of the Church of the Un Brethren in Christ. By Rev. A. W. DRURY, A.M. With an Introductio Bishop J. WEAVER, D.D. 12mo, cloth, pp. 384. Dayton, Ohio: United Bret Publishing House. $1 20.

The appearance at this time of a new and carefully prepared biogra of Rev. Philip William Otterbein, the founder of the "Church of United Brethren in Christ," the life-friend of Asbury, at whose req he united with Dr. Coke and his associates in the consecration of the American bishop, is particularly opportune, particularly in respect to M odist readers. He was a native of Dillenburg, Germany, the son of a r ister of the German Reformed Church, to which ministry he was him ordained in 1749. Only two or three years later, in response to a call missionaries to go out to the German settlements in America, he with others offered themselves, and were accepted and sent forth, and Ot bein became pastor of a Church in Lancaster, where he soon became tinguished for his earnestness as a preacher and his zeal in religious w He early co-operated with Strawbridge, and afterward with the l Methodist itinerants, and thus became the friend and fellow-labore Asbury; and when, at the Christmas Conference, Asbury was to be apart to the superintendency, mindful of his brother in Christian la the expectant bishop craved, as a privilege, that Otterbein might part in the solemn service.

Otterbein usually preached in the German language, which largely fined his labors to the German colonists of Pennsylvania and Maryl His unusual religious zeal, and his methods in his church work, exp him to much opposition from his own people, and at length compe him into a kind of ecclesiastical independence with the church that ministered to in Baltimore, and in fellowship with which other chur in various parts grew up under his auspices, and were served by a kin itinerant ministry, not very unlike that of the Methodists. His princ coadjutor in his evangelistic work was Martin Boehm, a Mennonite mini of Lancaster, whose son Henry became a Methodist itinerant, and known only a short time ago among us as the centenarian Father Boe The association of ministers and churches thus raised up formed a very perfectly consolidated ecclesiastical body, which after Otterbein's dec became somewhat disorganized and fell into partial decay, but was a ward resuscitated and reorganized, and is now among the most effec of the minor sects of the country, with a system of church governm largely patterned after that of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Ot bein died in 1813, and when the Conference met in Baltimore that Asbury, by request, preached a memorial sermon in his church, which

also attended by the whole Conference. Respecting the event, Asbury wrote in his Journal:

> By request, I discoursed on the character of the angel of the Church of Philadelphia, in allusion to William Otterbein, the holy, the great Otterbein, whose funeral discourse it was intended to be. Solemnity marked the silent meeting in the German church, where were assembled the members of our Conference and many of the clergy of the city. *Forty years have I known the retiring modesty of this man of God, towering majestic above his fellows in learning, wisdom, and grace, yet seeking to be known only to God and the people of God.*

This new "Life" seems to have been prepared with great care, and the work evinces a good degree of literary ability. Strangely enough, the materials for constructing a complete biography were found to be very incomplete. Unlike Asbury, Otterbein seems not to have kept a Journal, and both he and his followers were more intent on saving souls than on recording their own exploits. The author has, however, succeeded in constructing a continuous narrative, and in elucidating not a few obscure passages in the history of the times and events of which he treats. The work constitutes a valuable addition to the religious and ecclesiastical history of the country; and while it will stand as an honorable memorial of a good and devoted Christian minister, it will also indicate the honorable ancestry of the denomination of Christians that own him as their founder—a body which, though not called by the family name, are very nearly akin, in form and spirit, as well as in origin, to our own.

Montcalm and Wolfe. By FRANCIS PARKMAN, author of "Pioneers of France in the New World," etc. Fourth edition. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 514, 502. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.

American writers of history not only excel in excellence and ability all other classes of writers in their own country, but they also very successfully, perhaps, compete in their chosen specialty with all others that use their mother-tongue. And having asserted the claims of our native historians as a class, we advance a step further, and assign, without hesitation, the first place among them to Dr. Parkman. He selected his field for investigation and illustration when a young man, and has continued to cultivate it with unflagging assiduity for nearly half a century; and the results of his labors, though less voluminous than those of some others, rank with the very best. No other department of American history so blends together the romance of adventure and the beginnings of far-reaching complications, the results of which are still in the stage of incomplete development, as that of the colonial period of French and English occupation and growth. The struggle of national rivalry that had been drawn out through a hundred years in North America, with a decided advantage on the side of the French, culminated in the conflict of which Montcalm and Wolfe were the rival leaders, and the representatives of the two nations that had so long divided the possession of the continent. The decision of that contest on the Plains of Abraham, where the two heroes fell in the same battle, and where English valor and strategy prevailed, recast the fashion

of the world's history, made North America English and Protestant, and the United States more than a possibility of the future.

Dr. Parkman has gone over and through this whole subject with a zeal that has evaded no labor, searching out every point from original authorities, and writing down nothing as ascertained till freed from all possible uncertainty. The field has been all his own, and so fully has he occupied it that it is not likely that he will have a successor. The list of his earlier publications indicates the thoroughness of his treatment of the whole subject. They are: "Pioneers of France in the New World," "The Jesuits in North America," "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West," "The Old Régime in Canada," and "Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV." These last published volumes are a little out of the order of time, as between the period they cover and the close of the next older there remains untouched the first half of the eighteenth century.

The work is as readable as it is conscientious and trustworthy; and the publishers give us the books in a style that is worthy of the contents of these superb volumes.

Dr. Summers. A Life Study. By O. P. FITZGERALD, D.D., Editor Christian Advocate, Nashville, Tenn. With a portrait. 12mo, pp. 352. Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Dr. Summers was a man of strongly marked characteristics. Richly endowed by nature, and especially gifted with will-power, learned and cultivated much beyond what is usually found among "self-educated" men, he became a leader of men, and was freely accorded a place in the front rank of his company. He was prominent in all the transactions that grew out of the separation of Southern Methodism from the parent body, and though not "to the manor born," no native of the sunny South was more pronounced than he in favor of the separation. He was capable of great labor, and he well knew how to turn it to good account. The volume before us is a cross between a funeral eulogy and a memoir. It is decidedly cleverly done, and it indicates that the subject and the author were kindred spirits, and genial ones too. It is well adapted to its probable design.

The Mela at Tulsipur. Glimpses of Missionary Life and Work in India. A Book for Children. By the Rev. B. H. BADLEY, M.A., for Ten Years a Missionary in North India. Square 8vo, pp. 176. Religious Tract Society, 56 Paternoster Row (London).

A "mela" is a kind of Hindu camp-meeting, connected in some way with the worship of their gods and their religious festivals. Mr. Badley has been in the habit of attending these, and preaching Christ to the multitudes. Accounts of some of these adventures make up the body of this pleasant volume.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Recently Discovered and Published by Philotheos Briennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia. Edited, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK and FRANCIS BROWN, Professors in Union Theological Seminary, New York. A New Edition, Revised and Greatly Enlarged. 8vo, pp. CXV and 85. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

In March of last year Professors Hitchcock and Brown brought out an edition of the "Teaching" comprising little else than the original Greek, very handsomely reproduced, with a fair translation—neither slavishly literal nor unwarrantably liberal. It was well received by the public, as it deserved to be, and through it the public has come to an extensive and correct notion of the claims and character of the work so reproduced. They now give us a new edition, but so much enlarged and modified by thorough and able revision that it has become a new work. The new preface gives, in a few remarks, the state of the case of the newly found and published manuscript, and clearly vindicating its claim as a genuine copy of a very old work, of a semi-patristic authority. The "Introduction and Notes," extending over a hundred pages, constitute the distinguishing feature of this new edition. The editors, in these, discuss their subject in all its possible aspects, vindicating the integrity of the text, and giving a history of the work as it was known to the early Church, and also some account of its *status* in modern patristic literature before the discovery of this manuscript; and after these things follows a learned and elaborate disquisition on the nature of the work itself, and its relations to kindred compositions in the early Church. In tourists' phrase, they may be said to have "done" the subject, and that so thoroughly and satisfactorily and exhaustively, that it will not need to be repeated. After this full examination of the subject, we find no reason to change our own views from what was said in our remarks in our issue for October last. The trustworthiness of the manuscript discovered by Bishop Briennios, as a true copy of the tract described or referred to by some of the early Fathers, may be said to be fairly established, and the work itself is not without its value, though still it adds very little to the stores of practically valuable instruction possessed by the Church. Professors Hitchcock and Brown have done their own work with decided skill and ability, as writers and scholars, and so have earned the thanks of the Christian public.

Workday Christianity; or, The Gospel in the Trades. By ALEXANDER CLARK, Author of "The Gospel in the Trees," etc. 12mo, pp. 300. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

The late Dr. Alexander Clark, sometime editor of the (Protestant) "Methodist Recorder" (Pittsburg), was a man of much more than average taste and genius. His book on "The Gospel in the Trees" was favorably received by the public, and the one now before us has many of its best qualities, especially its happy aptitude for finding pleasant and instructive lessons in common, every-day affairs.

New Cyclopedia of Prose Illustrations, adapted to Christian Teaching; embracing Mythology, Analogies, Legends, Parables, Emblems, Metaphors, Similes, Allegories, Proverbs; Classic, Historic, and Religious Anecdotes, etc. By Rev. ELON FOSTER, D.D. With an Introduction by Rev. STEPHEN H. TYNG, D.D. First Series. Twenty-fifth thousand. Royal octavo, pp. 704. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

New Cyclopedia of Prose Illustrations, adapted to Christian Teaching, etc. By Rev. ELON FOSTER, D.D. Second Series. Ninth thousand. Royal octavo, pp. 791. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

Cyclopedia of Poetry, embracing the Best from all Sources and on all Subjects. By Rev. ELON FOSTER, D.D. First Series. Ninth thousand. Royal octavo, pp. 696. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

Cyclopedia of Poetry. Second Series, embracing Poems Descriptive of the Scenes, Incidents, Persons, and Places of the Bible. Also Indexes to Foster's Cyclopedias. By Rev. ELON FOSTER, D.D. Fourth thousand. Royal octavo, pp. 500 and 328. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

Cyclopedias are the omnibuses of all the various departments and forms of thought or science, or the store-houses into which the scattered harvests of learning are garnered for use. The one here given in its quadruplex form seems designed to receive and retain the gleaning from many fields, and its abundance indicates the richness of the harvests from which its stores have been gathered. The work was commenced with simply the design to bring together a collection of religious anecdotes and illustrative paragraphs. The material was found to be so rich that when one volume had been filled the supply was not exhausted, and a second was added; and as both of these contained only prose, there seemed to be a demand for a volume, and at length a second, of poetry. And now we have before us four plethoric volumes, nearly three thousand closely printed double-columned pages of elaborately prepared matter.

The thought of the age embodies itself, not so much in treatises and elaborate works, as in brief and pungent expressions of single ideas, which are spoken from the lips, or printed in forms that remain but for a day. It has been the purpose of the compiler in the first and second of the above-named volumes, to seize and render more permanent these fugitive utterances, so as to render them available for wider and more permanent uses. How aptly they have answered to a manifest public demand is best indicated by the sales that have been made, and the public verdict thus expressed will be justified by an examination of the works. No classification of subjects is attempted, and the alphabetical arrangement is carried throughout the volumes. The distinct articles amount to more than twelve thousand. Each volume has its index of topics.

In making up the first volume of poetical pieces (the third of the set) the whole field of poetical literature was freely drawn upon, but with an evident inclination to preserve for the readers such minor productions of the less celebrated poetical writers as seem to possess real value, pieces found in transient publications, or in volumes chiefly made up of inferior productions, which are doomed to an early oblivion. There are many poems of decided excellence that can be preserved to the public only as

they shall be gathered up and garnered in such compilations; and the editor of this volume has done a valuable public service in bringing so many of these into the form in which they here appear. It is only an act of justice to add that the work as accomplished indicates a very wide acquaintance with that department of literature, and both taste and critical judgment in the selection of the pieces to be used. As compared with most of the popular cyclopedias of poetry, the special excellence of this one is, that an unusually large proportion of the pieces are such as are not found in the works of the great poets, and the reader will be pleased to note the wealth of the poetic stores that have been contributed by little-known writers.

The second of the poetic volumes (the fourth of the series) consists almost entirely of scenes and incidents taken from the Bible, which fact, if not favorable to a high average of poetry, compensates for any such lack by the value of the subjects, and often by the quaint simplicity, the ballad-like character of many of the compositions. Some of these, too, are of a high grade of poetical merit. The whole number of poems in the two volumes exceeds four thousand. Both of these volumes are valuable companions for the household.

Appended to the last volume is a series of Indexes—first an "Analytical" one, covering all the subjects treated in any one of the four volumes, with the necessary references, the whole having something of the nature of an "*Index Rerum.*" Next follows an "Index of Poetical Authors;" next, an "Index of Prose Authors;" after that, an "Index of Scripture Texts;" and lastly, an "Index of First Lines and Authors" of poems. The importance of this series of books is not so much in their high scholarship as in their available utility, though even in respect to the former quality they are very far from being wholly deficient. To be able to compile well and wisely is a literary qualification of great value, and not infrequently the judicious compiler does better work for the public than the original writer. Dr. Foster, though, as he apologetically declares, he has been rendered unable to endure the work of the ministry, has rendered a valuable service to the cause of Christian instruction by the preparation of these noble volumes, and we congratulate him, but more the purchasers, in view of the large sales with which the work has met. Into whatever household these volumes may come they will prove a blessing.

History of the Christian Church. By PHILIP SCHAFF. Vol. IV, Mediæval Christianity, from Gregory I. to Gregory VII., A. D. 590–1073. 8vo, pp. 799. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

It is impossible in the space allowed for a book notice to even begin to do justice to such a work as that now in hand. We have, in noticing earlier volumes, recognized its great value; and as the work advances the qualities that then commanded our admiration become more and more apparent. The period covered by this volume, over five hundred years, though often considered an era of mental inaction, was quite otherwise in Church

affairs, and Church history was about all of history during that tim Besides the relations of the Church to the State, and ecclesiastical affa pure and simple, the conflict between the East and the West, and the lations of the Church to Mohammedanism, came into notice during t period, as did also some of the most famous doctrinal controversies. T biography is especially rich and abundant. Dr. Schaff and his co-labor have already made it apparent that their work must hereafter be rec nized as the great Church history of our times. For one who wou really master the subject, we know of no single work that we could reco mend with a fuller confidence.

The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Me odist Episcopal Church for the Year 1884. Edited by Mrs. B. R. COWAN, De ware, Ohio. Pp. 112. Columbus, Ohio: State Journal Office.

This is a creditable production in respect to the book-maker's art; b in respect to its contents it is simply marvelous. The organization of t Society seems to be thorough and nearly complete, with its nine distin "Branches," covering the whole country eastward from the Rocky Mou ains, and northward from Virginia and Kentucky, each itself a compl working system, and yet the whole joined into a consolidated unity. workers, sixty in all, are found in India (in great force), in China four distinct points), in Japan, South America, Mexico, Italy, and B garia, and one of them also accompanies the pioneer missionary expediti to Korea. Its real estate, in the missions, is valued at nearly two hundr thousand dollars, and its annual income approximates the same amou The children in the schools are counted by thousands.

Evolution and Christianity. By BENJAMIN F. TEFFT, D.D., LL.D. Boston: Le Shepard.

The Rev. B. F. Tefft, D.D., LL.D., one of our most fruitful and w furnished writers, has been moved by the skeptical effects produced the doctrine of evolution to write an answer to this form of infideli under the title "Evolution and Christianity." He holds that evoluti cannot be victorious without the destruction of Christianity. He th gains his starting-point, and devotes the first part of the work to the de nition of the origin and character of the doctrine of evolution, examini the writings of Darwin, Spencer, Hæckel, H. W. Beecher, and Rob Ingersoll. He then proceeds to the definition of Christianity. Believi that every religion is based on consciousness, he appeals to the long l of philosophers who defend this authority. His third book is given the relations of our religion, the fruitless oppositions to Christiani Christianity and ancient science, Christianity and modern science, a Christianity and modern speculation. The fourth book investigates t history of Christianity, and the fifth the influence of Christianity. this way he draws comparisons between the influence of Christianity now existing, and what the world would be under the acceptance of t

doctrines of evolution. The book displays wide reading, a great deal of sound learning, and a most ardent devotional spirit; yet the reader, while perusing it, will hardly forget that some of our ablest and most orthodox theologians—M'Cosh, for instance—hold that the doctrine of evolution is consistent with the Christian scheme. We regard the conditions of the contest in a somewhat different light from Dr. Tefft, yet the book deserves, for the breadth of its views and its clearness of statement, its cogency of argument and its broad intelligence, a careful perusal, both of those who accept and reject Christianity. It is certainly the writer's ablest work, and if it be not held conclusive by all, it will be only because of his having committed himself substantially to the doctrine that no theory of evolution is consistent with Christian religion. It is to this latter point that attention is being increasingly attracted, and there are some, perhaps an increasing number, who, accepting evolution in the general sense as true, do not find between it and Christianity a hopeless antagonism. One highly creditable fact in the doctor's book is, that he does not indulge in loose rhetorical denunciations. There are many eloquent chapters descriptive of the work and the triumph of Christianity, and he may well feel content with this crown of his literary labors.

Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes, with an Introductory Essay, Notes, and Indexes. By BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Professor of Greek in the Johns-Hopkins University, Baltimore. 12mo, pp. 395. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Harpers, with a reasonable confidence that the study of Greek in our colleges will not be immediately given up, have set about issuing a "New Classical Series, under the Editorial Supervision of Henry Drisler, LL.D., Jay Professor of Greek in Columbia College." The work above named is the third of that series, having been preceded by "The Protagoras of Plato," and "Herodotus" (Books VI, VII). The editorial work appears to be well done, in respect to both the preparation of the text and the Introduction and notes. Both instructors and learners will find them valuable.

Life and Journal of Mrs. Hester Ann Rogers. Condensed and Combined. By Rev. E. DAVIES (Evangelist). 18mo, pp. 191. Holiness Book Concern, Reading, Mass. Cloth, 25 cents.

John Knox. By WM. M. TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D., Author of "Limitations of Life," etc. With steel portrait. 12mo, pp. 217. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Biographical series of classes of persons, distinguished and discriminated by their callings and careers, seem to be a favorite form of literary productions, of which the "English Men of Letters" was the first in time, and perhaps it may be said to have well maintained its priority of position.

The work named above is No. 9 of "Heroes of Christian History," a series of popular biographies by eminent English and American authors. Its predecessors are Wilberforce, Henry Martin, Doddridge, Carey, Chalmers, Robert Hall, Baxter,—a very constellation of "bright particular

stars," to which it is altogether fitting that the name of John should be added. And who could more fitly undertake and execut work of preparation than Dr. Taylor? It is well executed; an app tive, and though succinct, yet a comprehensive, sketch of Scotland's reformer.

Easter Greeting. By Mrs. M. L. DICKINSON. Square 16mo. New York: H. Angel.

Six brief but exquisite Easter poems: "The Easter Guest," "' Easter Day," "Easter-Tide," "Easter Dawn," "Easter Lilies," "After Easter." It forms a very pleasant Easter study, or present.

Fly-Rods and Fly-Tackle. Suggestions as to their Manufacture and Use. pp. 353. By HENRY P. WELLS. Illustrated. New York: Harper & ers.

Such a book may seem to be quite outside of the range of our Re which addresses itself to the reading of learned divines. But since that profession have come some of the most celebrated men of the from Izaak Walton to the late Doctor Bethune—it may still be thoug impossible that some such will be found among our own readers. such, therefore, we commend this little volume.

Gesta Christi; or, a History of Humane Progress under Christianity. By LORING BRACE. Author of "Races of the Old World," etc. Fourth E with New Preface and Supplementary Chapter. 12mo, pp. 520. New A. C. Armstrong & Son.

A special plea for Christianity as a beneficent, social force, abund sustained and illustrated from the history of the race. The bool been well received and widely read, and though not especially learn is decidedly available for its purpose.

The Sixth and Seventh Books of Herodotus. With a Life of Herodotus, an Ep of his History, a Summary of the Dialect, and Explanatory Notes. By A TUS C. MERRIAM, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of Greek in Columbia College, York. 16mo, pp. 369. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Greek typology is decidedly good, and the editorial matters ani will prove valuable to students. The text itself, like pure gold, nee praise. Until the modern reformers of educational process shall banished the study of Greek from the schools—may the day be far o good old Herodotus will be had in kindly remembrance.

The Gospel in all Lands. Illustrated. An Evangelical and Undenominationa sionary Magazine. Eugene R. Smith, Publisher. Volume 9, January- 1884.

Readers of missionary periodicals have found in the work above na in its monthly issues, and especially since it passed into Mr. Smith's h a rich supply of the very best kind of missionary intelligence, thoro ly evangelical; and though nominally "undenominational," it is r "ecumenical," as to Protestantism in all lands. The bound volumes stitute a valuable repertory of missionary operations.

Paradise Found. The Cradle of the Human Race at the North Pole. A Study of the Prehistoric World. By WILLIAM F. WARREN, S.T.D., LL.D., President of Boston University, etc. With Original Illustrations. 12vo, pp. 505. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

This is a remarkable book, well written, calm, quiet, and self-assured. Respecting its theory we have no opinions, because we fully believe that all argument on the subject is simply fanciful theorizing. The question has been asked whether it may not be that the author is following the example of a certain learned archbishop, and trying to show how much proof may be adduced in favor of the most absurd proposition. If so, he is to be congratulated on his success.

The Praise Songs of Israel. A New Rendering of the Book of Psalms. By JOHN DEWITT, D.D., of the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J., and Member of the American Old Testament Revision Committee.

This is manifestly the fruit of a thoroughly executed labor of love, in which scholarship, good judgment, and indefatigable diligence happily co-operated, and the outcome is a decidedly pleasant volume, readable and instructive. The preface of twenty large pages is an able and judicious essay favoring larger liberty in the rendering of the sacred text than is commonly allowed, making the literal sense the chief and governing purpose in all cases. The exterior form of the book is worthy of its contents, and altogether it is a work of taste as well as of learning.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A. D. 325. Rev. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D. D., and JAMES DONALDSON, LL. D., Editors. American Reprint of the Edinburgh Edition. Revised and Chronologically Arranged, with Brief Prefaces and Occasional Notes. By A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D. Volume I, Apostolic Fathers—Justin Martyr, Irenæus. 8vo, pp. 597 (double columns). Buffalo: The Christian Literature Publishing Company.

English readers have been granted access to the Fathers within the very recent past by the translations procured and published by Messrs. T. and T. Clark, of Edinburgh, among which the series of the Ante-Nicene Fathers holds the first place in respect to both seniority and value. An American edition is now promised (of which the volume above named is the first-fruits) by what appears to be a company organized for that special purpose. The Edinburgh edition is one of very great value, and its publishers have conferred an inestimable boon on English-speaking Christendom by its publication; but as a first attempt it was almost necessarily imperfect, and so suggestive of further elaboration. The library has also become voluminous and costly, and it is not strange therefore that an American reprint has seemed to be called for—less voluminous and less expensive.

The fact that this new edition was to come forth under the editorial oversight of Bishop A. C. Coxe seemed to promise that the successive volumes would be subjected to a thorough re-examination, and edited anew, for which there was much need, especially in the earlier issues. It was also hoped that a fuller and more adequate apparatus of introduc-

tions, notes, and excursuses than were found in the Edinburgh e would be provided, for these are very much needed. These expect have, however, been but partially fulfilled in this the first issue. editor appears to be not altogether insensible of these deficiencies, a he gives but faint assurances that the deficiency in this case will continued and perpetuated. Such a publication must answer for a ation, and it is therefore very desirable that it shall answer to a reasonable demands of the public, otherwise there will scarcely be cient reason why it should be made. We will hope, however, th volumes that shall follow will more adequately answer to these re ments.

The mechanical execution is decidedly good. The text is larg clear, and though three volumes of Clarke's edition are here put int it is here quite as readable as there, with a corresponding "easer in the price. We shall look for the further issues with a lively in hoping also that the learned editor will give to the series all n scholarly oversight and thorough elucidation.

A Popular Manual of English Literature. Containing Outlines of the Literat France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the United States of America, with ical, Scientific, and Art Notes. By MAUDE GILLETTE PHILLIPS. In tw times. 12mo. Pp. 581, 569. New York: Harper & Brothers.

We have to notice and characterize the work whose title is above with no other knowledge of its character and authorship than the themselves afford. The first part of the author's name seems to in that it is the work of a woman—for though women sometimes a masculine pseudonyms, the reverse process does not seem to be in and the preface is dated "Springfield, Mass." Some features of th umes suggest the suspicion that the writer is, or has been, a practica cator, and its make-up seems to be adapted for use as a text-book for and recitations. As the number of pages may indicate, the work is comprehensive, though still some very important things are to upon but lightly, and many readers will think, in respect to so their favorite subjects, altogether insufficiently. But a broader vie make it evident that the matter to be dealt with has been pretty distributed, and each subject or author has been allotted about a fa portion of the available space. As to its size, the work holds a m place between the school manuals commonly in use and the large more exhaustive treatises which propose to handle the subject mor and adequately. The writer's style is well suited to the evident of the work. It is clear and concise, rather than ornate and diffuse. arrangement of the matter seems to be at times a little arbitrary an philosophical; but perhaps any other plan would have appeared no l As a whole the work is well made up, and will prove acceptable to ers, whether in schools or as private readers, and it will answer equally well for any one of its three designated designs—to serv school manual, a guide to the general reader, or a book of reference

A chart or schedule of a single page gives the author's plan of the work. The whole period, from the somewhat uncertain Anglo-Saxon age to the present, is divided into ten "ages"—the Anglo-Saxon, A. D. 450–1350; age of Chaucer (and Wiclif), 1350–1400; Dark Age, 1400–1558; Elizabethan age, 1558–1649; Puritan age, 1649–1660 (brief, but graced with some mighty names); age of Dryden and the Restoration, 1660–1700 (a day of comparatively small things); classical age of Pope, Addison, and Swift, 1700–1745 (brilliant, but artificial); Johnsonian age, 1745–1784 (when literature became a profession); age of Revolution, 1784–1837 (rather of Dissolution); Victorian age, 1837 and downward. Perhaps this arrangement is as good as any other; but the divisions are not always along the lines of natural cleavage. The old Latin adage, *Dividere non frangere*, is not always obeyed—perhaps could not be—because the "ages" did not always keep good time.

The method of treating the subjects or persons taken in hand is thus indicated: A portrait (in some cases), personal appearance, comments (on style, etc.), topical study of life (and times), homes, friends, personal character, works, study of chief writings, character as a writer, literary style, books of reference. Within this somewhat artificial arrangement a large amount of generally valuable matter is set forth. With many of the opinions expressed some readers will not entirely agree, though on the whole they seem to be fair and judicious, moderately appreciative, and usually (not always) correct. Some of the marginal annotations are interesting and useful, and the brief notices of the contemporary literature of other European nations will aid in forming a conception of the whole subject. The treatment of American subjects is necessarily too brief to be of much value. The work is worthy of commendation, as it is quite as good, if not, indeed, somewhat better, than any other covering the same field of inquiry. And the field is one that every one should traverse.

Thirty Thousand Thoughts. Being Extracts Covering a Comprehensive Circle of Religious and Allied Topics. Gathered from the Best Available Sources of All Ages and All Schools of Thought, with Suggestive and Seminal Headings, and Homiletical and Illuminated Frame-work. The Whole arranged upon a Scientific Basis. With Classifying and Thought-Multiplying Lists, Composition Tables, and Elaborate Indices, Alphabetical, Topical, Textual, and Scriptural. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., Rev. JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A., Rev. CHARLES NEIL, M. A. Three volumes, royal octavo, pp. 539, 501, 520. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Since no one can read every thing, even in his own specialty, and yet it is often desirable to know something of many writers, to make selections, by way of excluding, as well as including, becomes a necessity, and the friend who tells you in advance what to choose renders a valuable service. In these three volumes we have gleanings, made by competent hands, from thousands of volumes—works of the Church Fathers, and later Church literature, biographical, scientific, classical, and philosophical, from university lectures and modern reviews—collated and thoroughly edited and

presented in brief and suggestive paragraphs. In its notice of th volume, "The Scotsman" (Edinburgh) said, and the completed justifies its estimate and anticipations:

Under the title "Thirty Thousand Thoughts," we have the first volur work which, if the design of the compilers be carried out in its integrity, at once the largest, the most comprehensive, and the most scientifically ar epitome of ideas on theology, scriptural and ecclesiastical history, and Cl ethics to be found in our language. With regard to the method of classif and arrangement adopted, it has the merit of comprehensiveness and sequence: and when once mastered it will give the student access to any p which he may have occasion to refer. It is not easy to perceive how the a atization could be more thorough.

The Hallam Succession. A Tale of Methodist Life in Two Countrie AMELIA E. BARR. 12mo, pp. 310. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cinc Cranston & Stowe.

Incidents of Methodist life have been recognized as good materi weave into "Tales;" witness among others "Adam Bede," "Be and "Katy Trevelyan." Miss Barr is a recognized and valued pro of this kind of wares, and in this case her genius and her tastes wo gether, for she was "to the manor born" (and bred), and by lon successful practice she has become expert in constructing her plo filling up their panels. "The Hallam Succession" will both pleas profit.

Boots and Saddles; or, Life in Dakota with General Custer. By ELIZAB CUSTER. 12mo, pp. 312. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The name of Custer has come to be seen in a halo of mingled roman sadness. He was a model frontiersman, possessing in an unusual d the qualities that are especially admired in his class, and to these ties was given a peculiarly fascinating interest by the circumstances death. His wife was his constant attendant in much of his life o frontiers and among the Indians, and in her military experience sh a reputation of her own for decided cleverness without sacrificin proper position as a lady and a wife. That she is no ordinary wom proved by the book now before us, in which she attempts, and succe all she attempts, to delineate the strange scenes among which she and especially those that would come under the observation of the w an officer living in garrisons and camps of the cavalrymen, beyon farthest limits of civilization. The narrative is lively, and often pi with scenes and adventures, and incidentally it brings out not a litt uable information.

Home Studies in Nature. By MARY TREAT, Author of "Chapters on Ants Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 248. New York: Harper & Brothers.

There is an especially pleasant fascination in the study of nature most ordinary aspects, and most of all in observations on the hab living things, though not a few intelligent and cultivated people

their lives among these things without knowing them. The author of this volume has been favorably known by her contributions on her favorite subjects to the magazines, especially "Harper's" and the "Atlantic," and also by one or more volumes. The present volume is largely made up of reprints of these pieces. Its four "Parts" are severally devoted to "Birds," "Insects," "Carnivorous Plants," and "Flowering Plants." It is just such a book as the amateur naturalist will delight in.

The Minor Prophets. With a Commentary, Explanatory and Practical, and Introductions to the Several Books. By Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church (Oxford). Vol. I, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, and Jonah. 8vo, pp. 427. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The name of Dr. Pusey is duplex in religious literature. First in time he was known as an English Churchman with strong Romanizing tendencies—both ecclesiastically and doctrinally—and the novelties promulgated at Oxford nearly fifty years ago were called, after his name, Puseyism. Later he devoted himself to the exposition of the Old Testament, especially the prophets, and in this work he has displayed both ripe scholarship and excellent judgment. It is not often that the reviser can so heartily adopt the statements of publishers as we do in this case, when they say of it:

1. It is *able*, *learned*, and *instructive*. The author's Hebrew scholarship and his acquaintance with theological literature, ancient and modern, are brought to bear upon the text in such a manner as to bring out the profoundest meaning in the simplest and most unassuming manner.
2. It is *critical*, in the sense of being discriminating, yet free from mere technical comments. Practical results are presented with unquestioning faith and humble reverence, and with a fearless devotion to the truth, controlled by safe and sound judgment.
3. It is *orthodox* and *conservative* in its tendency, though in no sense influenced by any narrow theological or ecclesiastical bias. Conforming to the mind of the Spirit, the author devoutly seeks the meaning of the Old Testament prophecy in its New Testament fulfillment.

American Political Ideas, Viewed from the Stand-point of Universal History. Three Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in May, 1880, by JOHN FISKE. 12mo, pp. 158. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Under our free institutions there have grown up, side by side, two forms of politics, the "practical," of which nearly all speak disparagingly but many engage in very heartily, and the "speculative," which is cared for only by a very few but which deserves the attention of every American. Professor Fiske's treatment of the subject, though learned and philosophical, is not hard to be understood, while the breadth of the views presented, with their indicated relations to the history and institutions of the country, and their practical bearings on public affairs, commend his utterances to the thoughtful consideration of all who would think and speak intelligently on the subject.

God's Method with Man; or, Sacred Scenes Along the Path to Heaven. By Rev. B. WEED GORHAM. Third thousand. 12mo, pp. 286. Published by the author.

Plain and practical statements of Christian doctrines and privileges.

FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *A Good Hater.* By FREDERICK BOYLE.—*Under Which King?* By COMPTON READE.—*Tie and Trick.* By HAWLEY SMART.—*The Wearing of the Green.* By BASIL.—*The Crime of Christmas Day.* By the Author of "My Ducats and My Daughter."—*The White Witch.*—*Ichabod.* A *Portrait.* By BERTHA THOMAS.—*George Eliot's Life.* Three Parts.—*Great Porter Square.* By B. L. FARJEON.—*Miss Brown.* By VERNON.—*A Man of His Word, and Other Stories.* By W. E. NORRIS.—*Some One Else.* By B. M. CROKER.

HAND-BOOKS for Bible Classes and Private Students. Edited by Rev. MARCUS DODS, D.D., and Rev. ALEXANDER WHYTE, D.D. — *Palestine*, with Maps, by the Rev. ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, M.A. 12mo, pp. 221. — *Acts of the Apostles* (chaps. i–xii), by Professor LINDSAY, D.D. 12mo, pp. 143. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Both works of real merit, and well adapted to their purpose.

Anthè. By Mrs. G. W. CHANDLER. 12mo, pp. 272. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Words and Ways; or, What They Said, and What Came of It. By SARAH J. JONES. 12mo, pp. 302. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Dearer than Life. A Tale of the Times of Wiclif. By EMMA LESLIE. 12mo, pp. 302. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Pleasant stories, harmless, but not eminently instructive.

Sermons and Talks to Fellow-Pilgrims. By Rev. J. L. PECK, M.D. Book III of the "Jottings of a Pilgrim," in Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine. With an Introductory Notice of the Pilgrim and the Pilgrimage. By the Editor. 8vo, pp. 175.

Reminiscences and reflections, in part allegorical.

A Railroad Waif. By Mrs. C. B. SARGENT, Author of "The Mother and Her Children," etc. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

The Power and Authority of School Officers and Teachers in the Management and Government of Public Schools, and Over Pupils out of School, as determined by the Courts of the Several States. By a Member of the Massachusetts Bar. 18mo, pp. 181. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Wm Butler

METHODIST REVIEW

JULY, 1855.

ART. I.—THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO

Mexico, called by the Aztecs *Mexitli*, and by the Spaniards *Estados Unidos de Mexico*, extends from Texas on the east to the Pacific Ocean on the west, and from the southern boundary of our own country—latitude 31° 47′ north, or thereabouts, to the fifteenth parallel, where it adjoins on the south Central America. Its coast line on the Pacific, reckoning the sinuosities of the Gulf of California, is over 4,000 miles, and on the Gulf of Mexico 1,600 miles. The total superficial area is about 760,304 square miles. Its population in 1850 was 9,577,279.

Physically, Mexico is a vast table-land of comparatively recent upheaval. Most of the so-called Cordilleras are merely the outer developments of this plateau, and which rise only at intervals above its mean level. The principal central cross range of mountains culminates in the snow-clad cones of Popocatepetl (17,853 feet high) and Iztaccihuatl (15,795). To the north of these is Citlaltepetl, or the Peak of Orizaba, rising to the height of 17,176 feet. Formerly a region of tremendous volcanic activity, Mexico's volcanoes are now dying out. Earthquakes are frequent and rarely destructive, being more frequently undulations, than *terremotos*, or shakings. Hurricanes and water-spouts seldom occur, except in certain localities on the coast. The dry season comprises the months from October to September inclusive, and the rainy season extends over the rest of the remainder of the year. The rain-fall is heavy at an elevation of from 3,000 to 8,000 feet. The rivers are few and flow mainly in deeply cut beds, and are unnavigable. The

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JULY, 1885.

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diminished size of the Anahuac and other lakes shows a p
of gradual desiccation, probably due to the destruction of u
forests by European settlers.

The Mexican table-land, consisting chiefly of metamo
formations, is remarkable for the abundance and varie
metalliferous ores, and particularly those of copper, silve
gold. In the period between 1821 and 1880 it yielded n
than $950,000,000 in silver and gold. Magnetic iron or
sulphur, platinum, cinnabar, bismuth, and other metal
also found in profusion. Three distinct climatic regio
vest this section of the American continent with peculiar
est. Their limits are not sharply defined, and depend w
upon altitude. From the sea-level to a height of 3,000 fe
the scarps and terraces of the central plateaus is the fir
matic zone, known as the *tierras calientes*, or "hot land
which the mean temperature is from 77 to 82 degrees Fa
heit. The unhealthiness of this section, especially in the
lence of yellow fever and the black vomit, is somewhat
pensated by the presence of magnificent tropical veget
virgin forests of valuable timbers and dye-woods, and e
varieties of medicinal and useful plants. The *tierras*
pladas, or "temperate lands," comprise all the higher te
and central plateaus between the altitudes of 3,000 and
feet, with a mean temperature of from 62 to 70 degrees Fa
heit. Its climate is one of the very finest on the globe,
together with the manifold beauties of the country, ma
an earthly paradise. The *tierras frias*, or "cold lands,
brace all the highlands from 8,000 feet upward, where, o
glittering crests of the sky-piercing mountains, the snow
ice are perpetual.

The foreign commerce of Mexico is of considerable i
tance. The "Statesman's Year Book" * for 1885 states
"the total imports of Mexico in the year 1876 (the la
which detailed official returns are published) were of the
mated value of $28,485,000, or £5,697,000, and the value o
exports, $25,435,000, or £5,087,000. It is officially stated
the imports of 1882 exceeded £6,000,000, the average tot
imports and exports on recent years being £12,000,000."
1882–83 the total value of the exports was £8,360,000, inclu

* New York: Macmillan & Co.

12,753 of the precious metals." About one third of the
e of Mexico is with the United States. That the com-
ce of the country will shortly attain much greater propor-
than it has hitherto assumed is, to say the least, exceed-
probable.

addition to numerous indigenous plants, Mexico has ac-
ed those which have their native habitat in Europe; also,
of Asiatic growth; and it probably now has the richest
omic flora of any country on the globe. On the coast, and
a height of 5,000 feet, cocoa-nuts, cacao, vanilla, cotton,
s, nutmegs, peppers, and the other spices of commerce are
uced, besides all the fruits of tropical countries, east and
From about 4,000 feet upward begins the cultivation of
ereals of the Old World, the oleaginous plants, and gar-
egetables, with grapes, and every kind of European fruit.
mulberry-tree is naturalized in districts between 3,000 and
feet above the sea. Humboldt, at the beginning of the
ry, estimated the value of field products in Mexico to be
y four times that of its mines. Such is its diversity of
tes that there is scarcely a plant that grows, or a fruit that
s, or a grain that matures its seed, that may not find a
nial home within the soil and climate of Mexico.

e industrial possibilities of the republic are almost
ut limits. Her flora comprises more than ten thousand
n species, many of them of the rarest beauty and the
t odors! She has all the useful timber trees of the North,
early all the precious woods of the South. Pastures are
lant and nutritious, and afford sustenance to countless
of cattle and horses and flocks of sheep. The large
s intended for agriculture are known as *haciendas de*
; those for cattle raising as *haciendas de ganado*. The
rs of both classes are principally Creoles and Mestizoes,
hey constitute the most independent order in society.
erdsmen of the cattle and horse-breeding estates are among
oldest and most skillful riders in the world, and, when
rly officered, make efficient irregular cavalry.

1876, according to the great government report of Mex-
Estadistica de la Republica Mexicana—there were more
5,700 haciendas and 13,800 ranchos within its territory.
value of landed property, based simply on its valuation

for taxes, was $176,397,300, without taking into account streams, grazing lands, orchards, and other rural property. Its real value in 1883 was estimated at $3,549,060,000. The estimated value of its agricultural productions in 1880 was $177,451,986. In the year ending March 31, 1880, coffee to the value of $1,490,171 was exported to the United States. Cotton, like maize, is indigenous to the land, and was used for clothing long before the Spaniards saw the continent. Breastplates of cotton impervious to Indian arrows were adopted by the Spanish conquerors. The 25,177,760 kilograms raised in 1880 is not enough for home consumption. *Henequen*, or hemp, is another product, of which bales to the value of $2,729,556 were exported in 1882. The *tierras calientes* are specially adapted to the cultivation of the sugar-cane, of which the yield in 1880 was valued at $8,716,000; and of tobacco, of which the production in 1880 was valued at about $2,000,000.

But it is to her mines that Mexico is most largely indebted for her attractions and her miseries. An authority on mines and mining says, that "a line drawn from the capital to Guanajuato, and thence northward to the south-western point of Chihuahua, and southward to Oaxaca, thus cutting the main axis of upheaval at an angle of 45 degrees, will intersect probably the richest known argentiferous region in the whole world. The ancient Toltecs and Aztecs obtained gold and silver, not only by washing the sands of mountain torrents and coast streams, but by sinking shafts and galleries. The amount of these precious metals wrung from Montezuma and sent to Spain is estimated at $7,000,000. Up to 1884 the total product of Mexican mines was nearly four billions of dollars. Alex. D. Anderson, an American statistician, basing his estimates on data supplied by Humboldt, and the official reports of Great Britain and the United States, reckons the entire gold and silver product of the world, for three centuries, at $13,111,825,885, and that New Spain (including California and the South-western Territories) supplied $4,888,512,605, or 37 per cent. of the whole. The mineral wealth of the Mexican plateau is practically inexhaustible. The total coinage of Mexican mints up to 1885 was not less than $3,195,694,386. Lumps of native gold, *pepitas* (nuggets), weighing from five to six pounds, have been found in Pimeria Alta, under the 31st

degree of north latitude. Among the ancient Aztecs the Spaniards found great quantities of ornaments and works in gold, among which was a golden disk the size of a cart-wheel. Many of these were sent to Spain as presents from the *conquistadores* to royalty.

Rubies are discovered in Durango, diamonds in Guerrero, topazes in San Luis Potosi, emeralds in Mexico, garnets, opals, agates, carnelians, etc., in other States. Marble, granite, obsidian, copperas, coals, and mineral oils also enrich different parts of the country.

Entering the Republic of Mexico from the north by the Mexican Central Railroad, the traveler leaves El Paso, a thriving Texas town in which four different railway lines concentrate, crosses the Rio Grande, which is here fordable, except after heavy rain-falls, and is the boundary line between the two republics, and enters the town of El Paso del Norte. The latter is as thoroughly Mexican as the former is thoroughly American, and contains about 5,000 inhabitants. Adobe houses, *acequias*, or irrigating canals, and vineyards attract notice as the Pullman cars pass through. A journey of 225 miles southward, through a region of desolate sand-hills, and next through widely extended grazing grounds, is ended at Chihuahua (Chee-wah-wah), the capital of the State bearing the same name. The 18,000 inhabitants are domiciled for the most part in one-storied thick-walled houses, having grated windows, open courts, and rooms from twelve to eighteen feet high. The climate is said to be delightful and salubrious, the temperature rarely being over 70 degrees Fahrenheit in the shade. Epidemics and fevers are unknown. Healthy appetite is satisfied at a freight-car restaurant on a side track. Hotels are excellent, but not often utilized, except by those who may be interested in the fabulously rich mines at Santa Rosalia, six miles away, or in the charming haciendas of the neighborhood. The monument to the patriot-priest Hidalgo commands brief but reverential attention.

Resuming movement toward the capital of the nation, the eye rests on much that is strange and unexpected in the passage over the sterile and forbidding plateau which covers large parts of the States of Chihuahua, Durango, and Zacatecas. From an altitude of 3,815 feet above the sea-level at Paso del

Norte, the track rises to one of 8,038 feet at Zacatecas; declines to 5,761 at Salamanca, and rests at the heig 7,469 in the city of Mexico. Railroad life along this ro a series of ups and downs. For a distance of about three dred miles the steam-horse must draw the water for hi consumption and that of the passengers. Yet, notwithsta the destitution of fuel and water, the vicinity of rich has created prosperous towns along the route. Near I where the train pauses for supper, is a region so sing adapted to the culture of cotton that the plants only need renewed once in four or five years.

Railroad engineering has performed some noteworthy in the construction of this Mexican central thoroughfare a distance of eighteen miles north of Zacatecas, it has giv less than twelve sharp turns to the track, each of whic trying to nerves as the celebrated Horse-shoe Bend o Pennsylvania Central. The golden wealth drawn fro bosom of the Sierra Madre Mountains affords the pri incomes of the 60,000 or 70,000 people in Zacatecas. alone, of all the Mexicans, enjoy this auriferous support. rest largely depend on argentiferous supplies, which a abundant that the railroad is ballasted with silver or would pay for smelting if immense quantities of better q were not quite as accessible.

Aguas Calientes (*Hot Waters*) is the stopping pla dinner on the second day's travel, and is the capital small State bearing the same designation. Agriculture than mining is the main-stay of this city of 35,000 p Famous for its thermal springs, which surround the and at one point are united in a stream about four feet and two or three deep, that flows in a canal of mason der the railroad, and that furnishes washing facilities for families at a time, it is no less well supplied with fac schools, and colleges. Bishop Harris and Mr. J. M. Ph on evangelistic ends intent, saw (January, 1885) in this sant center a promising field for missionary labor. Fr to Tampico, on the Gulf of Mexico, a railway is soon completed. Another finished railroad, passing throug city of Guadalajara, a spot prophetic of future evangelica quests, already connects it with San Blas, on the Pacific

eon, in the State of Guanajuato, are many factories, chiefly
ather, and a market for an extensive agricultural district.
een it and Silao, the next large town, the eye looks in
for signs of extensive cultivation. A branch line, four-
miles long, connects Silao with the famous city of Guan-
o, which contains about 65,000 inhabitants, among whom
nany aristocratic families of Castilian descent. North-east
e city is the wonderful mine of Valenciana, which has
ed over $800,000,000. South of Silao the road passes
gh the Baxio region, "so celebrated in Mexico, both as
seat of the great agricultural riches of the country and
scene of the most cruel ravages of the civil war. The
endas, loop-holed and battlemented, are perfect fortresses,
impart a lively idea of the lately distracted condition of the
try. Queretaro, capital of the State bearing the same
, with its 48,000 inhabitants, has the reputation of being
loveliest city in the land outside the valley of Mexico.
re, aided by the magnificent aqueduct built by the Mar-
de Valero del Aguila, at his own cost, has done marvels for
Bishop Gilbert Haven, who visited it in 1872, wrote:

e city ever allures us on. Its towers and domes glisten in
ying light, half-hidden among abundant foliage. The hol-
f the hills looks small from this height, and the city seems
ssed on the bottom of a bowl of radiant green. A farther
nt brings the aqueduct to view—the stateliest Roman that
tant in America; and there is no grander in Italy, nor one
and. The valley lies about you full of verdure; never did
alley look lovelier. Hundreds of acres of wheat and barley
ucern, greenest of the green, seem in a race for superiority
lor, while the trees are not behind in beauty. Flowers of
st hue bloom in the gardens, and the city stands forth, with
littering towers and domes, a spectacle long to be remem-
l. It would be hard to find the equal in beauty of this com-
ion of high, bold cliffs, ranges of hills, velvet meadows, and
ly churches.*

tton factories, whose operatives are native Indians, largely
ribute to the prosperity of Queretaro. Here Maximilian
captured, and here, in company with Miramon and Mejia,
subsequently shot. Between it and the city of Mexico
section abounding in memories of Chichimec, Toltec,
Aztec tribes, whom the glittering volcanoes Popocatepetl

* "Our Next-door Neighbor," pp. 283, 284.

and Iztaccihuatl, that keep watch and ward over the ci
Montezuma, saw flourish and decay, and ultimately pass
der the power of iron-handed strangers, whose hearts kne
compassion, and whose priests gave no instruction in the
way to peace and rest. Twelve hundred and twenty-five
from El Paso, and in the heart of the national capital, the
eler finds himself among hack-stands, street railroads, h
restaurants, banks, plazas, and paseos; churches, museums,
libraries, modern bazaars, and instructive antiquities; the
and the new blending in a thousand interesting phases
excite curiosity and impart delight.

The history of this unique and extraordinary country
people, with its singular mosaic of aborigines, starred and
zarred by Caucasian accretions, is one of unfailing inte
Mexico is the name given to the territory occupied by a g
of American tribes calling themselves *Mexica* (sing., *Mexi*
or *Azteca*. The name itself is derived from that of the M
can war-god *Mexitl* or *Huitzilopochtli*. In A. D. 1325
Aztecs founded, on the lake of Tezcuco, the settlement of
ico Tenochtitlan, now represented by the metropolis of th
public. Such was their progress that when, in the earlier
tion of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards came into co
with them, the foreigners were astounded at the sight of hi
cultured nations, with organized armies, official administra
courts of justice, high agriculture, advanced mechanic arts,
stone buildings the size and finish of whose architecture
sculpture inspired the liveliest curiosity.

Such magnificence awakened many speculations as to
origin of the *Azteca*. Siguenza maintained that they were
scended from Naphtuhim, son of Mizraim, a grandson of N
Garcia and Lord Kingsborough that they were the lost trib
the house of Israel. The Mexican indigenes are now rou
grouped by sundry ethnologists into a single race or divisio
mankind. Their descendants of pure blood constitute a
four fifths of the population. Sturdy and muscular, t
stature averages five feet three inches; their skulls are m
cephalic, faces oval, foreheads low, cheek-bones high, eyes
and sloping outward toward the temples, lips fleshy, noses
and flattish but occasionally aquiline, features coarsely mol
and expression somewhat stolid and gloomy. The ski

k, complexion varying from yellow-brown to chocolate, s black, hair straight, coarse, black, and glossy. Stature and or are necessarily modified by climatic influences. Mongo- resemblances point to derivation from the nomad tribes of tary at a period so remote that all affinities between their pective languages have long since ceased to be discoverable. haps it was when there was continuous land connection ween the two continents. Similarity of bodily structure ar- s community of origin; linguistic distinctions argue length- d temporal periods in which forceful differentiating causes e in persistent operation. The Mexican method of time- ation also suggests Mongol parentage. Their belief in the e stages of heaven and hell was probably of Asiatic astro- nical birth. The picture-writings exhibited in Kingsbor- h's "Antiquities of Mexico" doubtless had their first rough fts in the same eastern home. Native traditions of the cre- n of the world and man, as seen in the *Popol Vuh*, or national k of the Quichés of Guatemala, are very like the narratives Mosaic history, and if independent of them afford addi- al presumptive proof of the accuracy of the latter. They point to the unity of the human race, and its beginning in ear the Mesopotamian Valley.

Anthropologists follow native precedent in using the term *hua* for the whole series of peoples on the Mexican plateau. these the Toltecs were presumably the first immigrants. ey are said to have introduced the culture of maize and on, workmanship in gold and silver, and the art of building, which a stupendous specimen remains in the celebrated nd of Cholula. The hieroglyphic writing and calendar are declared to be theirs. With them is associated the tradition Quetzalcoatl, a great Mexican deity and the god of war, esented in legend by his worshipers as a white man with le features, long black hair and full beard, dressed in flowing es—a saintly ruler and civilizer. Of austere, virtuous life, aught men to hate violence and war, to offer no sacrifices the altars but to worship by offerings of bread, flowers, and fumes. He is said to have taught picture-writing, the calen- and artistic work in silver. Departing from the country, as said that, when he reached the Atlantic, he sent back his panions to inform the Cholulans that, in the future, men

white and bearded like himself should land there from the
toward the sunrising, and come to rule the country.

The eleventh century, according to Mexican histori
brought destruction to the Toltecs by years of drought, fam
and pestilence. The few survivors migrated into Yucatan
Guatemala. Next after the Toltecs came the Chichimecs, v
were fused with the more cultured nations in the neighborh
of Tezcuco. Last came the successive immigration of the se
Mexican nations, of whom the last were the Tlascalteca
Azteca. The latter, distinguished by ferocity and warl
prowess, became so obnoxious because of their sanguinary cru
that they were driven to live on the islands and swamps of
great salt lagoon, where they eked out existence by constr
ing the *Chinampas*, or floating gardens of mud, heaped on r
of reeds and brush, of which we read so much in the histo
of Mexico. In the fourteenth century, after sacking the
of Tezcuco, they rose into more enviable prominence. Un
the first Monteuczoma (Sp., *Montezuma*) their sway was wid
extended, and the gods of the conquered nations had th
shrines set up in Tenochtitlan in evident inferiority to
temple of Huitzilopochtli, the war-god of the Aztec
querors. From the west to the Pacific, and from the eas
the Atlantic, tribute was exacted from the vanquished,
also multitudes of prisoners whose hearts were to be torn
by sacrificing priests to propitiate a pantheon of gods as blo
thirsty as their worshipers. Religion was a sickening butche

Oppression paved the way to overthrow by the Spania
who were hailed by the subject tribes as deliverers. T
stubborn, unsubdued Tlaxcallan (*Tlascalans*) proved to
ready allies to the latter. Six fifty-two-year periods had pas
when in 1507 the festival of the new cycle was solemnized
Chapultepec by kindling, for the last time, a new fire upon
breast of a human victim, and flinging his body on a
kindled with the new flame. Swift runners carried burn
brands from thence to rekindle the extinct fires of the la
the sacred fire on the *teocalli* of the war-god blazed up ag
and the people began the new cycle with feasting and rej
ing. In 1517 Cordova touched at Yucatan; in 1518 Grija
showed himself on the east coast of Mexico; next came H
nando Cortez. The prophecy of Quetzalcoatl was fulfill

The progress of the white men was assisted by the fears of the natives. Aztec domination became a thing of the past. Tyranny, imperial and inquisitorial, took the place of despotism absolute and sanguinary, and prolonged the anguish of the land for three wasting and woeful centuries.

The Aztec rule in Mexico was highly organized, and bore not a few features of similarity to the feudal governments of Europe in the Middle Ages. Civilization and scientific culture were of almost as high grade as in Western Europe. The judicial system was fully equal to that of Spain, and culminated in a general court and council of state presided over by the king. The punishments inflicted upon offenders were characterized by Draconic severity and excessive cruelty. The Aztecs were a nation of soldiers, trained to arms from youth, and dependent for military promotion on the number of prisoners captured for sacrifice in the most blood-thirsty worship the world ever witnessed.

Traces of monotheism appear in the nine-storied temple, with starry roof, that was built by Nezahualcoyotl, the poet-king of Tezcuco, in honor of the invisible deity called Tloque-nahuaque, "*he who is all in himself*," or Ipalnemoan, "*he by whom we live*," who had no image, and was propitiated, not by bloody sacrifices, but by incense and flowers. A rival deity of evil, called Tlacatecolotl, or "man-owl," also appears in Mexican mythology. But these traces of earlier faith were thickly overlaid by beliefs in polytheistic gods of ordinary barbaric type. Sun and moon, and possibly other nature-gods, received adoration. Huitzilopochtli, a deified warrior-chief, was the real head of the Aztec pantheon. Centeotl was patroness of the earth, and mother of all the gods. Mictlanteuctli, lord of dead-land, ruled over the departed in the dim underworld. Numbers of lesser deities presided over classes of society, events, occupations, and pleasures. Crowds of nature-spirits received offerings from passers-by at their road-side shrines. A temple was termed *teocalli*, or "god's house." The *teocallis* of the greater deities, like the temples of ancient Babylon, were pyramids of square or oblong base, rising in successive terraces to a small summit platform. That of Huitzilopochtli stood in the city of Mexico on an immense square from which radiated the four principal thoroughfares:

375 by 350 feet at the base, it rose steeply to the height of eighty-six feet, and showed to the superstitious and fanatical people the long processions of priests and victims winding along the terraces and up the corner flights of steps to the paved platform of the three-story tower temple that surmounted it. There was the hideous image of the war-god, and before it the green stone of victory, "humped so as to bend upward the body of the victim that the priest might more easily slash open the breast with his obsidian knife, tear out the heart, and hold it up before the god, while the captor and his friends were waiting below for the carcass to be tumbled down the steps for them to carry home and cook for the feast of victory. Before the shrines, reeking with the stench of slaughter, the eternal fires were kept burning, and on the platform stood the huge drum covered with snakes' skin, whose fearful sound was heard for miles. From the terrace could be seen seventy or more temples, with their images and blazing fires, and the *tzompantli*, or "skull-place," where the skulls of victims by tens of thousands were skewered on cross-sticks or built into towers. There also might be seen the flat circular *ternalacatl*, or "spindle-stone," where captives armed with wooden weapons were "allowed the mockery of a gladiatorial fight against well-armed champions."* The iniquities of these Amorites was full, and the Spaniard was the sword selected by God to smite and devour them. The great pyramid of Cholula, crowned by the hemispherical temple of Quetzalcoatl, was about thrice as long and twice as high as the *teocalli* of Mexico. The rites of worship were prayer, sacrifice, processions, dances, chants, fasting, and other austerities. Prayers were of endless prolixity, with an occasional touch of pathos. Human sacrifice, with the nauseous and shocking consequence of cannibalism, was the chief rite.

The education of the ancient Mexican children is portrayed in the picture-writings collected by Lord Kingsborough. These sketch their occupations, punishments, and preparation for the duties of future life. Agriculture, irrigation, food, have undergone little change since the conquest. The maize *tortilla*, which resembles the oat-cake of Scotland and Yorkshire, accompanied by draughts of the intoxicating *octli*, or pulque, chiefly

* "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition, vol. xvi, p. 211.

stituted their bill of fare. Clothing was principally of cot-
; ornaments were of gold, silver, and precious stones; iron
unknown; bronze of copper and tin abundant; obsidian
sharp stone flakes were mainly used for cutting, shaving,
. Currency consisted of transparent quills of gold dust and
ces of copper, with cocoa beans for small change. Poetry,
sic, and amusements were diligently cultivated.

H. H. Bancroft, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Prescott, Helps,
Cesena are the most considerable modern historians of
xico, and their works embody a vast amount of detailed in-
mation about this extraordinary people. The last embraces
substance of the earlier writers, Gomara, Torquemada, Ac-
a, and Boturini. Of travels in Mexico the volumes of De Wal-
k, D. Charnay, J. L. Stephens, Brantz Mayer, Tylor, Gil-
t Haven, Brocklehurst, Castro, Conkling, and Ober are
ong the best.

The colonial history of Mexico, beginning with the death of
atimozin, the last of the Aztec monarchs, in 1521, closed
h the departure of the last Spanish viceroy, Don Juan
Donoju, in 1821. Sullen submission and grinding oppres-
n were the social traits of the Mexican people throughout
se centuries. The Spaniards held the country for what they
ld squeeze out of it, and for that purpose only. They were
veholders to all intents and purposes; the Indians being in
t slaves, under the title of peons. The conquerors were re-
rkable for bigotry, arrogance, and cruelty; the conquered
es for ignorance, patience, and hopefulness. Spain at that
e was an open sieve through which the riches of the New
orld ran as fast as they were poured in. Craving and cruel-
were the twin sisters that controlled its motion. But the
ives profited by the infusion of Spanish blood, and were
reby helped to successful insurrection and ultimate inde-
ndence.*

In 1810 discontent with Spanish oppression broke into open
olt at Guanajuato, under the leadership of Don Manuel

Ethnically, Mexico now consists of—1. Full-blood Indians, 5,000,000; 2. Mes-
es (half-caste Indians and whites), 3,000,000; 3. Creoles (whites of Spanish de-
nt), 1,500,000; 4. Gachupines (Spaniards by birth), 50,000; 5. Other Europeans
Americans, 100,000; 6. Full-blood Negroes, 10,000; 7. Zamboes, or Chinos
lo-Africans), 45,000; 8. Mulattoes (Eurafrarians), 5,000.

Hidalgo. Like Morelos, his patriot successor, he was a priest. Mexican independence was proclaimed in 1813, and achieved in 1821, when Iturbide assumed the crown that had been previously rejected by a prince of Spain. Santa Anna raised the republican standard at Vera Cruz, in December, 1822. Internal dissensions followed in the shape of at least *three hundred* successful or abortive revolutions. But amid this bewildering chaos of empires, republics, dictatorships, and military usurpations, the people steadily acquired liberal ideas, and laid the foundations of true national freedom. The real contest was between the subject races and that form of baptized idolatry which had replaced the worship of Huitzilopochtli. The disastrous war with the United States for the recovery of Texas, in which the city of Mexico was captured, September 13, 1847, resulted in the cession of California and New Mexico to this country in 1848. The treaty of Mesilla, negotiated by Gadsden in 1853, still further aggrandized the United States and reduced Mexico to its present limits. The war of reform between the Conservatives, or Church party, under Comonfort, and Benito Juarez, at the head of the *Puros*, or advanced Liberals, lasted until 1860. At the triumphal entry of the latter into the capital in 1861, he and his compatriots took the monster that had so nearly crushed the life out of his people by the throat, and effected final separation between Church and State. They declared marriage to be a civil contract, suppressed celibacy and ecclesiastical tribunals, confiscated ecclesiastical property valued at $375,000,000, and the more than one third of the national soil held by the Church—leaving sufficient church accommodation for all the citizens. All religions are now tolerated, but none are under the patronage of the State.

After the establishment of the republic by Juarez, Spain, France, and England intervened, and urged claims for the losses of their subjects. Spain and England, when their demands were satisfied by negotiation, withdrew, but France still occupied the capital. Louis Napoleon, urged by his own ambitious designs and by the Jesuits who had been driven out of Mexico, offered the imperial crown to the Austrian Archduke, Ferdinand Maximilian, who accepted it, arrived in June, 1864, and assumed the government. Abandoned by the French, who evacuated the country at the suggestion of our government

through Mr. Seward, backed by an army within striking distance of the Rio Grande, Maximilian—good-natured tool of the papacy—was captured and remorsely shot at Queretaro, on the 19th of June, 1867. Juarez, the patriot Aztec President, died in office, July, 1872, and was succeeded by his Secretary, Lerdo de Tejada, who in turn was followed by the Aztec Porfirio Diaz in 1876. Manuel Gonzalez, of Spanish or mixed blood, his elected successor in 1880, has been followed by Diaz (December 1, 1884), who is now constitutionally filling the chief magistracy for a second term.

Democratic institutions are established on a firm basis. The government, under the Constitution of 1857, amended in 1873–74, is modeled after that of the United States. Popular suffrage indirectly chooses the President for four years, the Upper House, or Senate, of fifty-four members, and the Supreme Judiciary for six years; and the members of the Lower House, or House of Delegates, for two years, in the proportion of one member to every 40,000 inhabitants. The Chief-Justice is *ex-officio* Vice-President. Full autonomy is enjoyed by the States in all local affairs. Each constitutionally provides for the three departments of government—legislative, executive, and judicial. All external questions and matters of general interest are reserved for the central government. Since 1869 peace has been preserved at home and abroad. Mexico looks confidently forward to a brilliant future. The plague spot upon the body politic, the weak point in the national organism, is the uncivilized Indian element. But this, ignorant and imbruted as it is, composed of tribes that cannot understand each others' languages, wild and savage in some districts as in the days of the seven tribal divisions of the Nahua, can and will be reached by modern civilization, and particularly by the various evangelical missionaries who have entered Mexico to stay. These races display a vitality, toughness, and power of endurance not possessed by the Algonquin and Huron divisions of the indigenes in America, and may attain that high status of Christian civilization illustrated by Juarez and Diaz, the Washington and Jefferson of Mexico.

Inadequate provision is made for national education. The amount spent by the government on education in 1884 was $3,400,000. The University of Mexico was abolished in 1856,

and in its place special schools of law, medicine, music, agriculture, engineering, mines, commerce, fine arts, the sciences and literature, and a military college are now sustained by the Federal government; also various schools of lower grades for both sexes. There are over 200 of the latter in the city of Mexico, besides 100 private schools. Common schools are supplied at all the centers of population, and 138 institutes for higher education at the capitals. Over 8,980 public elementary schools brighten and bless the country. Special schools are also provided for deaf-mutes, the blind, and juvenile delinquents. The republic deserves warm praise for excellent intentions.

A small but efficient army is maintained at an annual cost of about $7,000,000. Six gun-boats and two torpedo-boats compose the navy, and are confined to coast-guard duty.

The religious condition of Mexico is a subject of great interest to all Christian peoples. Vitally related as it is to the morals of the republic, it is also a matter of great importance to those who stand in commercial and political relations with it. Just as the greater part of the heathenism of the Roman empire was baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, and incorporated with the body which professed to be his spouse, so the major portion of the old Aztec paganism was introduced into the Roman Catholic Church established by the Spaniards in Mexico. Its superstitions, its social morals, its indecencies, were—many of them—transferred to the new organization. Bad as Spanish Romanism was, it was not improved by the intermixture of Mexican ignorance and sensuous devotion.

The ancient Mexican peoples were undoubtedly "very religious"—quite as much so as the Athenians, in whom Paul recognized that characteristic. The Italian Clavigero affirms, what may also be conceded, that "the religion of the Mexicans was less superstitious, less indecent, less childish, and less unreasonable than that of the most cultivated nations of ancient Europe." Still it was a brutal and sanguinary religion. United with the ferocious heathen element in Roman Catholicism, its survival to the present time is manifest in the assassinations and murders committed upon some of the purest and noblest of modern Christians. Bernal Diaz, as quoted by the Rev. Rollo Ogden, from whose article on "Missions in Mexico,"* some of the

* "Andover Review," p. 560, *et seq.*

wing excerpts are selected, claims for himself and comrades
ionor of having converted the natives to the true faith.
ays that "we, the conquerors, taught them to keep wax
les lighted before the holy altars and crosses." * The power
iat rough instruction was in the sword that enforced it.
instructed were left in as dense religious and moral dark-
as before.

uring the centuries that have passed away since the con-
s of Cortez, enough of the true Gospel light has pene-
l Mexico to show its best minds that Roman Catholicism is
he religion of Christ, and that its morals are wholly differ-
rom those of the New Testament. Contact with Protest-
and the dissemination of Bibles and religious books, have
ed the eyes of the suffering people to the real character of
ican ecclesiasticism. The result is, that for many years
has been a growing insurrection against the priesthood, in
h the contempt, hatred, and invective of the revolters have
n themselves in pamphlets and lampoons, pictures and
inades, ballads and placards. Much of this scorn and
ule is scurrilous and indecent, but none the less effective
e popular mind because of that fact. The spirit of the
lle Ages against the venality and corruption of the pseudo-
ch reappears in Mexico.

hat is most pleasing and hopeful in this indigenous revolt
st Romanism is, that its hostility "is not directed against
rue ministers of Jesus Christ, but against those hypocrites
have converted our holy religion into a ridiculous farce,
gainst all those whose conscience is gold."

iat the condemnation of the Papal Church in Mexico is
ppears not only from the indignant fulminations of natives,
rom the testimony of Romanist ecclesiastics of other na-
lities, who are certainly under no temptation to speak more
vorably of their co-religionists than the facts will warrant.
evidence of enemies may be questioned; that of friends
carcely be doubted. Emanuel Domenech, a French priest
was director of the press in the cabinet of the Emperor
milian, in his "*Le Mexique Tel Qu'il Est*" (Paris, 1867),
s the portrait of the Mexican clergy with a bold and graphic
. They are in general, he tells us, very poorly educated,

* "The True History of the Conquest of Mexico," p. 497. London, 1800.

know little of theology, and less of canon laws and the decrees of councils.

> The priests have the most erroneous and absurd ideas of morals and of Catholic dogma. . . . They traffic in the sacraments, make money out of every religious ceremony, untroubled by the fact that they become guilty of simony and are liable to the censures of the Church. If the laws of Rome were to be enforced in Mexico, the majority of the Mexican clergy would be excommunicated.

That popery is responsible for this deplorable condition of affairs cannot be denied in presence of the Vatican Decrees and other assumptions of its exponents.

The same authority sketches the scandalous lives of the priests in the darkest colors, dipping his pencil in the fetid pigment of facts. Many of the priests are fathers of families. "The people think this is natural enough, and are not disposed to make jokes about their pastors, except when they are not content with a single woman." Priests and people are wholly right, when tested by Christian ethics, in this matter, provided the relation referred to be one of honorable marriage. That it is so in many instances appears from Domenech's statements. One angry woman exclaimed to his friend: "Sir, I would have you know that I am an honorable woman, and that I would not live with the priest unless we were lawfully married." "In fact," adds Domenech, "in the State of Oaxaca there are priests who marry in order to scandalize no one." That these priests have married, and that others are marrying, is an augury of a better future for Mexico; notwithstanding that "some of the bishops groan over this matter." Others, more sensibly, "without any doubt, encourage it with a remarkable good nature," and bless, and even baptize, the children of the priests. "Can such a clergy produce saints?" asks the horrified witness.

"Mexico," continues our authority, "is not a Catholic country, because the majority of the Indian population are semi-idolaters, . . . a fact recognized by all the travelers," including the officers of the French army. "The Mexican religion" is "a singular collection of lifeless devotions, of haughty ignorance, of unhealthy superstitions, and of horrible vices."

> There appear in the Catholicism of the Indians numerous vestiges of the Aztec paganism. . . . Sacrifices of turtles and other

animals are still practiced by thousands of Indians in many places. In the State of Puebla . . . they used to sacrifice, not many years ago, on St. Michael's Day, a small orphan child, or else an old man who had nothing better to do than to go to the other world.

The religious opinions thus indicated are not confined to the ignorant classes, but are found equally among those in the middle ranks of society. The horrible profanity, the shameless and disgusting immorality concomitant with them, may be readily imagined, but is of such nature as to forbid any truthful representation in these pages.

The religious and social prospects of Mexico to-day are bright as the promises of God. Nothing but the clouds of human passion, and the hurricanes of devastation and misery that burst out of the corruptions and wickedness of humanity, can permanently obscure them. The Bibles sent into Mexico by the American Bible Society, in the invasion of 1846, scattered seeds of truth which, finding lodgment in prepared hearts, have since borne many a harvest of blessing. Mr. Ogden states "that a family which has since produced three Protestant ministers owed its conversion to evangelical Christianity to such a stray volume, bought out of mere curiosity from a second-hand dealer, but read and read with ever-growing interest until full light came." From Brownsville, on the Texan side of the Rio Grande, where she had established a school in 1852, Miss Rankin entered the interior. Monterey saw her schools and congregations flourish and pass under the fostering care of the American Board; and from that, in 1870, to the wise and strong guardianship of the Presbyterian Church. Methodist and Baptist missionaries followed the lead of this "elect lady." In 1869 the Rev. H. C. Riley entered the city of Mexico as an agent of the American and Foreign Christian Union. The apparent prosperity attending his work was marred by difficulties that culminated in his resignation, after having been consecrated to the episcopal office. The Presbyterians in 1872, the Methodist Episcopalians, South, in 1872–73, the Methodist Episcopalians in 1873, the Congregationalists in 1874–75, the Presbyterians, South, in 1874, and the Baptists, South, in 1882, have all established themselves in this singularly beautiful and historic land. The Rev. J. W. Butler, whose heroic father, under God, founded the Methodist Episcopal

missions in Mexico, as well as in India, reckons no less than fifteen missionary societies operating within the Republic of Mexico in 1883.*

There is year by year less crowding of denominational missions in the larger towns. Change for the better in the temper of the people and the policy of the government emboldens the missionaries to push out into the country from these centers. The work of the Presbyterian northern mission, writes the Rev. Rollo Ogden, radiates from Monterey, San Luis Potosi, and Zacatecas. In the city of Mexico, the sea-port of Vera Cruz, the State of Michoachan, as in mountainous Guerrero and tropical Tabasco, they have also rooted themselves. The Methodists of the Church South extend from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, and from El Paso far to the south. The Congregationalists occupy the cities of Chihuahua and Guadalajara, together with numerous country stations. The Rev. J. L. Stephens, one of the noble army of martyrs, belonged to their ministry. The Methodist Episcopalians, true to the spirit of our Lord's injunction to his disciples, "beginning at Jerusalem," commenced with the capital. Their missions accompany the railroads; their congregations are found in most of the important towns on the lines that radiate from the metropolis. To advance thence into the most secluded country districts is simply a question of time. The tireless itinerant, from whom sinners find it impossible to escape on the frontiers of American civilization, will find his way into the mountainous recesses of semi-tropical Mexico, and there proclaim to Spaniard, Aztec, Toltec, and Mazahua the blessings of free, full, and present salvation through repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. The tyrannies and corruptions of Rome, the natural longings for freedom, the native hunger and thirst of the human soul for God, have all prepared the way for his advent.

* To these belong, in the aggregate: Foreign missionaries, including wives, 69; missionaries of Woman's Boards, 16; native laborers, ordained, 40; native laborers, unordained, 163; congregations, 264; communicants, 13,096; probable adherents, 27,300; Sunday-schools, 130; Sunday-school scholars, 4,654; day-schools, 82; male pupils, 1,570; female pupils, 1,516; church buildings, 45; other places of worship, 219; estimated value of church property, $462,850; printing presses in use, 11; periodicals issued, 12; total circulation of all, 14,000; pages of religious literature issued in 1882, 3,570,445; theological students, 36.

ident Diaz is pledged to execute the national laws in the ection of the missionaries. About five years ago Bishop is met this accomplished chief magistrate, who is an Aztec ure blood, at a reception given in the city of Mexico by American minister to General Grant, and accepted an in- ion to call upon him the next day. In the very interest- nterview that ensued President Diaz talked freely about nission work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the re- ic. The Bishop thanked him for the interest exhibited in Church and for the favor shown to the missionaries. He eously replied: "I am entitled to no thanks for what I done. It is my duty to execute the laws of the land, and ve endeavored to do this faithfully; and whatever favors missionaries may have received is because they are enti- to them under the laws of this country."

is administration has been at all times in perfect harmony the spirit of this utterance. Intolerance and lawlessness not dead in Mexico, but they have lost much of their an- blindness and fury. That General Gonzalez, at the close e term for which he had been elected, vacated the chair e Constitution provides, is a sign of promise. Under the nbency of Diaz all missionaries may hope for help and ction. That such expectation is justifiable may be inferred the fact that the Minister of Finance, at the request of op Harris on his last visit, promptly canceled sundry tax s, amounting to several thousand dollars, that had been im- erly charged against the mission property in Mexico. rican energy, capital, thrift, and intelligence all co-operate e great enterprise. In all Mexico the word of the Lord run and be glorified.

e indebtedness of the United States of America to Mexico e that can be liquidated only by costly, persistent, and tian philanthropy. Considerably more than half the ter- y of which our "next-door neighbor" was possessed prior e independence of Texas is now under the Stars and es. By what means the transference was effected, and the prompting of what motives, are matters of history on h it is not necessary here to dwell. The best possible com- ation for this spoliation will be, that we shall bless what ins of Mexico with the light and power of the Gospel.

ART. II.—ANTHROPOMORPHISM.

"My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord."—Isa. lv, 8.

Πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος, τῶν μὲν ὄντων ὡς ἔστι, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ὄντων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν.—Protagoras, in Diogenes Laertius, ix, 51.

"Fools, to dream that man can escape from himself, that human reason can draw aught but a human portrait of God."—MANSEL, "Limits of Religious Thought," p. 12.

ST. SPIRIDION may be characterized as the patron and tutelar saint of the Corfiotes. His body is believed to rest in the church dedicated to his name. His devotees entertain quite a superstitious respect for the saint, and a veneration for his reputed remains which is strikingly fetichistic. Spiridion was a bishop of the island of Cyprus. He was a member of the Council of Nice in A. D. 325, and of the Council of Sardis in 347, where he was one of the chief defenders of Athanasius. According to the legend, his body was exempt from decay, and its presence was found capable of exerting miraculous powers. For this reason it was retained in Constantinople until the capture of that city by the Turks, in 1453, when it was secretly conveyed by a poor man to Corfu. Here its miraculous powers were immediately manifest; a rude chapel was erected over the remains, and their owner ultimately accumulated riches from the offerings of devotees at the shrine. This singular piece of property remains in possession of the family to this day, but the rude chapel has become one of the finest churches in Corfu.

The body is borne in festive processions around the public square and through the city three times a year. Woe to the unfortunate foreigner who shows levity at the adoration of the crowd. Several English soldiers and officers were assassinated for so doing, and a Lord High Commissioner had to retire from office, owing to the insecurity of his life, on account of his making sport of the superstitious adoration of the people.

When witnesses are believed to be swearing falsely in court, usually a threat to bring them to this body will make them testify to the truth. Obdurate witnesses have held out until brought to the sarcophagus itself, even till the lid was opened. But, as they have been forced to lay a hand upon the feet of the body, cold, clammy sweat would break out, and, trembling from head to foot, or falling to the floor in terror, they would reverse their testimony

ell the truth, though they had previously sworn to opposite ments with the most solemn oaths, in the name of God and Holy Trinity.*

he veneration of the body of St. Spiridion is cited as a for- illustration of the superior influence of the concrete and prehensible in shaping the motives and actions of men; and comparatively feeble hold secured by abstract principles intangible existences. That which is absent, or simply , fails to make vivid impressions on the generality of man- ; and when our best efforts to present it to thought or im- ation leave but a vague and inadequate result in the mind, bject loses its grip upon thought and motive, and men yield selves to the more lively impressions received from tan- and familiar modes of existence.

he whole realm of infinite and eternal truth, which stretches very hand beyond the narrow circle of human experience, mparatively little known save in the necessary intuition of xistence; and every attempt to formulate in thought any lying within the realm of the infinite and unconditioned employ the symbols afforded by the finite. Our only ure of being is human intellect. The unknown can only rought within reach of apprehension so far as it admits of parison with the known; and our apprehension of attain- truth will be vivid and impressive only in proportion as it be symbolized by our cognitions of familiar and concrete ts. St. Spiridion as a power in the realm of departed ts is to common apprehension remote and comparatively al; but St. Spiridion as a material form is something which be seen and touched. No matter, though consciousness have departed centuries ago, the clear and familiar cog- n of a once percipient and venerated form brings the real- f the intangible spirit into such lively association that the t itself seems more real, and moves more effectually the ngs and the motives.

e have elsewhere adverted to the fact that all human efforts omprehend God must necessarily be anthropomorphic.† le we admit that the finite measure of infinite being must e infinite being as a whole forever unknown, yet the human

* Prof. G. F. Comfort, in "Northern Christian Advocate," Aug. 8, 1878.
† "Reconciliation of Science and Religion," pp. 38, 39.

character of our means of knowing God renders it inevitable that such theistic knowledge as is attainable should exist under the forms and limitations of thought imposed by human nature. Every human affirmation concerning God must, from the nature of human and divine relations, be, as Schleiermacher has already said, merely figurative and anthropomorphic. This immanent and constitutional impossibility of conveying the complete being of God into human apprehension, makes God, for us, not only in a certain sense the Unknowable, but the Non-existent, since it is easy to challenge our right to affirm existence of that whose existence infinitely transcends the knowledge which must be the basis and justification of the affirmation. This view, which discloses the logical ground of both agnostic theology and philosophic atheism, is, however, incomplete, as may be shown, since we have a faculty transcending the logical, which reports to us testimony concerning the being and attributes of God, and which we cannot challenge without self-stultification. Hence Buddhism, which recognizes God as not only inconceivable but philosophically non-existent, nevertheless reveals the irrepressible God-consciousness in man by confessing its failure to formulate a conception of God. So in the soul's unconscious striving to give cognizable shape to the divine consciousness which it feels, the inevitableness of anthropomorphism is shown in the personified ideas of Buddhism and the deified ancestors of Confucianism. We feel the being of God, but the feeling only becomes recognized knowledge when we discover the uniform concomitancy of symbols yielded by the cognition of the finite. All possible knowledge of God is, therefore, not only finite, and thus inadequate, but, by the necessity of our constitution, it is anthropomorphic.*

* It will be noticed in the progress of this discussion, that our conception of anthropomorphism recognizes limitations ignored by the Spencerian phase of evolution-philosophy. This maintains that all affirmations whatever respecting the being and activity of God are unauthorized, because they are determined by our finite faculties. Thus we are not at liberty to affirm that divine activity is prompted or guided by motive, or that any ends may be recognized in the system of things. We are not at liberty to say that God is good or volitional, or even wise, because we cover in the predication only an infinitely small portion of the predicable. Thus the doctrine of final causes is disallowed, as being simply an anthropomorphic conception. (See especially Fisk, "Cosmic Philosophy," part ii, chap. ii.) On the contrary, we maintain that the admission of end as the correlative of intelligible action is a necessity of thought, not alone a human necessity, and is hence

This necessity affords no just ground for a denial of the validity of our theistic knowledge. It is no disparagement to our theology to discover that it is anthropomorphic; the more so because theology is not the only realm in which the shadow of man is cast over all that is held to be known. We furnish in ourselves the sole conditions of all knowledge, and the sole sanctions of all belief. We do not deny the existence of infinite space because the unattainable apprehension of it is sought by a struggle through concepts of square miles and cubic leagues. We admit the reality and the endlessness of duration, notwithstanding our only reflective knowledge of infinite time is through cognitions of hours and weeks and years. We do not deny the infinite extension of the material universe, notwithstanding either the impossibility of cognizing it or thinking it, or the fact that all which we seem to know of it is under the forms of finite things, cognized by human faculties, under the limitations imposed by human nature, and with all the inadequacy and incompleteness which qualify all possible knowledge of the infinite. The essence of matter is something as mysterious and elusive as the being of God; yet the most exacting caution freely admits the reality of something which yields the phenomena universally ascribed to matter. If we attempt to give definition and clearness to our idea of matter, we think, perhaps, of ultimate atoms, having shape—round, ellipsoidal, polyhedral, or otherwise—and these are concepts transferred from the realm of molar existence, and hence purely symbolical, and imposed upon us by the limitations and endowments of human intelligence. Perhaps we endeavor to think of matter as dynamical; but the word awakens no apprehension more definite or clear or certain than does the name of God, unless we symbolically visualize centers or lines of force. This is a relapse to the other method of contemplating matter, and discloses not only our intellectual impotence, but the necessity of clothing our knowledge in a guise familiar to our faculties. In other words, all our knowledge of matter, or time, or space, is

infinitely as well as finitely true. Necessities of intelligence are not anthropomorphic; necessities special to humanity are. So the correlation of pre-existent wisdom with a scheme whose contemplation awakens human thought, or the predication of volition in the causation of such a scheme, is an intelligential necessity, not merely a human necessity.

anthropomorphic in the same sense as our knowledge of God is anthropomorphic. All that we know or can know must be anthropomorphically known.

It follows that all possible theistic conceptions must be pervaded and limited by anthropomorphism. We speak of God as the Creator of the world; but it is difficult to exalt the Creator above the conception of the demiurge. Few minds rise higher than the thought of a being reduced within limitations, and active upon a universe equally reduced within limitations. God and the universe reduced within limitations are not only no longer themselves, but become represented by something which receives the measure supplied by human faculties. This is the best which we can do. If we enlarge our apprehension of either God or of the universe, we do not pass from the order of finite existences to the order of infinite existences in which God and the universe dwell, but only enlarge something which still remains finite, and is grasped under the forms of human thought.

We are accustomed to say that God is omnipresent, and we feel an ineradicable assurance that the word stands for a truth. But the comprehension of this attribute is involved in the impossibility of comprehending the infinitude of space and time. We cannot avoid saying that God is here or God is there; that God anticipates and God reflects. It is impossible to conceive being which fills all space, and exists yesterday and to-morrow in the same sense as to-day. Yet we have the feeling—that intuitive feeling which is the simplest element of cognition—that such is the prerogative of divine existence. It is anthropomorphism which impels us to contemplate God as "anticipating the end from the beginning." End and beginning are terms having no meaning in the vocabulary of absolute theology. All ends and all beginnings are simultaneous. Succession of states of consciousness must be, humanly speaking, an impossibility with an omnipresent intelligence. Yet in our mental co-adjustment to a certain constitution of things, we can form no conception of the annihilation of history—successions of events and successions in the cognition of them.

We speak of God as omnipotent, but we cannot divest ourselves of the notion that the divine activity involves effort. We speak of the "work" of God. We speak of "great works"

worthy of the majesty of God, and small works too insignificant to be worthy of his notice. Hence has arisen the conception of a demiurge which should relieve the Supreme Ruler of the details of his administration. Hence the doctrine of demigods, divine messengers, and servitors. Hence the "plastic force" of Cudworth, the *anima mundi* of Stahl, the *principium hylarchicum* of More, and the *archæus* of Agrippa. Hence the ascription of unconscious intelligence in matter or the forms of matter, whereby the exigences of the world should be met by a self-inhering discernment and will. Hence the conception of the world as a mechanism, self-operating from the epoch of its divine institution. Hence the conception of natural forces which are thought to inhere in matter, and, strangely enough, to act with discernment without possessing any faculty of discernment. All such conceptions are purely anthropomorphic, and incompatible with an exalted apprehension of the meaning of omnipotence.* With omnipotence there is nothing great or small. The creation of a planet is a work no greater than the development of a blade of grass, or the circulation of the fluid through the veins of a gnat's wing. Weariness, effort, exhaustion, care, watchfulness, are, with the Divine Being, terms which have no more significance than location, here, there, past, future, and the like. But the conditions of our being compel us to contemplate the divine character under the forms of thought expressed by these terms.

So of the divine omniscience. At the same time that we maintain the unlimited knowledge of God, we revolt from the idea that every hair of our heads, and every leaf in the forest, and every molecule of every form of matter must be the object of divine cognition. Yet this revolt arises from our human inability to comprehend the meaning and implications of omniscience. We are compelled to think of God as knowing according to our method of knowing. Any other method of knowing transcends our comprehension; but this does not prompt us to doubt the absolute omniscience of the Divine Being.

* It is not denied that intelligences exist intermediate between man and God; we maintain the high probability of their existence. But, being finite, the disparity between their powers and those of the Supreme Being is infinite, so that the highest created intelligence sinks simply into the same category with man in incompetency to render such service as to lessen the infinitude of God's work.

We maintain that personality is one of the attributes of God; and our inability to think a personality unlimited by time or space imposes upon us a conception of God within limitations of time and space. Person, to us, implies figure and locality. It is probable that there is present, more or less vaguely, in the imagination of every one an apprehension of God which sets forth a human outline with spatial limitations and local determinations. This is evinced by the representations left us by the great painters and poets.* The Patagonian conceives God as "a big black man" living in the woods; the Greek ideal was the most exquisite of human forms. "If the soul of man," says Maximus Tyrius, in his defense of Greek anthropomorphism, "is the nearest and most like to God, God would not have inclosed in an unworthy tabernacle that which bears the closest resemblance to himself."† But we are certain that the Divine Person is not thus conditioned. The image of the only type of personality known to us is projected God-ward, and interposes its contour between us and the divine reality; but we have to admit the existence of a Being whose personality consists in the differentiation between infinite subject and infinite object—a Being whose essence pervades the world and outpours the substance of the world, but whose self-consciousness does not belong to the world.

The inability to form an adequate conception of God is an infirmity which characterizes not man alone, but every created intelligence. God can be comprehended only by himself. Whatever may be our future exaltation of being, we shall never see God in any other sense than that in which it is our privilege to see him in the mortal state. We shall never hear his voice save as the Hebrew heard it in the thunder, and the "poor Indian" in the spirit-like murmur of the wind. There will be no throne on which the Creator of heaven and earth will be seated, while countless millions prostrate themselves in his presence. We shall approach—we shall begin to approach—toward the sight of God and converse with God through more exalted symbols and human adaptations of a worthier kind. We shall enjoy a more vivid and impressive, and, therefore,

* Milton, in "Paradise Lost;" Pollock, in "The Course of Time," Rubens, Kaulbach, and others, in "The Last Judgment."

† Maximus Tyrius, Dissertation xxxviii.

a more satisfying, consciousness of closer relations with the Unseen. We may even, like Moses, in deference to our infirmities, be favored with revelations of form and figure and glory, through which special avenues may be cleared up for the nearer approach of our finite apprehension to the infinite Being. But, whatever clearness of vision we may have for the symbol to finite senses revealed, we must rise higher than the anthropomorphism which imagines the whole being of God is there revealed, under conditions of time and space.

We instinctively believe man, in some way, however feebly, reflects the image of God. The world surrounds us with forms and adjustments which, to a certain extent, are cognizable and interpretable by human intelligence. Its construction and operation have been thought out and determined by mind cognate with that which reviews and interprets the cosmic result. The Ordainer of the world thinks as man thinks,* and therefore his nature is not totally alien from that of man. As far as we feel authorized to interpret nature as the expression of beneficence, we discover a further affiliation between man and the Author of nature. The effort to interpret nature is spontaneous, legitimate, and successful. It follows from this that man's conviction of kinship between himself and his Creator is spontaneous and valid. But man's apprehension of the nature and extent of the resemblance must be determined by the largeness of his apprehension of the world. The spiritual resemblance of man to God seems to be deeply and universally felt. It does not occur to man, till he has developed to the reflective stage, that the attributes of the Divine Being can furnish no parallel with those human endowments which correlate man to the exigences of terrestrial existence; and therefore the conviction, more or less definite, obtains, in all rude conditions of society, that the instincts, passions, resentments, and even the bodily form of man, reflect also the image of God. The belief, therefore, undergoes a progressive development parallel with man's intellectual development.

* It is not meant to assume that the mind of Deity is conscious of successions of states; we must deny it. But the relations of things, which we style intelligential, are apprehended by the Divine Mind in the same sense in which we apprehend them, yet with higher and deeper knowledges rising and enlarging in endless spheres of comprehension to infinity.

In a rude social condition, the Supreme Being is accommodated to apprehension simply as a great and terrible man possessing not only the intellectual and moral attributes of humanity, but also its passions and weaknesses, and even the bodily form and limitations of man. Such a God possesses neither omnipotence, nor omniscience, nor ubiquity. He may be contended with, defrauded, and even vanquished in a conflict. In a stage of society somewhat in advance of this, the supremacy of the Divine Being is acknowledged, but he is conceived as affected by all the foibles and caprices of humanity, governing the world according to human methods, through the ministrations of vicegerents, deputies, and messengers, listening to the pleading of causes, arguing with his subjects, and administering rewards and punishments of a purely material kind. The brightest and most spiritual conception of man's participation in the divine nature sets aside, in the first place, every human quality and gift conferred on humanity to adapt it to a provisional and temporary relation. God cannot be conceived as exercising any powers assumed through dependence on matter or material existence. Man is supplied with organs of sense, to give him the power of utilizing and controlling the forms of matter, and reducing them to subserviency to the ends of a material life. God and spiritual beings must be conceived as ungenerated, while man, under the provisional economy of organic nature, is not only limited by the conditions of material existence, but also by the varied powers, affections, and activities which belong to the reproductive economy. Hence, not only the perpetual struggle for aliment, but the more absorbing and coercive motives which center in the perpetuating of the organic type. Every human attribute of mind or body which is merely auxiliary to this provisional status of the human soul, must be conceived as infinitely alien to natures dwelling in the spiritual realm. This conception seems never to have entered into the popular mythology of the ancients. It appears, then, that the divine in man cannot extend even to all the forms of his sensitive and percipient activity. The image of God, real as it is, can only be sought in the fundamental nature of mind—in its reason, its capacity for knowing, comparing, and concluding, its moral affections, its susceptibility to motive, and its power of self-determination.

Above this, the nature of God expands beyond the likeness and even the comprehension of man, to the awful infinitudes of being "clothed in eternity."

It is the impotence of the human intellect which leads into anthropomorphic conceptions of Deity. "The essence of things," says Erigena, "must be conceived of under local and temporal forms, and God, when he is spoken of, must be presented under such forms and under such conditions."* These conceptions are the symbols which the mind employs to vivify and define the apprehension of a supreme incorporeal Presence which is immanent in the reason of all men, and which, in the form of henotheism, may be recognized in the breast of the meanest savage, though he can command, perhaps, no other mode of expressing his feeling of divine existence than to name a man quite like himself, but possessing extraordinary knowledge, power, and terror. They are the intermediaries or scaffolding by the aid of which the feeble intellect climbs as far as possible toward the comprehension of the felt Supreme. Though they come infinitely short of expressing the cognized reality, like all good similes and symbols they vivify the notion typified, and give it that substance which the religious sentiment needs for its sustenance, authentication, and satisfaction.

No nation ever existed which surpassed the Hebrew in sensitiveness of religious conviction, in the purity of its monotheism, and, we may probably add, the spirituality of its theology. The Hebrew was the only nation of antiquity which recognized the will of God as the supreme principle of national government and private conduct, and the active cause in all the phenomena of the natural world. Yet the theology of the ancient Hebrews was strikingly anthropomorphic. Jahveh was a being conceived as standing in special relations to a single nation; he was "the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob." He sustained but feeble relations to surrounding nations, save when he led the Hebrews to conquest and destruction. "With the king of Assyria," said Hezekiah, "is an arm of flesh, but with us is the Lord our God, to help us and to fight our battles." 2 Chron. xxxii, 78. So again, "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty; he judgeth among the gods." Psa. lxxxii, 1. "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." Exod.

* Maurice, "History of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy," i, 481.

xx, 3. This whole conception of "other gods," and "strange gods," so prominent in the history of the Hebrews, if it is not even polytheistic, betrays at least the weakness of thinking the Supreme Being personified in the Ruler of an insignificant fragment of humanity, without recognition among the nations who were not the "chosen people," and apparently without concern for them.

Jahveh is very often represented, in the Hebrew histories, as actuated by motives which are purely human, and sometimes as cherishing sentiments which we regard even as weaknesses in human character. In enjoining the commandment against "other gods," he is recorded as saying, "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God." Exod. xx, 5. On another occasion he said, "My wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword." Exod. xxii, 24. When the people, during the prolonged sojourn of their leader in Mount Sinai, grew impatient, and began to bow down before the molten calf prepared by Aaron, after the command to consecrate him to the priesthood, the Lord said, "Let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them." Exod. xxxii, 10; also 27, 28. When the Israelites began to serve Baal and Ashtaroth, "the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he sold them into the hand of Chushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia. Judg. iii, 8; also ii, 14; comp. Psa. xl, 12. Change of purpose and regret for the past are repeatedly attributed to Jahveh. When the early wickedness of mankind had become great, "it repented the Lord that he had made man, and it grieved him at his heart." Gen. vi, 6. On occasion of the worship of the "golden calf," the Lord repeatedly recurred to the grievance, and seemed half-disposed to reduce Israel to an equality with other nations in regard to divine favor. "I will send an angel before thee," he says, "for I will not go up in the midst of thee; for thou art a stiff-necked people: lest I consume thee in the way." In this connection the record informs us that "the Lord had said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye are a stiff-necked people: I will come up into the midst of thee in a moment, and consume thee." Exod. xxxiii, 5; comp. Exod. xxxii, 14; Judg. x, 16.

The Hebrew histories represent Jahveh as the personal counselor of the leaders of the people, the high chancellor of the realm, directing its generals to conquests, slaughters, and pillage,

h in this age would be denounced as blood-thirsty and bar-
us, quite in contravention of the recognized laws of nations.
oon as the host of Pharaoh had been destroyed, Moses, in a
orm of thanksgiving, declared, "The Lord is a man of war."
l. xv, 3. In this spirit the Midianites were warred against,
'all the males" were slain, while the women and children
taken captive. At this Moses "was wroth," and com-
led the slaughter of all the male children and the married
en, and the division of the enormous booty equally between
oldiers and the people at large. This consisted of 32,000
arried women, 808,000 sheep, beeves, and asses, and
50 shekels of gold, equivalent to about $67,000. Num.
1–52. Under the lead of Moses, the Amorites on the east
e Jordan were exterminated. Under the lead of Joshua,
extermination on the west side of the Jordan was almost
olete. In reference to Jericho, the record informs us that
y utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and
an, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the
of the sword." Josh. vi, 21. "And the Lord said unto
ua, . . . Thou shalt do to Ai and her king as thou didst
Jericho and her king." Josh. viii, 1, 2. So a stratagem
planned, the city was occupied and burned, and twelve
sand of the inhabitants put to death, "and the king of Ai
anged on a tree until even-tide." Josh. viii, 24, 25, 29. "So
ua," as this chapter of the history concludes, "smote all
ountry of the hills, and of the south, and of the vale, and
e springs, and all their kings; he left none remaining, but
ly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God of Israel
manded." Josh. x, 40. After this, the remaining tribes
ederated more extensively to repel the invaders from their
es, "and the Lord delivered them into the hand of Israel,
smote them . . . until they left them none remaining." Josh.
; see also Psa. lxxxviii; cxxxv, 10–12; cxxxvi, 17–22;
pare further, Num. xxv, 6–17; xxxi, 1–47. Joshua pursued
ourse, under command of the Lord, until the whole popu-
n was exterminated; "neither left they any to breathe,"
"the Hittites, the inhabitants of Gibeon." Nor was the
d-thirsty character of the "chosen of the Lord" soon
iorated by a more settled political state. Ehud assassinated
king of Moab treacherously, and the Israelites "slew of

Moab . . . ten thousand men, all lusty, and all men of valor; and there escaped not a man." Judg. iii, 29. Not only in the extermination of their national enemies was the cruelty of the Hebrew theocracy demonstrated. In a feud which arose between the tribe of Benjamin and the other tribes, Israel, by command of the Lord, made three successive attacks upon Gibeah, losing on the first two occasions forty thousand men who drew the sword, but on the third attack slaughtering twenty-five thousand of the Benjamites. Judg. xx, 21, 25, 46. So again Achan, who had personally offended, was, according to our conceptions, a subject of just punishment; but, under the theocracy, not only Achan, who had sinned, but his sons and his daughters, who were innocent, were stoned to death at the command of Joshua. Josh. vii, 25. So also David, at a later period, delivered up the two unoffending sons and five grandsons of Saul to be "hanged up unto the Lord in Gibeah." One can never read without a moral revulsion the account of the bloody sacrifice of Jephtha's daughter in fulfillment of a rash and unrighteous vow. Judg. xi, 30–40. See also Saul's promised sacrifice of Jonathan. 1 Sam. xiv, 24, 27, 28, 45.

Jahveh was habitually conceived under limitations of space and time. "Fear not," he is recorded as saying to Jacob, "to go down into Egypt. . . . I will go down with thee into Egypt, and I will also surely bring thee up again." Gen. xlvi, 3, 4. So, also, it is said, "The Lord came down upon Mount Sinai, on the top of the mount." Exod. xix, 20. "And the Lord called unto him out of the mountain." Exod. xix, 36. "And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount." Exod. xxix, 12. Moses held a six days' interview with the Lord, and thereafter "the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend." Exod. xxxiii, 11. Compare the frequent phrase, "And the Lord spake unto Moses." In a similar way "the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind" (Job xxxviii, 1), and "Job answered the Lord." Job xlii, 1. So the psalmist continually clothes the Lord in the attributes of humanity: "From the place of his habitation he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth."*

The method by which the Lord selected three hundred men

* Psa. xxxiii, 14. So Aristotle says, God acts directly on the firmament of the fixed stars, which he touches without being touched by it.

to give battle under Gideon to the Midianites seems frivolous and inconsequential. After dismissing twenty thousand, who confessed timidity, ten thousand were taken down to the water and made to drink. Those who got on their knees to reach the water were rejected, and only those were taken who dipped the water in their hands, and lapped it "as a dog lappeth." Judges vii, 3–6. The anthropomorphic adjuncts of Jewish theism are even more striking than these. Adam and Eve "heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord." Gen. iii, 8. Then followed a conversation between Adam and the Lord. On a subsequent occasion, the Lord met Cain and upbraided him for the murder of his brother; and Cain argued with the Lord for a mitigation of the punishment inflicted. Gen. iv, 9–15. So David, thousands of years afterward, asks, "Why standest thou afar off? . . . Arise, O Lord; O God, lift up thine hand." Psa. x, 1, 12. Again he says: "The voice of the Lord is powerful; the voice of the Lord is full of majesty:" Psa. xxix, 4. And still again: "Bow down thine ear, O Lord, hear me." Psa. lxxxvi, 1. With a sublime conception of the divine personality, he says: "Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled. . . . He looketh on the earth, and it trembleth; he toucheth the hills, and they smoke." Psa. civ, 29, 32. "Bow thy heavens, O Lord, and come down; touch the mountains, and they shall smoke. . . . Send thy hand from above." Psa. cxliv, 5, 7. Eliphaz asks, "Is not God in the height of heaven?" Job xxii, 12.

There can be no doubt that such conceptions are to be regarded as bold and brilliant figures of speech, compatible with the most spiritualized apprehensions of Deity; but they embody anthropomorphic adaptations which, like all other anthropomorphism, testify the mental limitations and habitudes of a human and finite being.

It must not be supposed that the forms of thought and speech of which we have quoted examples concealed from the ancient Hebrews all higher apprehensions of Deity.* The

* Tertullian says: "When God is spoken of as jealous, angry, etc., we must not liken these emotions to the same emotions in men." Moses Maimonides, a Jew of the twelfth century, maintained that the Jewish law, when deeply interpreted, was a revelation of the *highest truths*. (Ueberweg, "History of Philosophy," i, 427.) We hold this to be a profound truth.

God of Abraham, Moses, and David was not only powerful and wise, but he was almighty. "In the beginning Elohim created the heavens and the earth," is the first announcement of Scripture. Job, in the remotest age, confessed, "I know that thou canst do every thing, and that no thought can be withholden from thee." Job xlii, 2; comp. Job xxvi, xxvii, xxxvii, 2–23; xxxviii. So David, in the nation's meridian of existence, often adverted to God's omnipotence. "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth." Psa. xxxiii, 6; comp. Psa. civ, 1–32; cxxxvi, 5–9; clvi, 6, 10; Isa. xliii, 13; Jer. xxxii, 17. The Lord even possessed power over death: "God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave." Psa. xliv, 15.

The Psalms repeatedly testify a knowledge of the eternity of God: "Of old thou hast laid the foundations of the earth. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure. . . . Thy years shall have no end." Psa. cii, 25–27. "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past." Psa. xc, 4. "Thy throne is established of old; thou art from everlasting." Psa. xciii, 2; comp. also Psa. xc, 2; cii, 27; Exod. iii, 14; Deut. xxxii, 40; xxxiii, 27; Jer. x, 10; Isa. lvii, 15; Hab. i, 12.

The omniscience and the omnipresence of God were also well understood, notwithstanding the Lord was vaunted as "a man of war." "Thou understandest my thought afar off," says David, . . . "There is not a word in my tongue, but, lo, O Lord, thou knowest it altogether. . . . Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?" etc. Psa. cxxxix, 2, 4, 7; comp. 1 Sam. xvi, 7; 1 Kings viii, 39; 1 Chron. xxviii, 9; Prov. v, 21; xv, 3; Isa. xl, 28; xlvi, 9; Ezek. xi, 5.

The infinitude of the divine attributes is recognized as unsearchable: "Canst thou by searching find out God?" "Touching the Almighty, I cannot find him out." Job xi, 7; xxxvi, 23; comp. Psa. cxlv, 3; Isa. xl, 17. The compassion of the Lord is again and again dwelt upon in the Psalms: "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart." "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." Psa. xxxiv, 18; li, 17; comp. Psa. xxv, 6; xxxvi, 7; lxix, 16; lxxviii, 38; lxxxvi, 15; ciii, 13; cxlv, 8; Lam. iii, 22, 32, 33; Hosea xi, 8.

As to the color of polytheism detected in many passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, it disappears entirely on a better understanding of the sense in which the gods of the other nations are mentioned. The Hebrew does not accord them supremacy, or even divinity; and he asserts the dominion of the Hebrew LORD over the recognized divinities of all other nations in every part of the world. "Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols: worship Him, all ye gods." Psa. xcvii, 7; comp. Psa. cxxxvi, 2. "For the gods of all the nations are idols; but the Lord made the heavens." Psa. xcvi, 5; comp. Psa. cxv, 4–8. "God is the king of all the earth." Psa. xlviii, 7. "He cometh to judge the earth: he shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth." Psa. xcvi, 13.

To us the meaning of the worship of "strange gods" among the heathen is, simply, that they knew the one Supreme Ruler under Gentile names. In fact, the Deity which they worshiped was the sole Deity whom also the Hebrews adored. This grand fact in the philosophy of the ethnic religions the Hebrews had not discerned. They presumed that the Gentiles, in having no knowledge of the Hebrew LORD (JEHOVAH), were ignorant of the Supreme God altogether, and were given over to simple and meaningless idolatries.

As to the cruelties practiced by the Hebrews in the name of the Lord, they certainly indicate a low anthropomorphic apprehension of the character and government of the Divine Being, though without disguising altogether, as we have shown, the immanent sense of the divine spirituality and infinity. But such an apprehension belonged to the ages of the world through which their history extended, and is one of the numerous disclosures of the amount of truth disguised in the well-known, but somewhat profane, paradox that "every man makes his own God."* The cognition of the Supreme Deity is present in every soul alike; but each individual embodies

* "Each state of social culture," says Milman, has its characteristic theology, self-adapted to the intellectual and moral condition of the people, and colored, in some degree, by the habits of life." "It may be laid down as a principle, that the nearer the nation approaches to barbarism, the childhood of the human race, the more earthly are the conceptions of the Deity. The moral aspect of the divine nature seems gradually to develop itself with the development of the human mind."—See Milman's "History of Christianity," i, 27, 30.

the divine intuition in such form as his intellectual status determines. So the crude anthropomorphism of the Jewish Scriptures, as Philo Judæus long ago pointed out, was only an accommodation to the wants of finite and sensuous man.

We have thus, by citations from the history of the most religious people who ever lived, and the people who had the truest and purest apprehension of the spirituality, unity, and infinity of the Supreme Being, furnished striking illustrations of our main thesis, that man's limitations condition his theistic and religious conceptions; and that no degree of crudeness or error should be allowed to dull our discernment of the deep-lying and essential identity of the theistic consciousness among all peoples, and under all religious forms.

Christianity was introduced with the explicit enunciation that "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." John iv, 24; comp. John i, 18; Col. i, 14; 1 Tim. vi, 16; Heb. xi, 27. Well established apprehensions of the divine supremacy and divine unity had now long been current, not only among the Jews, but among the more thoughtful pagans as well.* But the limitations of the human intellect had not been removed, and the tendency to lean upon material and anthropomorphic conceptions and forms did not cease to be manifest. In Rome, where the moral center of Christianity settled itself, and whence authority dictated to Alexandria and Constantinople, paganism, as it faded out, exhibited a partial blending with the new religion. Many an attempt was made to commend Christianity to heathen minds by partially paganizing it. It is said that not a few of the observances which grew up in the early Church were merely the disguised rites of the Roman religion. Thus, it is said the "Feriæ Augusti were continued in the Church as the Festival St. Petri ad vincula; that even to our own times an image of the Virgin was carried to the river in the same manner as in the old times was that of Cybele."† In the course of events, Mary came to be declared the

* For an ample discussion of the subject see Cudworth's "Intellectual System," vol. i, chap. iv; and for a condensed view, Cocker's "Christianity and Greek Philosophy," pp. 151–164, also chap. v, etc. (reviewed by the writer in "Methodist Quarterly Review," July, 1872): Pressensé's "Religion before Christ;" and Clemens Alexandrinus's "Stromata," especially Bk. I.

† Draper, "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 196. John Toland, in his "Nazarenus" (1718), sharply arraigns the Gentile Christians for the introduction

other of God," as the Phrygian Cybele had long before
n venerated as the "Mother of the gods;" and she was
sequently endued with omnipresence and omniscience, and
vers were offered to her, as they still are, from all places
scriminately.

he extent of this conformity to pagan antecedents is im-
sively set forth in the following passages adapted from the
nd volume of the "Homilies" of the Church of England:

he Catholics form the same opinions of the saints whose
ges they worship as the heathens did of their gods, and em-
the same outward rites in honoring their images as the
hens did in the religious veneration of their statues. Thus,
he heathens had their *tutelar gods*, such as were Belus to the
ylonians and Assyrians, Osiris and Isis to the Egyptians, and
can to the Lemnians, so, also, the Catholics attribute the
nse of certain countries to certain saints. Have not the
ts, also, to whom the safeguard of particular cities is com-
ed, the same office as the *dii præsides* of the heathens? Such
vere at Delphi, Apollo; at Athens, Minerva; at Carthage,
o; and at Rome, Quirinus. And do not the saints to whom
rches are built and altars erected correspond to the *dii patroni*
he heathens? Such as were in the Capitol, Jupiter; in the
ple at Paphos, Venus; in the temple of Ephesus, Diana. Are
likewise, our Lady of Walsingham, our Lady of Ipswich, our
y of Wilsdon, and the like, imitations of Diana Agrotera, Diana
yphea, Diana Ephesia, Venus Cypria, Venus Paphia, Venus
dia, and the like. The Catholics, too, have substituted for
marine deities, Neptune, Triton, Nereus, Castor and Pollux,
us, etc., St. Christopher, St. Clement, and others, and espe-
ly Our Lady, as she is called by them, to whom seamen sing
Maris stella. Neither has the fire escaped their imitation of
pagans. For instead of Vulcan and Vesta, the inspective
rdians of fire according to the heathens, the Catholics have
stituted St. Agatha, on the day of whose nativity they make
ers for the purpose of extinguishing fire. Every artificer
wise, and profession, has a special saint in the place of a pre-
ng god. Thus, scholars have St. Nicholas and St. Gregory;
nters, St. Luke; nor are soldiers in want of a saint corre-
nding to Mars; nor lovers, of one who is a substitute for
us. All diseases, too, have their special saints instead of
s, who are invoked as possessing a healing power. Thus,
venereal disease has St. Roche; the falling sickness, St. Cor-
ius; the tooth-ache, St. Apollin, etc. Beasts and cattle,

eathenish superstitions in their religion. The startling similarity between the
and symbolism of the Church of Rome and those of oriental Buddhism is
ething quite notorious.

also, have their presiding saints, for St. Loy (says the "Homily") is the horse-leech, and St. Anthony the swine-herd, etc. . . . The rites and ceremonies of the papists in honoring and worshiping their images or saints are the same with the rites of the pagans. This is evident in their pilgrimages to visit images which had more holiness and virtue in them than others. In their candle-religion, burning incense, offering up gold to images, hanging up crutches, chains, and ships, legs, arms, and whole men and women of war, before images, as though by them, or saints (as they say) they were delivered from lameness, sickness, captivity, or shipwreck. In spreading abroad, after the manner of the heathens, the miracles that have accompanied images, such an image was sent from heaven, like the Palladium, or Diana of the Ephesians. Such an image was brought by angels—such a one came itself from the east to the west, as Dame Fortune fled to Rome. Some images, though they were hard and stony, yet, for tender heart and pity, wept. Some spake more monstrously than ever did Balaam's ass, who had life and breath in him. Such a cripple came and saluted the saint of oak, and by and by he was made whole, and here hangeth his crutch. Such a one in a tempest vowed to St. Christopher, and 'scaped, and behold here is his ship of war. Such a one by St. Leonard's help brake out of prison, and see where his fetters hang. And infinite thousands more miracles by like, or more shameless, lies were reported.*

In the early Christian Church, as in all times, the mind of man struggled perpetually to establish some intelligible means of ascent from humanity to the invisible and incomprehensible Deity. Hence the veneration of the Virgin as an intermedium between man and God. Hence the eons and the demiurges in that dreamy heresy known as Gnosticism. Hence, also, the eons and demons in that Parseeized offshoot of Christianity known as Manicheism. Hence cherubim, seraphim, and angels under the Jewish system. Hence vicegerents, saints, and confessors in the Church of modern Rome, as in Asiatic Buddhism. To say that such intermediaries have been used as aid to the infirmities of the human intellect is not to affirm the unreality of intermediate beings; since, whether real or unreal, it is obvious that the mind leans on them for relief from the oppressiveness of formless, unconcrete divinity.

There can be no doubt that the significance of paintings, images, crucifixes, censers, and beads is entirely analogous. They represent to the material sense, or at least vividly suggest, the spiritual reality which it is so hard for the finite mind

* Thomas Taylor, "Translation of Proclus," vol. i, intro., xli–xliii. Lond., 1816.

to grasp. Such is the meaning of accessories of attire, surplice and stole, miter and coronet. Withdrawn from common use and consecrated to religious associations, they bear the attention and the thoughts toward the thing signified; they are aids to human infirmity. Such, in short, is the bearing of fasts, feasts, penances, pilgrimages, rites and ordinances, dedications, consecrations and baptisms, in the spiritual and truthful worship of a Being who is himself a Spirit. None of this symbolism is to be denounced as essentially bad. Allegorical art has lent itself, in all ages, to the assistance of the common imagination in its efforts to attain clear conceptions of divine realities. There are few intellects so spiritualized as to be entirely independent of material forms and anthropomorphic conceptions as adjuncts to devotion. The struggle for such superiority over material conditions is the highest exercise of the oriental enthusiast; and the extent of the attainment in certain cases would seem an interesting subject of philosophic and physiological (psychological?) inquiry.

While anthropomorphic and material aids may become helpful to all, it is manifest that they are most essential with the uncultured and the ignorant. Such persons especially ought, therefore, to be allowed the benefit of these aids. Children and savage people under religious instruction should be freely supplied with the adjuncts of material symbolism. There always exists the liability (and here is the danger) of forgetting that such aids are merely intermediary, and that the reality is something which lies beyond, and should always be striven after with all the powers of the mind and soul. To lose sight of the spiritual meaning of these adjuncts is to degenerate into formalism, Mariolatry, picture-worship, and fetichism.

These considerations remind us of the philosophic interpretation of polytheism and idolatries among the heathen. Polytheism, as may be shown, does not exclude as pure a primacy as has been recognized by monotheistic Jew or Christian. The multitude of subordinate and intermediate beings belonging to the most populous pantheon is merely an exaggeration of accessories of the same essential kind as have been employed in all monotheistic religions. No religion ever existed which interposed a vacuum of being all the way from the Infinite to man. To say nothing of the *a priori* improbability of such a vacuum,

the religious nature revolts against the conception; it will not be walled away from the object of its longing by any such impassable gulf. Besides angels and archangels, other beings having the rank of gods were admitted by many distinguished representatives of early Christianity. Syncellus, the Platonic Bishop of Ptolemais in the fifth century, in his third hymn says:

> Thee, Father of the worlds, Father of the eons, Artificer of the gods, it is holy to praise. Thee, O King! the intellectual gods sing; thee, O Blessed God, the *cosmagi* [κοσμαγοι, world-rulers], those fulgid eyes and starry intellects celebrate, round which the illustrious body [of the world] dances. All the race of the blessed sing thy praise, those that are about, and those that are in the world, the zonic gods [ζωνιοι, from the Chaldean theology], and also the azonic, *who govern the parts of the world.*

In another part of the same hymn he says: "I have supplicated the ministrant gods that possess the Thracian soil, and also those that, in an opposite direction, govern the Chalcedonian land." That the heavenly bodies were divine intelligences was believed by Jerome,* Origen,† Eusebius,‡ and Augustine, § as well as many mediæval theologians, and Kepler the astronomer. What St. Paul means by "principality and power and might and dominion" above which Christ is set "in the heavenly places" (Eph. i, 21; comp. Rom. viii, 38), is somewhat uncertain. St. Augustine‖ remarks that these words seem to "comprehend all the celestial society;" and Ignatius¶ speaks of "the angelic orders, the diversities of archangels and armies, the differences of the orders characterized by might and dominion, of thrones and powers, the magnificence of the eons, and the transcendency of cherubim and seraphim." Paul himself asserts the existence of other gods: "Though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there be gods many, and lords many)." 1 Cor. viii, 5. It is not clear from this, however, that Paul intended to express his own opinion concerning the reality of other divinities.**

If man is not in connection with the Infinite Being through

* Jerome, "Exposition of Ecclesiastes," i, 6. † Origen, "De Principiis."
‡ Eusebius, "Theol. Solutions." § Augustine, "Enchiridion."
‖ Augustine, "Ad Laurentium," ch. lviii. ¶ Ignatius, "Epistola ad Trallianos."
** Further on intermediate beings, see the writings of Proclus, Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, Syrianus, Ammonius, Damascius, Olympiodorus, Simplicius, and numerous mediæval and modern writers.

eroma of intelligences, he demands, at least, some form degree of mediation. Further than this, man's inability mprehend the attributes of an Infinite Being has prompted to recognize the various departments of the divine empire portioned to subordinate divinities; and these, the nearer ture they approach to man, awaken the warmer and live- ympathy between man and the power which controls his ny. The culprit fears the hangman more than the king. seems certain that idols, images, and portraits of divinities g the heathen possess a significance entirely analogous. are mere stepping-stones from man to the idea of God— e more essential in primitive times and among uncultured les. They are things which can be comprehended. They de themselves upon man's perceptions; they awaken his ination, they stimulate his thoughts and elicit his religious ments. "Statues and altars," says the Emperor Julian, l the preservation of unextinguished fire, and, in short, all particulars, have been established by our fathers as sym- of the presence of the gods; *not that we should believe these symbols are gods, but that through these we should hip the gods.* For, since we are connected with body, it is necessary that our worship of the gods should be per- ed in a corporeal manner; but they are incorporeal"—and more to the same effect.* Much of similar purport t be cited from Sallust the Neoplatonist,† Maximus us,‡ Plutarch,§ and others. Says Dr. Stillingfleet:

o Chrysostom at large debates the case about images in his pic Oration, wherein he first shows that all men have a ral apprehension of one supreme God, the father of all s, and that this God was represented by the statue made hidias of Jupiter Olympius, for so he said, *παρ' ᾧ νῦν ἐσμεν, e whom we now are;* and then describes him to be the king, , and father of all, both gods and men. This image he calls nost blessed, the most excellent, the most beautiful, the most red image of God. . . . After this he supposes Phidias to lled to account for making such an image of God, as un- hy of him; when Iphitus, Lycurgus, and the old Eleans e none at all of him, as being out of the power of man to ess his nature. To this Phidias replies that no man can

* Julian, in a fragment "On the Duties of a Priest."
† Sallust, "De Diis et Mundo." ‡ Tyrius, Dissertatio xxxviii.
§ Plutarch, "De Iside et Osiride."

express mind and understanding by figures or colors, and, therefore, they are forced to fly to that in which the soul inhabits, and from thence they attribute the seat of wisdom and reason to God, having nothing better to represent him by. And by that means, joining power and art together, they endeavor, by something which may be seen and painted, to represent that which is invisible and inexpressible. But, it may be said, we had better then have no image or representation of him at all. No, says he; for mankind doth not love to worship God at a distance, but to come near and feel him, and with assurance to sacrifice to him and crown him. Like children newly weaned from their parents, who put out their hands toward them in their dreams, as if they were still present, so do men, out of the sense of God's goodness and their relation to him, love to have him represented as present with them, and so to converse with him. Hence have come all the representations of God among the barbarous nations, in mountains, and trees, and stones.*

As to the views with which modern idolaters of intelligence perform their acts of worship in the presence of inanimate images, a few citations will prove instructive. Erskine says:

The learned Brahmins adore one God, without form or quality, eternal, unchangeable, and occupying all space; but they carefully confine these doctrines to their own schools as dangerous; and teach in public a religion in which, in supposed compliance with the infirmities and passions of human nature, the deity is brought more to a level with our prejudices and wants. The incomprehensible attributes ascribed to him are invested with sensible and even human forms. The mind, lost in meditation, and fatigued in the pursuit of something which, being divested of all sensible qualities, suffers the thoughts to wander without finding a resting-place, is happy, they tell us, to have an object on which human feelings and human senses may again find repose. To give a metaphysical Deity to ignorant and sensual men, absorbed in the cares of supporting animal existence, and entangled in the impediments of matter, would be to condemn them to atheism. Such is the mode in which the Brahmins excuse the gross idolatry of their religion.†

* Stillingfleet, answer to a book entitled "Catholics no Idolaters," page 414. Similarly, Jamblichus thought the statues of the gods endued with power derived from the divine presence, as many Platonists and Neoplatonists, down to modern times, have conceived the heavenly bodies to be animated by the presence of divinities dwelling in them.

† William Erskine, "Bombay Transactions," i, 199. Compare Colebrooke, "Asiatic Researches," viii, 279, 396, and quotations in Bohlen, "Das alte Indien," i, 153; Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," i, 27–39, etc., and "History of Sanskrit Literature;" Lassen, "Indische Alterthumskunde;" J. Muir, "Sanskrit Texts;" W. W. Hunter, "Annals of Rural Bengal," 116.

From M. Bernier we learn that when at the University of Benares he reproached one of the learned men with idolatry, and asked an explanation. His respondent said:

"We have, indeed, in our temples many different statues, etc. . . . But we do not believe these statues to be Brahma, etc., themselves, but only their images and representations, and we only give them that honor on account of the beings they represent. They are in our temples, because it is necessary, in order to pray well, to have something before our eyes that may fix the mind. And when we pray, it is not the statue we pray to, but he that is represented by it." *

Of similar purport we find the testimony of another modern Hindu, "a gentleman of high caste," protesting concerning the idols employed in his worship. Babu Amrita Lal Roy, speaking of the Hindu family worship, says:

Many families, longing for some visible object to represent the Deity, bring from the river-side a small black stone and lay it on the sacred stool. The weight of this stone expresses to them strength and solidity. It helps them to think of the substantial force and power of the Infinite. This may stand for what among the white races is known as an Indian idol. Every Hindu knows that the various images we use to represent the supernatural are not God, but each thing represents some quality of the Supreme Being. Christians think with reverence of their Bible, though they know it is made of paper which was rags. Just so a Hindu treats with reverence one of his idols. He knows it is clay, or stone, or wood, and no more God than paper rags; but, like the Bible, his piece of clay or stone helps him to think of God. †

Heathenism, indeed, has sometimes forgotten that these ancillaries to devotion are but symbols. The poor Hottentot may venerate his fetich with the most devout belief that the Supreme Spirit, whose presence he feels, is embodied in the worthless stick before which he trembles. The ignorant Buddhist may bow in the presence of his idol as unmindful as the Jew before his shekinah that metal and wood have no power to control human destiny. So the ignorant Greek, undoubtedly, sometimes fell before the image of Athene with devotion as unreserved as that experienced by the ignorant papist in kneeling before the image of Mary.

The views here set forth enable us to contemplate in the proper light the constantly manifested tendency of certain

* Bernier, "Memoires," tome iii, 171. † "Dio Lewis's Monthly," 1883.

schools of Protestantism to hold on to the symbolism of abandoned papacy, or even to revert into the mother Church. Visible forms and imposing ceremonies invented or adapted from paganism, as aids to devotion, when European civilization was in its infancy, are still as agreeable and as necessary as ever to minds in an infantile or sensualistic stage of culture, or in which the religious sentiments bear a large ratio to the intellectual powers. These terms are not employed in a reproachful sense. Viewing human condition as it is, it may be the part of wisdom to condescend to capacities impervious to abstractions, and keep alive the sense of immanent divinity and inexorable duty by an impressive amount of pomp and sensible symbolism. In the lowest stratum of popular politics the same principle is strikingly exemplified, especially in America. An eloquent or argumentative presentation of political doctrine may convince a hundred; but a political log-cabin or a rustic rail-splitter in a procession will settle the convictions of a thousand.

All these symbols and acts prompted by the religious nature of man are worthy of our profound respect and most philosophic study. Undoubtedly, when properly analyzed and interpreted, they will be found witnesses of the universality of a profound spiritual monotheism ingrained in the constitution of the human soul, and will teach us charity and justice in contemplating the contrast between our own religion and that of the less fortunate representatives of our species. They will show us, at least, that anthropomorphism is a necessary element in every human system, not less in religion than in government, philosophy, and science; and that it is no reproach to the religion of a people to discover it anthropomorphic unless there can be shown a degree of anthropomorphism which is incongruous with the intellectual grade and *cultus* of the people.

Every degree of anthropomorphism is a falling short of adequate and worthy apprehension of divine relations. It is, therefore, determined by limitations of intelligence. These may be either constitutional and irremediable, or cultural and remediable. If the former, we must be content with a religion permanently adjusted to the limitations. If the latter, we may address ourselves to the culture of the intelligence and the enlargement of its comprehension of the natural world. The processes of religious education must not, then, be, under all

mstances, the same. We must condescend to the intelli-
e of the child and the childlike intelligence of the savage.
mind of the child will expand with age and education,
of the savage, in spite of a low receptivity for culture,
remain permanently childish, and any religious doctrine
d to his condition must be permanently anthropomorphic.
he contrary, the intelligent heathen and the uneducated
ber of Christianized society lack culture. In the effort to
rt improved religious conceptions the intellect requires
nsion and furniture. The heathen Hindu or Chinaman is
o be approached in the same way as the degraded Dyak or
Kroo.

then, the adequacy of our conception of divine things is
itioned by cultural as well as constitutional intelligence, we
ow intimately connected are education and an exalted
of religion, and how inseparable are ignorance and super-
n, bigotry, idolatries, fetichism, and other forms of an-
omorphism, and how deeply interested are the higher
ests of religion in the progress of ideas which furnish and
ge the intelligence.

Art. III.—THE FINAL OUTCOME OF SIN.

Gospel is the good news of salvation through Jesus Christ.
God reveals his method of saving men; and there is no
r method of which we know any thing whereby they can
aved. What, then, is to become of those who obey not
Gospel?

his awful question cannot be settled by reason alone, for
ave not sufficient data on which to base conclusions;
er can it be decided by experience, for as yet the rewards
punishments of the future are but truths in man's intellect,
facts in his history. Still less can we decide it by our in-
ts or desires. We are not at liberty to reject a truth be-
e we do not like it. All we know, or can know, in this
about this doctrine, must come from revelation; for only
who has been behind the veil, and knows the end from the
nning, can speak with authority. If, then, we would avoid

mistakes which all eternity cannot rectify, we must listen reverently to what God the Lord hath spoken.

Within the past few years the doctrine of future—especially eternal—punishment has been widely discussed. A good deal of vehement rhetoric has been expended in denouncing the doctrine as derogatory to the Divine character, thus presenting the awful spectacle of sinful, short-sighted men sitting in judgment on their Maker, and presuming to settle what is and what is not becoming in the administration of his government. So, in former times, men vehemently denied that the earth revolved around the sun; but in spite of all their clamor the earth still swept onward in its orbit: and so, regardless of men's reckless denunciations, God's mighty truths will march onward to the accomplishment of his vast designs.

It is worthy of note that those who denounce the doctrine of eternal punishment fight very shy of Scripture. But what else could be expected, since the texts which, to say the least, *seem* to teach the doctrine are so numerous and plain that it is very difficult to make them mean any thing else; while the few that are pressed into service to buttress up the notions of "annihilation" or "restoration," give an uncertain testimony, and afford only a feeble support. And yet, in all fairness, it must be admitted that the objections of the more thoughtful opponents of this solemn truth do not lie so much against the doctrine as taught in the Scriptures as against that monstrous perversion of it which at one period was almost universally accepted throughout Christendom.

In the present paper we limit the discussion to the case of those who have heard the Gospel; with the heathen we have, at present, nothing to do. Our inquiry respects only what is the final outlook for those who, from the sound of a preached Gospel, and the presence of a crucified Christ, go unsaved to death and the judgment.

There are certain truths in reference to which it may be assumed that all believers in revelation hold common ground. All believe in divine government and law; in the probationary character of man's present state; in a final judgment, when the good shall be rewarded and the wicked shall be punished. But just here, in regard to the nature and duration of the

punishment, there begins to be a divergence of opinion. This is the point on which we desire light. Is the punishment of the wicked to last forever? or shall it cease at length in restoration to the divine favor, or in utter extinction of being? To put it in the incisive words of inspiration, "What shall the end be ['the ultimate destiny'] of them that obey not the Gospel of God?"

Shall it be a Second Probation?

A second probation implies that men may be saved through some other medium than the death and intercession of Jesus Christ. The Scriptures clearly teach that now the government of the world is in the hands of a Mediator; but at the end of man's probation as a race, Jesus will ascend the throne of judgment, bestow rewards and assign punishment, and, having put down all antagonistic authority and power, will deliver up the kingdom to God the Father. 1 Cor. xv, 24–28. Then the mediation of Christ will cease, and the name of Jesus will no longer be available as a sinner's plea. If, therefore, a sinner can be forgiven and saved during a second probation, it must be on other conditions and by other means than those available in the present life; and if by other means and on other grounds than the death and intercession of the Son of God, then it appears that the death of Jesus was uncalled for and a terrible mistake. For if God can forgive and save a sinner in a future state without a Saviour, he can in this.

Perhaps the advocates of a second probation would say, that this is not their meaning; that, instead of expecting probations for all beyond the judgment, they only claim that in the interval between death and the judgment those who had no chance in this life—who never heard of a Saviour's love, who were surrounded from infancy by the darkness of heathenism—will have an opportunity of hearing and accepting the Gospel.

If this be what is meant by a second probation, it does not touch the class whose case we are now considering, namely, those who heard the Gospel but did not obey it. The ground of their condemnation will be, that, being illuminated, they loved "darkness rather than light, because" their "deeds" were "evil." And even in regard to the heathen the claim is

irrelevant; for they will not be judged by the law of a Gospel revelation, but by "the law written in their hearts."

To claim a second probation is to charge God with a want of fairness in his dealings, since it implies that a sufficient chance has not been given to some in a first probation. But observe, the condemnation is not that they did not *know* the Gospel, but that knowing it they did not *obey*. That which God requires of every man is, that he follow promptly and faithfully the light he has; and surely, upon the very face of it, in respect to that all men have an equal chance. If the heathen are condemned, it is not because they did not believe on Jesus, of whom they had never heard, but because "when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened." And if the heathen, who have only the light of nature and the natural conscience, are without excuse, much more they who have the light of divine revelation in the person and teachings of Jesus Christ.

A second probation could not bring within our reach any more potent agencies than those now employed. God does not bring men to himself by a force which compels the will, but by appeals to motives the most powerful that can influence human conduct; and yet even these may be effectually resisted. Is belief of the Gospel necessary to salvation? And will there be a new gospel preached "unto the spirits in prison" whose truths will be more effective than those of the "Gospel of the grace of God?" Certainly a divine Saviour is the only object of saving faith; and we are not told of any other Christ who, in the other world, can bid the sinner "look and live." The divine Spirit is the only power that can awaken the conscience and renew the heart, and that Spirit operates among men here and now; but we have no hint in Scripture that he carries on his renewing work in the world to come. And if these mighty agencies fail, in any instance, to bring men to repentance here, what reason have we to believe the same agencies—or others, if such are conceivable—will be more successful there? On the contrary, the probabilities of salvation during a second probation, if such were afforded, would be vastly less than during a first, for every unsaved man would enter that second probation with hardened sensibilities, with

the sins of a first probation already in his way, and with the increased difficulties arising from matured badness of character, and fixed habits of resisting the Spirit of God.

But, it is contended, the advantage of a second probation would be this: In the spirit-world the supreme importance of salvation would be so clearly seen and so deeply felt that men would then yield to the Spirit of God and be saved. But this assumes that there are means of convincing men more powerful than the truth and Spirit of God; whereas Christ himself says, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." It is not more light and pressure from *without* that men need, but simply willingness *within*.

The doctrine of a second probation implies, that its chances shall be interminable; for no better reasons could be assigned for punishing an impenitent sinner at the end of a second probation than at the end of a first, while with each succeeding term of probation the probabilities of the salvation of the impenitent would be inconceivably lessened. There is a universal tendency among men to "neglect the great salvation," and one of the most powerful motives to dissuade them from this fatal mistake is furnished by the near approach of the day when they are taught to believe that life and opportunity shall cease together. Hold out to the impenitent sinner the prospect of a second probation, and the force of this motive is largely neutralized; for the great majority of unconverted men would desire nothing better than to continue as they are through an unending probation.

Above all, there is no hint in Scripture that men will have a second probation; but instead, all that it says on the subject of man's destiny points in an opposite direction. He is exhorted to "flee from the wrath to come," and "lay hold on eternal life;" he is warned that the barren ground "is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned;" he is assured that "*now* is the accepted time; behold, *now* is the day of salvation;" he is summoned, as it were in advance, to the judgment, and hears the voice of Christ saying, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels"—as though to remind him that the opportunity for "works meet for repentance" would cease the moment he should leave this

world. And from all these words of solemn warning this is the appeal that comes to our hearts to-day—"See that ye refuse not him that speaketh." "To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts."

Shall it be Annihilation?

The theory that the final destiny of the unsaved will be their utter annihilation, blotting them out of being, has been much pressed of late; but it seems to be only a blind attempt to escape from a perverted notion of the doctrine of everlasting punishment. The somber theology of a by gone day has conjured up a horrid demon before which many have recoiled in terror, and have sought refuge in the theory of the utter extinction of being. The theory is grounded in materialism—the denial of man's natural immortality. It is contended that man, whatever may have been his primitive endowments, in consequence of sin became mortal in soul as well as in body; that eternal life, in the sense of immortality, belongs only to those who believe in Jesus Christ, and all others are doomed to ultimate annihilation. Some appear to hold that this extinction of being takes place at death; while others hold that it occurs only after a long period of suffering subsequent to the final judgment. But it matters little which view is presented, since both are alike repugnant to reason and Scripture. It is seen that the passages which teach a resurrection of both good and bad are too numerous and plain to be set aside; but a theory has been propounded to the effect that though the sinner dies, soul and body, like the brutes, and there is an end of him, yet God, in some miraculous way, keeps some part of him alive till the judgment day, when the body is raised and reunited with the soul, and then he is to be tormented in such a manner and for such a time as may seem good to divine justice, after which he is to be blotted out of the universe. To this view there are, beyond its materialistic grotesqueness, strong and apparently unanswerable objections.

Belief in immortality has been almost universal from the earliest ages. The Egyptians believed it, and taught the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. So in Assyria, in Greece, and in India, the idea of immortality prevailed, and was a potent factor in the religious life of the world. In India

this thought of immortality, apart from any knowledge of a Saviour, was so terrible that they sought refuge in the doctrine of a final painless absorption of the human spirit into the Supreme. Here, then, we have, long before Gospel times, a belief in immortality well-nigh universal, and this universality of the idea proves it to be one of those primal truths inwoven with the very fibers of our being by the God who made us, —an inward and unanswerable intuitive conviction that while the body is subject to death and decay, there is that within us which survives alike the flight of time and the ravages of sickness, and which shall still endure when all earthly things have passed away. It is nowhere said that the Gospel originated the doctrine of immortality, but that it was brought to light by the Gospel; brought out of the dim region of guesses, and hopes, and inferences, into the clear light of plain revelation. And yet we are sometimes told that this is a new doctrine, and that the almost universal belief in it that preceded Christianity was but a delusion and a dream; and that the heathen had dreamed out a grander idea of man's nature and destiny than the Scriptures have revealed; that the Bible which proclaims that the Incarnate God died for man, also declares that the race for whom he died are but a race of perishable brutes!

If we are reminded that the Hebrew term for soul covers alike the soul of man and the physical life of animals, and therefore they must belong to the same order, the inference is a gratuitous one; for there are found in the Scriptures other statements concerning man's nature and destiny which mark him off as something entirely distinct and different from the irrational brutes. In the first chapter of Genesis we read that the earth brought forth the living creature after his kind; but respecting man's origin God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness:" and so "the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." The psalmist, evidently with that record in his mind, declares that God made man "a little lower than the angels," and "crowned him with glory and honor;" a statement that would be absurd if applied to the brutes.

The Scriptures constantly assume the immortality of the soul

as a doctrine so manifest, and so fundamental to religion, that it needs no proof. Materialists and Annihilationists often tell us that the immortality of the soul is nowhere expressly asserted in Scripture. Perhaps not; neither is the existence of God. Moses, in the first verse of Genesis, does not prove nor even assert the existence of God, but, assuming that as an indisputable truth, he begins with the announcement that "God created the heaven and the earth." The same is true in regard to the doctrine of immortality: it is every-where assumed as a truth having all the force of an axiom. The whole Jewish mind was saturated with the idea of immortal life. It was a truth universally regarded as beyond dispute. And if any one shall say these were the utterances, and these the experiences, of believers, all of whom have immortal life in Christ, the answer is ready. He who knew all the secrets of the invisible world, for he had been there, has lifted the veil and shown us the truth. Listen to his words: "The rich man also died and was buried; and in hell (*hades*) he lifted up his eyes, being in torments." This man was not saved in Christ, and yet he lives on in conscious existence beyond death and burial. There stands God's truth, and it will be a swift witness against the unbelieving in the great day.

The terms used in Scripture to describe the future doom of the wicked do not convey the idea of annihilation, but quite the contrary. Suppose it to be true that in Scripture a term is sometimes used to describe the doom of the wicked, the ordinary meaning of which is destruction, this is just what might be expected. When "holy men of old" were "moved by the Holy Ghost" to speak concerning the future of the wicked, they were not supplied with a new vocabulary in which to utter their conceptions; they used terms with which they were already familiar, "enlarging their meanings to the measure of that larger world." The Christian revelation has given new meanings to such words as "life" and "death," "salvation" and "destruction," according to the requirement of the subject in hand. Take, for example, these sayings of Christ: "If a man keep my sayings he shall never see death;" "He that liveth and believeth in me shall never die." This last was spoken after the death of Lazarus, who had suffered natural death, and was destined to suffer it again. The word

"death" is used here not in its literal but with a spiritual meaning.

Again, it is contended by some that men can have immortality only in Christ, and that all who are not in him shall perish in the sense of ceasing to be. This fundamental error arises from confusion in the use of terms, making "life" synonymous with mere "existence." We know that "the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ." But the "gift" which the believer receives is not a merely historical immortality. All men have that in the very nature with which God has endowed them; but the believer receives that gift which lifts *existence* into LIFE, and makes eternal being a source of endless and unspeakable joy. Then it must be remembered that most Annihilationists hold that man does not utterly cease to be at death, but that some part of him—enough, perhaps, to identify him at the resurrection—is kept in existence by God, through the long, lingering ages preceding the judgment; that then the soul and body, being reunited, shall suffer horrible torments through a period the duration of which no man can tell; and when they have suffered long enough to satisfy divine justice, they shall sink into utter annihilation. But, waiving any notice of this horrible grotesqueness, that something which lives on must be some part of the man; and so there is some part of him which survives the shock of death, and may survive forever.

The word "death" is, in this use of it, sadly misinterpreted and misapplied. It is assumed that in the declaration "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," physical death is referred to; and that although man did eat the forbidden fruit, the law was suspended by the introduction of a redemptive scheme. On the contrary, we say, in the day that man transgressed he died, in the sense in which God had used the term. He lost his true life, the life of God in the soul. Death, in the sense of physical dissolution, is a universal law of nature, and therefore is not the penalty of sin. The Scriptures nowhere assert that the *cause* of (natural) death is sin, though they declare that the *sting* of death is. We do not forget that St. Paul says, "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin," nor that other awful declaration, "the wages of sin is death;" but we also remember what so many seem to have forgotten, or never knew, that the main thought in these passages is not

physical dissolution at all, but that infinitely more terrible thing, the loss of the divine life—the death which reveals itself in trespasses and sins.

It has been supposed by some able teachers that but for the interposition of a redemptive scheme a sentence of literal death would have been executed upon the first transgressors, and thus the human race would have become extinct. This also is a mere assumption, growing out of a false interpretation of the term "death." If the interposition of a Saviour could alone prevent the extinction of a sinful race, how comes it that the devil and his angels have not been annihilated? And still further, had no Saviour been provided, the extinction of the human race would have been an act of mercy rather than of judgment, since the perpetuation of a sinful race without a Saviour would have been only an unmitigated curse, and wholly incompatible with God's righteousness.

This doctrine becomes increasingly repugnant when viewed in the light of redeeming love. The promise of a Divine Incarnation for human redemption dates back to the time of man's first sin; but the theory to which we now refer presents the awful spectacle of the mighty God becoming incarnate to confer immortality upon a race—or part of a race—of brutes, while the marvelous expenditure of Calvary was for the redemption of one "whom a brick-bat might extinguish in an instant." O! if immortality were not natural and inalienable in man would it not have been infinitely more merciful to have suffered the race to become extinct at the fountain-head than to bestow upon them a fresh lease of an existence that to multitudes would prove only a terrible curse? But if immortality is man's native endowment, inseparable from his being, then we begin to see why such mighty agencies were put in operation to save him from self-wrought and eternal ruin, and we see some fitness in the wondrous story that "God so loved the world." In a spirit of reverent thankfulness to God, we assert that there was something seen in the human race that called for the divine care for them. They were his children, and though wayward and rebellious he loved them still. His image was still in them, though now marred and defaced; and to restore that image, and bring back the wandering children, the Son of God stooped from heaven to earth, and became the Son of man.

May it not be Restoration after a Limited Period of Punishment?

The theory of "restoration" is based on the assumption at suffering can do for man that which Christ failed to ac-mplish, forgetting that punishment is the result of neglect-g the only way of salvation, and not itself a means of salva-n. If the theory is true that suffering can save men, we are once confronted by the awful spectacle of rival saviours, and r ears catch the echo of rival songs of praise among the re-emed. "A great multitude that no man can number" sing, Unto him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his od, . . . to him be glory both now and forever," and an-ner multitude, perhaps equally great, sing, "Unto the penal es that burned out our sins, be glory, both now and forever." t John in the vision of Patmos did not hear this latter song. ose who teach the theory of restoration seem to entirely sapprehend the design and also the effects of punishment. ey appear to suppose that it is always and every-where cor-tive, and designed for reformation; never retributive. On e contrary, the idea of retribution enters, to some extent, into ery kind and form of punishment, whether inflicted by God man, in this world or the next.

There are three aspects of punishment which cover the whole ound. It is either (1) Corrective, the object of which is the formation of the offender; or, (2) Preventive, the object ng to deter others from sinning; or, (3) Retributive, the ob-t of which is to inflict deserved penalty upon the guilty. these three aspects of punishment there are, in the uni-se, three corresponding powers: (1) The Family, where nishment, as to its design, is chiefly corrective; (2) The te, whose punishments are chiefly deterrent or preventive; The Day of Judgment, whose punishments are retributive. God's dealings with men all these three aspects appear; but this life the first two are the more prominent. He "chastises" children, not for his pleasure but for their profit, that they y be "partakers of his holiness," and even then only when y have offended. Such, however, are not purely retributive nishments, but also fatherly corrections, which in the end ld "the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them that are

exercised (reformed) thereby." But in his dealings with the perversely rebellious, we perceive a marked difference from both of the former. There the retributive element is the ruling one, and not uncommonly it is "judgment without mercy." When God punished the antediluvian world with a universal deluge, there was no promise of subsequent restoration to his favor. When he overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, the baptism of penal fire had in it no corrective element. It was "judgment without mercy;" and it is presented by an apostle as a significant indication of the principle upon which the divine government proceeds. And the same is afterward more largely declared: "He that despised Moses's law died without mercy under two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace?" But it must be observed that it is only upon the impenitent that God inflicts the "sorer punishment." He who yields to the calls of mercy finds forgiveness; but he who passes unsaved beyond the boundary of this life's probation has no promise that he shall find place for repentance, though he seek it carefully, with tears. Sufferings, though endured for ages, cannot constitute the lost soul more worthy of divine favor than before, seeing that the evil nature still remains unchanged. "The Lord knoweth how to .... reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished;" but no hint is given that he reserves them to be restored to favor when the punishment is over; and without some such intimation is it to be presumed that such is his purpose?

But where is the proof that punishment will have in the future life the power that seems to be claimed for it to deter men from sin? Wicked men are often punished in this life, and yet they, in most cases, continue to run greedily after sin. The libertine receives in himself the recompense of his sin, but is not thereby reformed. The drunkard suffers, in health, estate, and character, but still he continues in his sinful indulgences, unsaved by his sufferings.

The theory we are noticing assumes that man can exhaust the curse and penalty of sin, and afterward rise to purity and heaven; but if so, there is for such cases salvation by another

name than that of Christ. The Scriptures, on the contrary, teach that when the sinner is cast into prison "he shall in no wise come out thence till he has paid the uttermost farthing;" while as to his ability, it is declared he has "nothing" wherewith "to pay." Those who hold this theory forget that sin is a self-perpetuating evil, and that man cannot escape its curse unless sin itself is destroyed. Let it be steadily kept in mind that punishment cannot destroy sin; that only divine grace can do that; and the sinner who passes unsaved into the spirit-world goes where he has no promise that grace can ever reach him. If the penalty of sin could be exhausted by suffering, punishment would cease to be retribution; it would then become a means of grace. But of this no hint is given in the teachings of the word of God. The punishment of the future is "the wages of sin," and not a moral force by which a lapsed soul can be restored to holiness and the favor of God.

If, however, we assume the possibility of restoration, how, in the nature of things, is it to be brought about? Shall it be by the mere fiat of Omnipotence? "The divine government," a distinguished author wisely remarks, "is not a series of isolated arbitrary acts, but a vast net-work of correlated principles, wide and lasting as the universe, in which sin and punishment stand to each other as cause and effect. It is in the nature of sin to tend to perpetuate itself, and to produce misery. This process is a matter of natural and moral law. To cut off by the sheer force of omnipotence the proper effect of sin, and cause it to be followed by eternal joy, would not only be an abrupt break in the course of natural law, but a violent wrench of moral relations, forcibly making sin the precursor of happiness, which would not be less violent than to make piety the precursor of wretchedness. If a simple fiat of divine authority might empty the bottomless pit, why not a similar fiat have obviated the necessity for the humiliation of the divine Son in the redemption of mankind? And why might not such a fiat have prevented all the agonies and inconveniences ever incurred by sin?"

Still more difficult is it to conceive that any thing in the circumstances or surroundings of a fallen spirit can effect its restoration. Suffering and misery are the results of sin, and while the sin continues the suffering must endure. If the sin-

ning were to cease the moment the soul entered the spirit-world, the idea of exhausting sin's penalty, though still unwarranted, might not appear so hopeless; but if sin perpetuates itself in this life, despite all remedial influences, much more will it do so when all those influences are withdrawn; and thus unending sin carries with it unending suffering as its inevitable corollary. The impenitent sinner goes into "outer darkness," to the "worm" that "dieth not," and to the "fire" that "shall not be quenched." Though we grant that these are but figures of speech, they are not suggestive of any thing that could produce in the sufferers "repentance unto salvation," or create one solitary aspiration after a better life. It may be accepted as an axiom that a thing cannot communicate what it does not possess; and surely in the surroundings of a lost soul there is nothing that can purify the conscience or deliver from the guilt of sin.

Nor yet—taking the New Testament for our guide—are we permitted to suppose that a lost soul can, in the other world, be restored through the mediation of Jesus Christ. The inestimable value of that mediation here and now is pressed upon our attention in a thousand ways; but no hint is given that it will avail any thing in the world to come. The very urgency of the Gospel message indicates that this life is the crisis-hour of human existence, into whose brief compass are crowded opportunities that can never be elsewhere enjoyed. If this were not so—if beyond this life there were even remote possibilities of salvation—the intensely earnest invitations, warnings, and entreaties of the Gospel would sound like solemn mockeries. When the one talent was taken from the unprofitable servant it was not to be restored; when the hopeless debtor, who owed "ten thousand talents," was "delivered to the tormentors," it was a sentence of perpetual imprisonment; when the foolish virgins came with the despairing cry, "Lord, Lord, open to us," the door stubbornly refused to open, while from within came the death-knell of departing hope, "Verily I say unto you, I know you not."

It Shall Be Punishment.

The Scriptures teach "that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust" (Acts xxiv, 15);

that following the resurrection there shall be a judgment, when "every one" shall "receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad." This teaching commends itself to every enlightened conscience. That goodness should be rewarded and wickedness punished harmonizes with the eternal fitness of things. In every man good or evil predominates; but as all men are free agents, good or evil must be voluntary. Goodness merits reward; badness deserves punishment. And if goodness has a reward beyond the grave, shall not wickedness also receive punishment hereafter? There is a future state of reward for the righteous: ought there not to be a future state of punishment for the wicked?

That the punishment of the lost soul shall be exceedingly terrible we infer, not from poetic images and dramatic pictures in hymns and epics, but from the clear and solemn statements of the word of God. The most terrible utterances in the New Testament concerning the punishment of the lost came from the lips of Him whose pitying tenderness brought him from heaven to earth to die for the sins of mankind. Such words from his lips are not mere rhetoric, but sober statements of solemn realities. If it is claimed that Christ's words are figurative, and should not be interpreted literally, it must be remembered that figures imply realities, and in a case like this, because the spiritual transcends the natural, it is reasonable to presume that the reality is far more dreadful than the figure by which it is set forth. It is idle to speculate as to whether the punishment shall be corporeal or wholly spiritual; it is enough to know that something unspeakably dreadful must be intended when it can be best represented by the gnawing of a worm that never dies, and the burning of a fire that shall not be quenched.

But the eternity of this punishment is the aspect of the doctrine most frequently controverted. It seems to some a terrible thing that for the sins of the present life man should suffer through all the ages of the unending future. But it must be remembered that the sufferings of the lost are a result as well as a penalty, and that these sufferings largely grow out of the character which the sinner forms in this life, and with which he enters the future life. This is in perfect accord with the principle, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap;" he

shall reap *that*—not something else instead of that; and "the harvest is the end of the world." There is a terrible inexorableness in what are called the "laws of nature," which is but another name for the laws of God, the expression of the divine character. Those laws are in their purpose beneficent, and with the obedient they invariably work for beneficent ends; but when resisted, disobeyed, defied, they must, because they are righteous, remorselessly punish whatsoever or whosoever stands in the way. If a man puts himself in deliberate antagonism to God and his laws he must suffer the consequences, and if in this life he forms a character which puts him in such eternal antagonism he must suffer eternal consequences.

The words of Christ on this awful theme are distinct and unequivocal: "these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal." Some have tried, by reckless verbal criticism, to neutralize the force of the declaration, and assert that the words translated "eternal" and "everlasting" do not signify duration without end; but every competent scholar knows that in the Scriptures they always have that meaning unless limited by other words, or by the circumstances of the case. The eternity of God, and the duration of the blessedness of the righteous, are expressed by these words. If, therefore, the punishment of the wicked is not to be eternal, then God himself is not eternal, and the reward of the righteous must terminate, and the heaven of heavens shall pass away. Sometimes the doctrine is opposed by arguments drawn, or supposed to be drawn, from the nature and attributes of God. It is said, "God is love," and it is declared to be incredible that he will consign millions of beings to endless torment for the sins of the present life; that such punishment would imply vindictiveness, which is utterly foreign to his nature. But is the law that dooms the assassin unjust? and are they who execute its sentence vindictive, in the bad sense of that word? The penalties of the law are its vindication, and without that iniquity, and not righteousness, would hold sway. The idea of banishment from God is the most dreadful element in the punishment of the lost. Because they choose to be without God in this world, they are in the future world banished from God. "This is the second death."

ART. IV.—SOUTH-WESTERN CHINA AND PROSPECTIVE TRADE ROUTES.

[First Paper.]

uis de Carné, who was connected, as political representative, th the French exploring expedition of 1866–68, in reporting ncerning its results, wrote: "Perspectives full of the deepest terest and attraction open from Saigon beyond the mountains Tonquin, over the fertile and healthy countries of Western ina and Thibet. Fortune, which has so often made us pay r her favors of a day by lasting betrayal, appears to have be- me less cruel." This passage sufficiently indicates the ulte- r motive which has guided France in establishing herself in nquin and in the consequent prolonged military operations, being none other than possession of the commerce and sup- sed great mineral wealth of South-western and Western ina. The direct origin and development of the "Tonquin air," the conflict with Annam, and the larger conflict with ina itself, have been well sketched by the animated pen of r. Wentworth in the March number of this Review, and we e thus spared the space required for a detailed reference to t subject, which, in part at least, is legitimately connected th our theme.

By a recent diplomatic arrangement with native Burmah, t vaguely known to the world at date of the present writing, ance has acquired a pretended claim upon a portion of the rthern Shan States, which were indeed formerly tributary to rmah, but have of late years been substantially independent. is territory nearly borders upon Tonquin. Such an ad- nce into the interior, from the colony on the south, is fore- dowed in another passage from De Carné: "Now that we finally settled in Indo-China, our honor demands that the ple of the interior should learn to know our name as those the coast have already, and that England should be no longer agined by these ignorant races to be the only western power." Blanscubé, the French delegate from the province of chin China, who moved the bill in favor of the recent nquin expedition, has also with great plainness of speech nounced at Paris what may be readily supposed to be an

acceptable programme of future policy for France in its new colony. He says: "The mountains which separate the basin of the Menam from that of the Mekong divide the vast peninsula into two parts almost equal. All the western parts belong directly or indirectly to England; the eastern portion must belong to France." The scheme here presented, together with what we shall notice of recent exploration on the side of British Burmah, open before us as a subject of great interest the prospect, in our day, for the vigorous commercial development, under European direction, of Farther India, which was probably the *Aurea Regio* of Ptolemy, or the "Golden Chersonese." The fabulous notions which have prevailed in subsequent ages as well, concerning the wealth of this land in gold and other precious metals, will doubtless be shown to have but moderate foundation in reality; but a more than golden hope will dawn upon it should the political and commercial rivalry of England and France be providentially overruled, notwithstanding censurable acts of selfish aggression and violence, to bind it together with Western China in the bonds of an advanced Christian civilization.

As is well known, the present eagerness of France to possess territory and establish a commercial colony in Tonquin arose in an unforeseen manner from the results of the expedition sent to explore the river Mekong. Though the original purpose and ardent hope of the expedition to open by this river a grand route for commerce with Western China proved, by observations on the character of the stream, an entire failure, it is in place here, especially in view of present occurrences which call attention to the different States of the peninsula, to give some brief account of this heroic and interesting achievement. Such an exploration was originally proposed by Garnier in 1863, but the authorities at Saigon were then without sufficient preparatory knowledge of the country. In 1865, the plan was definitely formed at Paris through the influence of the Marquis Chasseloup de Laubat, Minister of Marine, and the Admiral de la Grandière, Governor of Cochin China, who spent some months of that year in France. M. Doudard de Lagrée was chosen to command the expedition. He had been sent, in 1863, to the court of Cambodia at Pnompenh, where he in the same year succeeded in negotiating the treaty which placed that

kingdom under the protection of France, and where he remained to gain all accessible information about Cambodia and the countries lying to the north of it which were tributary to Siam. In character he was eminently fitted to gain the confidence of the various peoples with whom the expedition might come in contact, and also to inspire his associates with courage and devotion. His lieutenant was Marie Joseph François Garnier, the astronomer of the expedition, a young man of brilliant parts and great bravery, whose fate in the action in Tonquin, December 7, 1873, is well known. The Viscount Louis de Carné represented the Foreign Office. He was a talented writer who could well set forth the impressions, aims, and hopes of the expedition, but was destined to meet an early death at Paris in 1870, resulting from disease contracted in the Laos country. Messieurs Delaporte, Joubert, and Thorel were respectively the artist, geologist, and botanist of the company, the latter also being the authority in anthropology. Passports were obtained from Bangkok, Hué, and Peking, either at once or after some portion of the journey had been made. Application to the Burmese court at Ava failed. The expedition set out from Saigon June 5, 1866, in two gun-boats, which were exchanged for light canoes at Kratieh; the original force, twenty-three persons in all, being later reduced, while much of the equipment was cast aside at successive passages where difficult navigation or unexpected fatiguing marches compelled it. In view of the physical obstacles surmounted, the perils encountered through the unhealthiness of the country, the prolonged and vexatious delays of diplomacy in the numerous States traversed, the honor of great fortitude and patriotic devotion must be accorded to those who composed this expedition and conducted it through all difficulties. The general course accomplished was an ascent of the Mekong nearly as far as the southern border of Yunnan, the crossing of that province in a north-easterly direction, by way of the capital, till the Yang-tse was reached, from which point the journey was made by steamer to Shanghai, and the company arrived on return at Saigon June 29, 1868. In all, the distance traversed from Kratieh, head of steam navigation on the Mekong, to Shanghai, was 5,392 miles, of which 3,625 miles, chiefly in a country geographically unknown to Europeans, were surveyed with

care, and the positions fixed astronomically. A full scientific account of the expedition was published at Paris in two superb quarto volumes, with abundant maps and illustrations;* M. De Carné reported its progress in a series of brilliant papers in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*,† 1869–70; and we have later the memoir and letters of De Lagrée, accompanied by numerous other papers and historical essays, chiefly about Cambodia, edited from his manuscripts.‡

We can but briefly touch upon some of the results attained by the expedition in its course through the Laos or Shan States, it being understood that there was no general exploration of the country, but only of the river and some adjacent regions. Of chief importance was the sadly disappointing discovery that the Mekong, whose course as determined by the observations is now presented in the most recent maps, owing to the great irregularity of its current, the number of its rapids and cataracts, is entirely unfit for steam navigation above Kratieh (some 280 miles from its mouth), or at best above Sombor. The great cataract of Khong presents a quite impassable barrier. There are frequent rapids between Bassak and Khemrat. For a space of perhaps sixty miles here the water runs through a channel over 330 feet deep and hardly 200 feet across. At Bassak the river is 7,384 feet wide, and farther down, at Stung Treng, it is of much greater breadth, but with a strong and violent current which twists into furious eddies. For some two hundred miles below Vien-Chang, in the bend of the river westward (as one ascends), a steamer might ply, but above this point, where the ascent of the stream

* "Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine, effectué par une commission française présidée par M. le Capitaine de Frégate, Doudard de Lagrée." 2 vols, 4to. Paris: Hachette et Cië, 1873. For a popular account of the course of the expedition from the pen of M. Garnier, with full illustrations by M. Delaporte, see the "Tour du Monde," vols. xx–xxvi (1869–73). Hachette & Co., Paris.

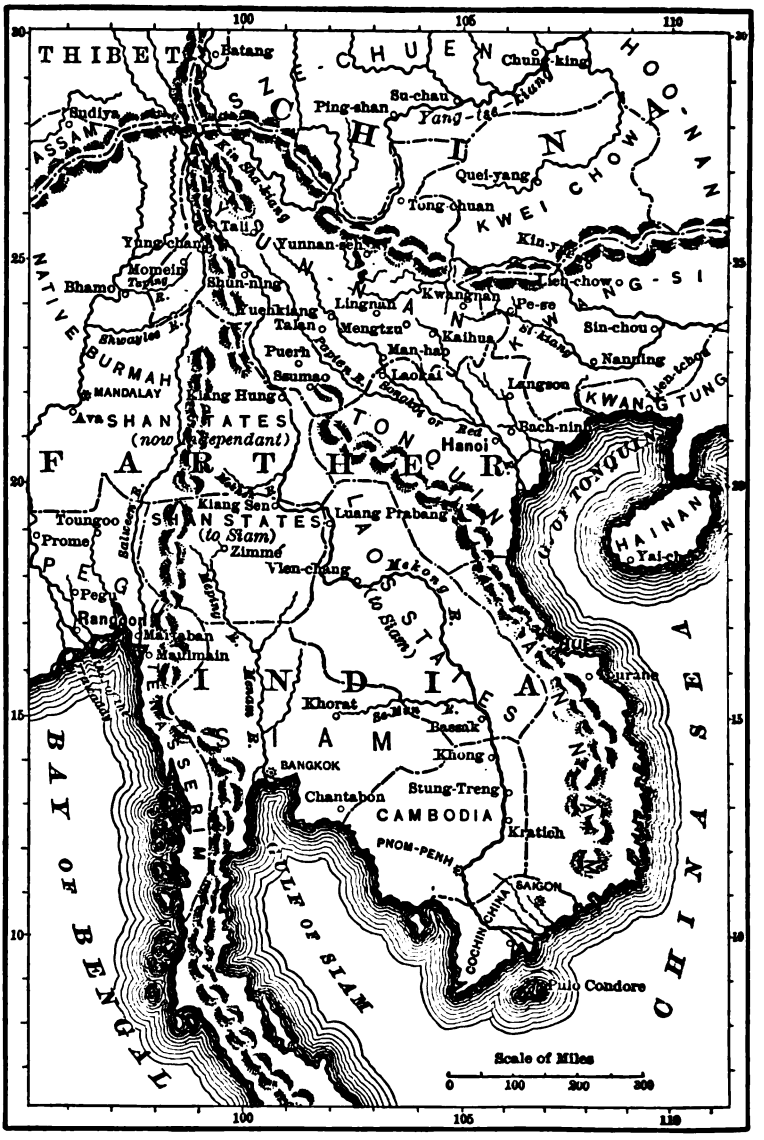
† Reissued in a volume by E. Dentu, Paris, 1872. English translation, "Travels in Indo-China and the Chinese Empire," by Louis M. De Carné. London: Chapman & Hall. 1872.

‡ "Explorations et Messieurs de Doudard de Lagrée, Capitaine de Frégate, Premier Representant du Protectorat français au Cambodee, Chef de la Mission d'Exploration du Mekong et du Haut Song-koi. Extraits de ses Manuscrits, mis en ordre par M. A. B. de Villemereuil, Capitaine de Vaisseau." 4to, cxi, 684. Paris: Imprimerie ut Libraire de Mdm. Veuve Bouchard-Huzard, Jules Tremblay, Gendre et Successeur. 1883.

directly northward toward Luang Prabang, the country be-
nes mountainous, and the river, larger here than the Menam
Bangkok, forces its way through steep banks with a noise
e the roaring of the sea. Above Chieng-Khong it winds
ough a magnificent plain, but farther up becomes, in spite
its volume, far more difficult of navigation than before. In
rt, through all its 2,000 miles of length, except in the sec-
n below Kratieh, the Mekong is nothing better than a mag-
icent mountain torrent. The French explorers were early
ced to confess as much, though De Lagrée, as he looked upon
expanse of waters at Bassak, penned this natural exclama-
n: "*Quel beau fleuve!*" This river, like the Menam, is sub-
t to annual inundation, there being at some points a differ-
e of thirty-five to forty feet between the usual and extraor-
ary level; the latter occurring in July and August.*

At Bassak, a very ancient residence of Laos kings, the
nce, now subject to Siam, professed his readiness to accept,
e Cambodia, the protection of France. De Lagrée visited
on, westward on the Se-Mun river, which connects Bangkok
trade with most of Laos above it and below Luang Prabang.
Carné expressed his opinion that France should extend her
y over Ubon and over the whole country south of the Se-
n as far westward as Khorat, and withdraw the trade by
ch Bangkok profits to Saigon. This and similar projects
e been a natural cause for the alarm which has prevailed,
especially reported during the last year, at the court of
n. It has been proposed to embrace the region of the same
ude east of the Mekong in the scheme. To stimulate the
le, which is but moderate and in the hands of the Chinese,
bring profit to the French colony, a railroad is now being
structed from Saigon to Pnompenh, with the ultimate de-
n of making it serve the purpose for which the river is unfit
an extension northward; and if the French colony should
ve, contrary to probability, a substantial success, this line

*The chart accompanying this article is simply designed to show the relative
ion of different points. A good and handy map of China (17 by 18 inches),
ssible to all, is that issued by the China Inland Mission. It exhibits quite
the mountain ranges and rivers (though inaccurate as to the Mekong), and
aces a part of Burmah and the Shan States. Address Rev. E. R. Smith,
ion Rooms, Methodist Episcopal Church, 805 Broadway, New York. Price,
ents.



may yet form some connection with the territory of China. The expedition found Burmese peddlers selling English goods, as cotton checks, printed calicoes, woolen fabrics, buttons, and needles, at Ubon and elsewhere. "Khorat," says De Carné,

"is a vast *entrepôt* where many Chinese have settled, who go out from it in all directions through the Siamese territories, and carry the English cotton checks through every part of Middle Laos."* There was a like activity in English goods at Luang Prabang, where the Indian rupee was found to be the standard coin, and British Burmese were the traders instead of Chinese. This is the most spirited and independent of the Laos States which have heretofore acknowledged allegiance to Siam. It is inhabited by vigorous northern Shans, and the town has a daily market, the only one at that time (according to De Carné) in Siamese Laos. The reception accorded the expedition here was at first cool, on account of the prevailing sympathy with Chieng-mai, a Siamese Shan State on the west, in its disposition to repel the advances of the English. The authority of China had already been thrown off, and the presence of Chinese in the town is rare. The State borders on Tonquin, with the intervention of some wild tribes, and has been a recent object of active diplomatic schemes on the part of France. The Laos population of the State was estimated at 100,000 to 120,000, and the number of savages at 200,000 to 300,000, of subdued and unsubdued tribes, a classification which obtains throughout the country. A system of slavery exists in Laos, sustained in part by raids upon the wild tribes, less practiced now than formerly.† The expedition found it difficult to arrive at an estimate of the population in these States, and it was hard to obtain

* The term "Laos" is applied by the French, and is commonly applied, to the region of the States dependent on Siam, as it is to the people inhabiting it, though frequently, and in this article, the term Shan is used synonymously with it. The Siamese Laos, or Shans, are but another variety of the great Shan race represented by the northern tribes or states. Shan is, however, a Burmese term. This people, now identified with the Tai stock, according to the latest and perhaps most reliable investigations, migrated originally from the Kia-lung mountains north of Sze Chuen and south of Shen-Si. The Siamese are a branch of the same stock, and call themselves the "Little Taï."

† Only a small proportion of the slaves in Siamese Laos are derived from this source. The chiefs of the subdued tribes sell the poor of their villages. Parents sell their children. It is a custom of the people in some parts to place themselves under the protection of some chief. These lords or *chaos* are of different grades, and make up the ruling class. In Chieng-mai (Zimmé), says Colquhoun, almost every body is a slave to some one else. One third of the population of Siam are in a state of slavery through debt. The condition is a mild one, a bond service rather than slavery; but the system is the curse of the country, debasing the spirit. The more energetic Chinese, Burmese, and northern Shans get all the trade.

information on other matters. Partly from this cause, probably, they failed to make such definite and important discoveries of mineral products as had been anticipated, though certain mines of iron, copper, and lead were visited.* In passing through the northern or Burmese Shan States the explorers found the princes quite approachable, but the Burmese officials hostile and unreliable. The native princes held their allegiance to Burmah very loosely, detesting its irregular and tyrannic control, and were credited by De Lagrée with a hatred of the English. This view of the case, however, is questionable, in reference at least to the present day.

The expedition having passed through the extensive region of teak forests in the north, ceased to follow the course of the river at Chieng-Hung, 1200 miles from the sea, and at an elevation of 700 meters. After ten days of travel, the country all the way being extremely difficult of passage owing to the bad condition of the roads and the abrupt ascents and descents in the mountain belt, they crossed the Chinese frontier, October 18, 1867, and to their great joy looked down on Ssumao (itself 1200 meters in altitude), being the first Europeans to visit this region except the Jesuit missionaries, who had occupied several points in Yunnan. Consultation with the authorities at Ssumao, and the reception of a letter from an influential and well-informed French Catholic missionary, revealed the impossibility of a farther ascent of the Mekong (which their instructions had directed them to explore to its source),† on account of the hostilities then prevailing in western Yunnan, incited by the

* Siam itself is undoubtedly rich in minerals. Tin underlies an extensive territory in Lower Siam. Gold abounds in the Bang-tap-han province, and at the foot of the "San-ra-yot" range; precious stones in the hills about Chantaboon, on the east of the gulf; copper, iron, and lead at different points. Most of these mines, contrary to former policy, are now open to foreign enterprise.

† The Grosvenor party crossed the Mekong, called by the Chinese the Lang-tsang-kiang, or Kiou-lang-kiang, between Tali-fu and Yung-Chang, where Baber reports it as from 60 to 80 yards wide, flowing smoothly in the floor of the gorge. There was no trade on the river, no boats, no road, and the valley was uninhabited. According to the "Encyclopædia Britannica" the Mekong rises in Thibet at about latitude 34 degrees and longitude 94 degrees. Huc and Gabet saw the confluence of the two main branches at Tisando (32 degrees N. lat.), and the Abbe Desgodins had followed the stream from that point down to Te-tche, in 27 degrees 20 minutes N. lat. (See "La Mission du Thibet," Paris, 1872, and the Abbe's papers in "Bull. Geog. Soc.," 1871, 5, 6, 7.)

Mohammedan rebellion which had disturbed the country since 1855. The expedition was every-where favorably received by the Chinese authorities, owing largely, besides the sanction of the official papers from Peking, to the fact that the French missionaries in the province had allied themselves very positively with the government against the rebellion. The course of the expedition was thereupon turned eastward, in special hope of furthering in some way the interests which the French had already acquired in Tonquin. When Yuen-Kiang was reached on the Song-koi (Red River), Garnier was deputed to explore this stream in its descent toward the Tonquin gulf.

The hostile disposition of the inhabitants arrested his journey at the end of forty miles, and he rejoined the expedition at Si-ngan. To his great joy, however, he learned enough to establish his belief that the Song-koi was navigable from the Chinese market of Manhao all the way to the sea; and here was a grand commercial prospect opened up to the expedition which would repay them for the bitter disappointment they had suffered on the Mekong. The journey was continued through Yunnan. From the tropical climate of the Shan States, below latitude 21 degrees, they had passed to a zone between 21 and 24 degrees, temperate on the mountains, though still tropical in the valleys, and beyond this found a purely temperate climate, quite cold in the winter season, in which they were now traveling. De Lagrée speaks of Yunnan in general as bearing the usual products of France, and possessing a climate favorable to Europeans. From Si-ngan (1400 meters elevation) northward, they found the roads of better construction and easier inclination; crossed Lake Chepin in boats, traversed the margins of numerous other lakes before unknown to Europeans, which lay at successive stages of elevation till, at a height of 2200 meters, they came out upon the summit of the central plateau of Yunnan, where a magnificent prospect was open before them. They beheld Yunnan-fu, the capital, situated on the largest of the series of lakes, and entered it the day before Christmas, 1867. They there found Père Protteau and Père Fenouil, the Catholic missionaries, both of whom furnished them much assistance, the latter being a person of great influence for services rendered the imperial government in the existing war. It was he who had sent the letter to Ssumao. They were pleasantly

entertained by Gen. Mâ, commander of the imperial forces, but were forbidden the hope of obtaining authorization from the Chinese officials to attempt to penetrate the Mohammedan States in the north-west, where the head-waters of the Mekong were supposed to lie. Leaving Yunnan-fu January 8, they traveled north-eastward through a very desolate country, till Tong-tchouen was reached, where a sad event occurred in the death of De Lagrée, on the 12th of March. He had been taken seriously ill three days before, a result of fatigues of the journey, which aggravated a disease of the liver long before contracted. Garnier had been sent from this point at head of a small party, embracing Delaporte, Thorel, and De Carné, to reach Tali-fu, capital city of the rebel chiefs, by an unusual route through Sze-Chuen. Though the letter of the Mohammedan Ulema at Yunnan, with which they were provided, was respected by the chief, or "Sultan," the party only escaped with their lives by speedy flight. They returned to Tong-tchouen to mourn the loss of their leader. His body was transported to Saigon, where a monument is erected to his memory. The command devolved upon Garnier, who conducted the expedition to its close.

While at Shanghai Garnier had an interview with M. Dupuis, who had traveled much in China, and possessed influence everywhere with official personages. It was what he learned at this interview about the probable availability of the Song-koi as a commercial route which led to his subsequent journeys to Yunnan in 1869 and 1870. In the latter year he descended the Song-koi to the vicinity of Hanoi,* and returning, reported to Gen. Mâ, who gladly commissioned him to procure from Europe, and bring up by the new and promising river route, a quantity of arms for the equipment of his forces. The sequel is related in Dr. Wentworth's article before mentioned.

Passing by any consideration of Tonquin itself, or of what has been said concerning the special profit to France of its colonial schemes in this quarter of the world, it is our part to allude to the resources of south-eastern Yunnan, which is drained by the Song-koi and its tributaries. Little can be practically known of the possibilities of trade till a state of peace is established. As to the river itself, it is now acknowledged that it

* "L'Ouverture du Fleuve Rouge au Commerce." Par J. Dupuis. Paris: Challamel. 1879.

presents difficulties of navigation for a hundred miles below Manhao. This town has hardly an elevation of 500 feet, but is closed in by hills to the north 6,000 feet in height. It is nevertheless asserted that a railroad, which could easily be constructed up the river, would find a suitable place of entrance to reach the plateau northward which would conduct it to Yunnan-fu.

In the new Manhao, on the left bank, Cantonese were settled in large numbers in prosperous times, representing mercantile houses in Canton, Hong-Kong, Macao, and other places on the coast, who send thither woolen, cotton, and silk fabrics, raw cotton and tea being taken in return. In the years of the rebellion the trade had been largely transferred to the Si-kiang (the river of Canton), but it has since to a considerable extent returned. Garnier gives a pleasing picture of such portion of this section of Yunnan as he visited, as to its productiveness and general aspect of civilized culture. At Yuen-kiang quite a quantity of cotton and sugar was produced on the plain. An irrigating canal, such as is common throughout China, was observed running along the line of the river and serving all the villages. On the plateau many fields of deep red earth were waving with Indian corn. In the vicinity of Si-ngan fine market gardens were seen, intermingled with sugar plantations, along the bank of a river flowing either into the basin of the Song-koi or of the Si-kiang, which was diked all along its banks, and over which, at near intervals, extended bridges of Roman-like construction, decorated with pagodas, triumphal arches, and ornamental gates. The rectangular city of Si-ngan (this being the usual form of Chinese cities), with which were connected populous and busy suburbs, showed yet, notwithstanding many had been ruthlessly destroyed by the rebels, official buildings, or yâmens, and pagodas tastefully decorated, with markets of such excellent construction as many a city in France does not enjoy.

Garnier alludes to the numerous mines of gold, silver, and copper which were said to exist in the department of Kai-hua, eastward, which is drained by an affluent of the Song-koi. The French, as is remembered by the natives, made many inquiries after the mines, and the favor of considerable information was accorded them. Indeed, their grand object of study in Yunnan was the mineral products of the region, as they had formed

expectations of finding in them great sources of wealth; but they visited the country at a time when the majority of the mines had been for years closed on account of the rebellion. M. Emile Rocher, officer in the customs service of China, accompanied Dupuis to Yunnan in 1869. He traveled with him a portion of his journey in 1870, and, on the latter's departure for Europe, remained to organize the imperial arsenals, making an exploration of the southern portion of the province. He devoted himself to a study of the metallurgy practiced in Yunnan, and has treated the subject in a full and scientific manner, besides giving a general description of the portion of the country he visited, in two volumes, which include several chapters on the history of the Mohammedan rebellion.* Materials for the historical part of the work were secured with the aid of the highest authority, both imperial and Mohammedan. He speaks of the neighborhood of Si-ngan as possessing mines of great richness—iron, copper, tin, lead, silver, gold—and says that this fact has contributed to educate for generations the people of that city in the art of mining, so that they stand at the head of the province in this industry. In the mining village of Ch'-a-tien (on the road to Meng-tzu) the houses are mostly well built and comfortable; among them are many temples erected by the societies of miners, and more or less decorated. He found the bustle of the place, the commercial transactions, and the general well-to-do appearance of the people a testimony to the richness of the country. The number of workmen was continually increasing. At Kuo-chia silver, tin, lead, and iron are obtained. About two hundred galleries produced tin at that time, though the work had been greatly interrupted by the unsettled state of the country. The deeper galleries were abandoned, though still yielding abundantly, through want of effectual appliances to purify the air, while accidents from the same cause were numerous. We quote in full an interesting passage about the visit to this mine:

A few days occupied in visiting the different mining works of the village enabled us to sufficiently study the different methods employed in operating the metals. This industrial population, in

* "La Provincé Chinoise du Yunnan." Par Emile Rocher. 2 vols., 8vo. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeur. 1879. This work is accompanied by a very full map of the province.

full sympathy with a spirit of progress, did not for a moment cease to show a responsive and kindly disposition toward an inquirer, and instead of coldness and jealousy in presence of a stranger, we found only, in masters and workmen, a readiness to suspend their operations in order to explain to us the minutest details. To this openness was joined a measure of curiosity, for at each step of the process they did not fail to ask if the same method was used in Europe. They were quite incredulous when we told them of the results obtained by our engineers, whether in regard to the celerity of the operations or the quality of the products. Sometimes the more intelligent among them, having readily grasped the idea of the European process, closely examined the operation, and inquired whether the same machines could not be manufactured in their own country. Others, generally the more advanced in years, who were unable to conceive of any process more practical or valuable than their own, received what we told them as tales designed for their amusement, or as a slight upon their intelligence.

Rocher gives decided testimony in many passages to the agricultural fertility and prosperity of eastern Yunnan. This view, however, is directly contradicted by Mr. Colquhoun, a recent English traveler in these parts, to whose work we shall, later on, refer more fully.* He allows, what all must admit, that the Song-koi offers the most direct and easiest route to eastern Yunnan; but "it is one thing," he says, "to secure the route, and another to secure the trade." "Every thing we have seen points to the poverty of this portion of the country, and the small amount of commerce that can be developed. . . . The country is barren and mountainous, with few villages, from which a poverty-stricken peasantry and a small governing class extract but a meager living." It is not easy to reconcile the two reports, especially as years of peace have intervened since the visit of M. Rocher and of the expedition; though it is true that the English traveler saw certain parts of the country not observed by the others.

It is unquestionable that the French have been stimulated in their efforts to open new resources and means of trade in the

* "Across Chrysê." By A. R. Colquhoun, Executive Engineer Indian Public Works. With 300 illustrations, three specially prepared maps, and 30 fac-similes of native drawings. London: Sampson, Low, & Co. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1883.

Chrysê stands for the ancient Greek of ἡ χρυση, supposed to represent Malacca, or to be equivalent to the *Aurea Regio* of Ptolemy, the Indo-China peninsula.

countries here contemplated by the zeal which England had shown in the same direction. As for England, she has sufficient motive, like other European nations in this era, to extend her colonial interests and their trade connections, in that the products of the colonies and of this trade, particularly in the East, appear indirectly to furnish the necessary support for the masses of her working people at home. The balance of trade against her in the United States—through purchase of cotton and breadstuffs of some £88,000,000 annually—is said to be largely met in this manner; that is, through the purchases of American merchants in the East.* Extension of her colonial trade seems to be an urgent necessity for her life. British Burmah is an example of successful colonization in a commercial point of view. The population has rapidly increased from 2,092,331 in 1863 to 3,736,771 in 1881. The colony has yielded a surplus to the Indian government which, for nine years ending in 1881, aggregated £7,381,485. The total general revenue, exclusive of municipal, postal, and railway, increased from £1,232,066 in 1871 to £2,164,067 in 1881. Rangoon has become the rival of Madras as a shipping port. Previous to 1852 its average annual shipping was 125 vessels, of which only 20 were European. The arrivals of 1881 counted 842 ships, with a tonnage of 584,450. The serious check which the growth of trade has received now becoming more apparent, from the deplorable condition of affairs under King Thebaw's reign in Upper Burmah, which began with 1879, the year after his accession, when the British Resident was withdrawn from Mandalay, is accidental, though there are also general causes, presumably temporary, for the depression of the last two or three years. The trade between British and native Burmah was increasing rapidly under the reign of the former King Mendoon, growing from £2,188,899 in 1869–70 to £3,863,406 in 1879–80. In textile fabrics it advanced from £110,796 to £562,205 at the same dates. Something has been done for the colony in laying down railways, as to Prome and Toungoo, and much more for the steam navigation of the Irrawaddy. The numbers of steamers on the river increased from 9 to 38 between 1871 and 1881. There were no steamers there till 1868. In 1882 the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company had twenty-nine mag-

* See more on this subject in the "Nineteenth Century," September, 1884.

nificent steamers and forty-four flats running to Mandalay twice a week, and to Bhamo once a week.

We make this allusion to the progress and normal commercial prosperity of Burmah for the reason that, apparently, the most promising new lines of communication for the trade of Western China with British territory now proposed have their termini in that colony, and because this colonial success furnishes a specially good basis for hope in seeking to develop a trade route with China from this direction. Though nothing has yet been achieved beyond the borders of the province, the colonial government has taken an active interest in some preparatory exploration. It has been, indeed, long considered by the general administration of India a matter of importance to find some suitable land route for commercial intercourse with China as a means of securing advantage, if possible, over the dangers and delays of the sea passage by the Straits to Hong-Kong. If such communication could be profitably opened by railway it would, for the reason mentioned, quite overbalance, it is thought, any gain which France may make in the possession of Tonquin.

Europe had in the Middle Ages (embracing a number of centuries) a very considerable intercourse, both by land and sea, with China, then known under the name of Cathay, and with its formerly flourishing cities of fabulous wealth. The memory of this intercourse and of the routes followed seemed for a long period lost in oblivion, but the fragmentary records of it which exist possess a deep interest—particularly in view of the history of Christian missions (for such missions were then extended to China)—if not a great practical value, for our day.* That land of far-off renown, rediscovered by Europe, has come into view almost like the new world made known to Columbus, who, indeed, died in the belief that he had found the Cathay of Marco Polo. European exploration has but just begun. Gradually we are getting a clear conception of its interior, and it is not unnatural if, even in England, some illusions have heretofore prevailed concerning resources for trade and the

* On this subject see the following valuable work: "Cathay and the Way Thither." Being a Collection of Mediæval Notices of China. Translated and edited by Colonel Henry Yule, C. B., late of Royal Engineers, Bengal. Two vols., 8vo. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society. 1866.

possibilities of developing rapid land communication between the western portion of China and the British possessions. Because, geographically, the distance is in appearance small (some two hundred miles) between Sudiya, on the upper Brahmaputra, and the political frontier of China, it seemed, at the first glance, a likely project to establish and foster a trade route in this quarter, and the idea is not yet abandoned; but it is a region extremely difficult to explore, both from its rugged, mountainous nature and from the savage character of its inhabitants, who have already murdered missionaries seeking to penetrate the country. The tribes are under the influence of the exclusive Thibetan government, and it was from this cause that Mr. Cooper was obliged to turn back in 1870.* Then there seems to be no way amid the rocky precipices and narrow chasms of this region practicable for any but an expert mountaineer. "There is little hope," says Mr. Hunter in the "Gazetteer of India," "of a trade route in this direction between India and China." The same authority also makes it to appear a matter of great difficulty to lay down any substantial road in the valley of the Brahmaputra, where it is affected by the periodical inundation from the river, though in a small triangular space of the upper valley a railway has been lately constructed between Talup, opposite Sudiya, Makum, at the foot of the Patkoi range, and Dibrugarh, head of navigation on the river; and to the latter place, also, eight hundred miles from the sea, steam navigation is profitably carried through a country fertilized by the inundation. It is, moreover, to be considered, concerning such a route, that if the tract intervening between Sudiya and the Chinese frontier were passable, there remains a lengthy journey of at least twenty days through a country of rugged mountains before the basin of east Sze-Chuen is reached, and there the established trade outlet is by the Yang-tse to Shanghai. Baron Richtoven, who, from his extensive journeys and scientific observations in China, has produced by far the most thorough work we have on the physical features of the

* "The Mishmee Hills." An Account of a Journey made in an Attempt to Penetrate Thibet from Assam and Open New Routes for Commerce. By T. T. Cooper, F.R.G.S., Acting Political Agent at Bhamo. 12mo. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1873.

More friendly relations were established with Thibet last November, with some prospect of a free access for Indian traders to that country.

country,* points out elsewhere† that none of the English projects for railroad communication direct between India and China can afford any such success as has been imagined on account of the distance they must traverse before the really productive territory of China would be reached, and the vast engineering difficulties of the way. "The nearest town," he says, "situated in the plain of China, is I-chang-fu, on the Yang-tse, and the distance between that point and either Sudiya or Bhamo is as great as that from Berlin to Constantinople, while the intervening country is so mountainous that half a dozen St. Gothard tunnels would have to be pierced, to say nothing of other physical difficulties." He affirms that the great open way, starting from Signan-fu, in the province of Shen-Si, out through Kansuh into Central Asia, which has been for centuries considered by the Chinese emperors a channel of access and egress of the highest military importance, and on which wagons are now easily used, is the one profitable way of railroad intercourse between the fertile sections of China and other Asiatic countries. A good portion of the region is productive, and it abounds in deposits of coal. We have no space for quotation, but suggest that a perusal of the article referred to, which in a rather negative way illustrates our theme, would well repay the reader. A railroad in that direction, however, if other than Chinese, must be a Russian one. When China gets ready for the great modern instrument of inland commerce and civilization, England, if true to her former history, will not be deterred by any thing but a physical impossibility from pushing in on her side.

From this digression we return to Burmah. We are not concerned with the railroad schemes proposing to connect that country with India, and thus divert to Calcutta the trade which now goes to Rangoon by the Irrawaddy. We have in view the connection of Burmah with China; and here take notice of the attention which the English have given to the old historical trade route with China having its terminus at Bhamo. This

* "China: Ergebnisse Eigener Reissen und darauf gegründeten Studien." Von Ferdinand Freiherr von Richtoven. 3 vols., 4to. Berlin: Verlag von Diedrich Reimer. 1877–1883.

† Markham's "Geographical Magazine," July, 1874, article, "Land Communication between Europe and China."

town of native Burmah is situated on the Irrawaddy, some 800 miles from the sea, where the river has a breadth of one mile and a half, and is navigable for steamers, which it is thought might go 150 miles farther. Bhamo, according to a description of ten years ago, is a narrow town, about one mile in length, of 500 houses with 2,500 inhabitants, who, except the Chinese merchants, are Burmese Shans. The merchants are connected with those of the same nationality in the hill-towns of Yunnan. They control the cotton market, and sell also Chinese yarns, silk and silk fabrics, tea, opium, Yunnan potatoes, some metals, drugs, and fruits brought from and through Yunnan. The caravans take in return into China raw cotton, ivory, and wax, rhinoceros' and deers' horns, peacocks' feathers, precious stones, Manchester goods, and a few other small foreign articles. A stockade then surrounded the town as a defense against the incursions of the Kakhyens.* This semi-savage race, though largely spread over the plain, inhabit the hills some twenty-five miles to the east, 5,000 to 6,000 feet in height, which form the border of Yunnan. The Shwaylee River separates these hills from another range eastward, and flows into the Irrawaddy about forty miles in a direct line south of Bhamo, offering, it has been said, a way into Yunnan more capable of improvement and development than any other in these parts. The Taping, flowing down from the Kakhyen hills, enters the Irrawaddy a mile above Bhamo, and the paths followed by traders lead on both sides of it. There is a way of trade with Yunnan by Theince, on the more easterly range of mountains, but in point of facility the Bhamo route seems to have been for centuries regarded as superior. We have itineraries of Burmese embassies to Peking by this route, the distance being given at 1,745 miles, accomplished in 121 days. The English took an early interest in this trade route. With the Dutch, they had a factory at old Bhamo (some distance from the present town up the Taping) as early as 1658, and still earlier, establishments at Prome and

* In the prevailing disturbed state of the country Bhamo was assaulted and captured by a body of Chinese and Kakhyens on December 8, 1884, the English (China Inland) and American (Baptist) missionaries barely escaping with their lives, and so far as appears at the present writing, it is still held by them. The political future of Upper Burmah is uncertain, but it is hardly probable that the course of trade will be long interrupted. The intervention of British power in those parts seems called for in the interest of humanity.

Ava, being driven out by the wars between Burmah and China. Political circumstances have favored or restricted intercourse. In 1854, before the outbreak of the Mohammedan rebellion in Yunnan, the trade of Bhamo amounted to half a million sterling. The British obtained, in the treaty of 1862 with the native Burmese government, a provision that trade in and through Upper Burmah should be freely thrown open to British enterprise, and direct trade with China be relieved of burdensome duties. As the first political step toward securing the advantages of this treaty, at the instance of Gen. Albert Fytche, then Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, the expedition of 1868, under Major E. B. Sladen, a very judicious officer, was fitted out with due escort, to journey from Bhamo into Yunnan and discover the cause of the cessation of trade, the disposition of the Panthays (or Mohammedans), the Shans, and the Kakhyens towards commercial intercourse, and to report on the resources and character of the country. Dr. Anderson, professor in the Medical College of Calcutta was the scientific officer of the expedition, of which he has published a full account.* Though favorably received by the Mohammedan population, they penetrated no farther than to Momien, a Chinese town at 5,000 feet elevation and 135 miles from Bhamo, being, on account of the opposition of the Chinese and the generally disturbed state of the country, obliged to return. In 1874, the rebellion having been generally subdued, another expedition under Col. Horace Browne was sent forward. Dr. Anderson held the same position as before, and records the result in a second volume.† To make it plain to the mandarins that these Englishmen were of the same nation and interest as those of the eastern ports, and to provide an interpreter, Augustus R. Margary, the young and talented consul at Shanghai, was commissioned to proceed west and join the company.‡ He reached Bhamo before the

* "Report on the Expedition to Yunnan via Bhamo." By John Anderson, M.D., Medical Officer and Naturalist to the Expedition. 8vo. Calcutta: Office Superintendent of Government Printing. 1871.

† "Mandalay to Momien." A Narrative of the Two Expeditions to Western China of 1868 and 1875 under Cols. E. B. Sladen and Horace Browne. With Maps and Illustrations. By John Anderson, M.D., Curator of the Imperial Museum, etc. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

‡ "The Journey of Augustus Raymond Margary from Shanghai to Bhamo and back to Manwyne." From his Journals and Letters, with a brief Biographical

expedition set out, which it did February 5, 1875. But the Chinese were jealous, owing to different causes, and gave token of hostile feeling. It was probably by one of the wild bands under Li-sieh-tai (or "Brigadier" Li), a rebel chief pardoned and intrusted with military command, that Margary was murdered, February 21, at Manwyne, whither he had gone forward to negotiate. The whole party was attacked, and returned to Burmah.

At Peking, Sir Thomas Wade, the British minister, demanded an investigation and passports for a new mission, which was accordingly dispatched from Hankow, March 5, 1875, under Hon. T. G. Grosvenor. Mr. E. Colborne Baber, a member of the party and an observer of recognized ability, has made a particular report of that portion of the route in Yunnan, through Yunnan-fu, Tali-fu, and Momien to Bhamo, which had not been previously detailed.* This investigation, which fixed the probability of guilt upon the Chinese authorities of the province, resulted in the convention of 1876, according to which, with an indemnity and other concessions, a proclamation was to be posted in all the towns and cities of the empire placing foreign travelers under the protection of the emperor. Capt. Gill, who traveled in Yunnan in 1879,† found this proclamation, or convention, effectual. He says: "On the whole, there can be no doubt that the central government of Peking wields a potent sway even in these distant provinces. It is due to the Che-foo Convention, to Sir Thomas Wade's administration, that Englishmen may travel with comfort throughout this vast empire."

Preface, to which is added a concluding chapter by Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B. Portrait and Route Map. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

* See "Travels and Researches in Western China." By E. Colborne Baber. From Supplementary Papers of the Royal Geographical Society. 8vo. London: John Murray, 1882. The paper referred to is No. III: also issued separately as Parliamentary Blue Book, China No. 3 (1878).

† "The River of Golden Sand." The narrative of a Journey through China and Eastern Thibet to Burmah, with Illustrations and Ten Maps from the Original Survey. By Capt. William Gill, Royal Engineer: with an Introductory Essay by Col. Henry Yule, C.B.R.E. Two vols., 8vo. London: John Murray, 1880.

Art. V.—THE LAST TESTIMONY TO THE ATONEMENT.

If we glance rapidly through the five chapters of St. John's first epistle, in which, probably, we have the final document of revelation, we find that in each of the first two and the last two there is a distinct statement or definition of the atoning work, while in the middle one there are three. Thus there are seven clear testimonies, independent and emphatic: a larger number, it need hardly be said, than can be found anywhere else within the same space, and running through the whole as its "bond of perfectness." Then it will not require any artifice or pressure to make these manifold testimonies deliver one evidence to one truth; in other words, to show that the epistle is a prism which gives all the several colors that make up the one uncolored light of our redemption. On the other hand, it will not be a difficult task to show that each one of these testimonies is really distinct from every other; and not only so, but distinct from all others in the Scripture: in fact, that we have here seven absolutely unique presentations of the doctrine, which is, notwithstanding, the very "same that we had from the beginning." Again, it will appear that, while some of the current definitions and illustrations of the atonement are absent so far as concerns the word and expression, not one is really unrepresented in deed and in truth. And, finally, it will not escape notice that the several testimonies which the last apostle lays down have more or less the nature of apologetic protests, providing against errors already commencing and certain in future times more distinctly to appear. All these several points of interest we must try to keep in view while discussing the series of passages in their order.

I. The first allusion enters as soon as it possibly could. After St. John has paid his tribute to the great manifestation of the personal Word he introduces the substance of the evangelical record, that Christians have fellowship in the light of God. This is the positive side of their high privilege; but it demands the negative: "the blood of Jesus his Son cleanseth from all sin." We need not pause to consider more carefully the connection between the two: suffice that they are counterparts, and teach when united that whatever impurity or stain the

light of the divine holiness detects is unseen by the Judge, because it is cleansed away by the virtue of the Redeemer's blood. But, strictly speaking, there is no question here of "the Judge:" the sin for which the atoning sacrifice provides is viewed not as transgression but as defilement; and the virtue of which we speak is the removal of the pollution that disqualifies for the presence of God in his temple. Here, then, we have, as it were, a definition of the atonement: it is that quality in the blood of Jesus the Son of God which annuls, negatives, cleanses, or covers the pollution of sin. But the sentence, as we read it, stands alone in the New Testament, and our only concern at present is with the fact of its uniqueness.

The peculiarity of the phrase is not precisely its allusion to the cleansing efficacy of Christ's blood: as to this there are some few parallels more or less complete. For instance, in the Epistle to the Hebrews we read of the blood of Christ as cleansing our conscience from dead works, and as being the blood of sprinkling; and of our Saviour as having made purification of our sins. So in St. Peter's first epistle, and elsewhere, the "precious blood" is the price of our redemption. But there is such a fullness and emphasis in the sentence before us as cannot be found elsewhere. We are so familiar with this wonderful saying that we are apt to forget how wonderful it is. Comparing it, however, with other testimonies that had gone before, we mark at once its high singularity of meaning. The blood is here for the first time the blood of Jesus the Son of God: "of Jesus," the human name which occurs prominently throughout the epistle; and of "the Son," which occurs with equal prominence; and of both, here alone united, as giving the final testimony of Scripture to the divine-human value of the sacrifice offered for our sins. We have the same declaration in an indirect form in other places: for instance, where St. Paul speaks of "the Church of God, which He purchased with his own blood." But now it comes out expressly, finally, and conclusively; the last testimony to the true standard of the value of the blood. Whatever is elsewhere said of its goodly price, of its heavenly virtue, of its infinite power in heaven, and, therefore, on earth, finds its reason here. "Jesus" furnished the blood which carried with it the pouring out and offering to God a perfect human life; but it was the blood of

the "Son" of the Father which he himself offered, and which it is superfluous, therefore, to qualify with any epithet indicative of value. Almost always, until now, something had been added to betoken the superiority of this blood; but now the final testimony renders any commendation needless. It is "the blood of Jesus his Son."

Final testimony it is and it is not. In fact, we shall see that our epistle is rounded with one witness, which begins and ends with "blood." And this suggests at once how utterly wrong they are who strive to diminish the reality, the theological and practical reality, of the blood of our Incarnate Sacrifice. It is sometimes said that the sacrificial language of the old economy enters the New Testament only as figure and for a transitional purpose; that the speech of the Gospel bewrays that it came up out of the ancient temple, and could not easily shake off the Levitical phraseology; and finally, that all our notions of the atonement must be rid of these ancient incumbrances and brought up to the standard of a "living sacrifice," as presented by our Representative and Pattern and reflected in ourselves. Now if that were true, we should certainly find that the language of the New Testament would gradually refine away these allusions—that its current would run clearer and clearer until all this sediment had fallen out of sight. But the passage we consider is in evidence to the contrary. Indeed it is only the consummation and finish of a series of evidences to the contrary. The Levitical language is more distinct and real at the end of the gospels than at the beginning, at the end of the Acts than at the beginning. St. Paul, certainly, as he writes on and on, does not forsake the altar and its terminology; nor are his writings less sprinkled with the sacred blood at the end than at the beginning. And here comes St. John, the most spiritual, contemplative, and mystical of all the writers—so far as such language is permissible—and at the very close of revelation, opens and finishes his last document by a most realistic allusion to the blood of the sacrificial atonement. St. John, at least, gives no sanction to the idea of a Gospel so "spiritual" as to need no support of a veritable oblation on the cross. He does not, indeed, mention the cross; though, as we shall see hereafter, he introduces it without the word and in the most impressive manner. But his epistle is proof that the evan-

gelical system has not developed itself clear of the oblation for human sin, and has not refined itself out of the elements of divine wrath and its propitiation. To any one who has been fascinated by the modern theory, and has come almost insensibly to believe that the entire vocabulary of atonement served only to express the shadows of a better dispensation in which there is at last remission without shedding of blood, the language of the last evangelist at the opening of his last transcendent treatise must communicate—at any rate it ought to communicate—something like a shock. The transition from the awful light in which God is and in which Christians WALK, to the "blood of Jesus his Son" cleansing from all sin, must be startling to him. To us it is the sublime simplicity of the Gospel.

And as the blood is here the veritable sacrifice of the Incarnate Son, so its efficacy is here the entire annulling and covering of sin, viewed in its relation to the altar. It is said "to cleanse from all sin;" and the question may arise whether St. John means more by cleansing than the word generally imports. Some expositors have lately striven to press the word into another service. The blood is said to retain its life, which is presented to God in sprinkling or received into the very nature of the believer. There is, doubtless, something extremely attractive in the sacramental idea of an infusion of our Lord's life into our souls through the medium of his blood. Moreover, it seems to have its sanction in the words, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." But we can only reply that, whatever may be said of the sacred blood elsewhere, it is here the vehicle of atonement. The cleansing has its meaning fixed by long usage, and that meaning finds its best expression in the words which open the Epistle to the Hebrews, "When he had made purification" or cleansing of our "sins." But we shall return to this at the end. Meanwhile, it is enough to point out that the verses which follow really settle the question as to what cleansing by blood means. The same word is used to express the act of God's faithfulness and righteousness in forgiving our sins and cleansing from iniquity. Surely the word does not so entirely change its application within the compass of a few sentences.

II. The apostle soon returns to the atonement; and in a passage which still more emphatically than the former stands alone. Every word, and every phase of thought in the sentence that now follows, is without strict parallel in the New Testament. "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the whole world." Let it be observed that Jesus is himself the propitiation; that his atonement is carried into heaven as the basis of an intercession for his own; and that this intercession for his own is in harmony with a general propitiation for the world.

With regard to the first point, it is remarkable that here only in the New Testament is the word *ἱλασμός*, "propitiation," used, and used in such a way as to suggest a silent contrast with the "blood" which opened the series. The word strictly means that quality or virtue in the sacrifice which propitiates God and expiates or annuls sin: one and the same word in Hebrew and Greek bearing these two meanings in Latin and English. Having spoken of the blood which was shed on earth for the cleansing away or expiating of sin, the apostle makes a sudden change to the same Jesus, "himself the propitiation." Let the reader, with this thought in his mind, read the passage carefully, and the writer's meaning will seize him at once. That which gives heavenly and irresistible virtue to the sacrifice is not the blood, nor the life which flows with the blood, but the very Self of the Offerer. "He is the propitiation," embodied and always effectual, "in the presence of God for us." It is easy to see the link between this and "the blood of Jesus his Son." The propitiation was certainly in the blood; but the blood has not entered heaven, however nearly the Epistle to the Hebrews may approach that thought. The atonement is transferred to the holiest, and gives its virtue there to the intercession of the Representative of his Church. He is not only "Jesus Christ, righteous," as the Paraclete of his people who may sin, but the strength of his intercession is that of the Son of God. "He is the propitiation" as the Son: so St. John emphatically tells us when he repeats this word in the fourth chapter, as we shall see. And we do not catch the spirit of the writer, nor perfectly enter into his

mind, unless we perceive the enthusiasm with which he proclaims that Christian sinners have an infinite plea. He is, in his divine-human perfection, the propitiation for them.

But, on the other hand, St. John would teach us that, even in heaven, there is propitiation needed. Though he does not expressly say this, it is undoubtedly what he intends to convey, and the very conjunction of the two ideas, "propitiation" and "in heaven," is deeply suggestive. The word must keep its meaning. Christians who sin against God are said to have the benefit applied to them, but the benefit is intended for the whole world. Let the two be considered for a little, individually and apart.

To take the latter first, the world has the virtue of the Saviour's presence as the propitiation. His person interposes between the divine displeasure and it; that is, between God and the world, or race, as such; as it is not said, "for the sins of the whole world," but "for the whole world," with a certain difference distinct enough to the trained ear. The apostle Paul would say that God is reconciled to the world, or that the world is redeemed. St. John does not use these words at all; but he means the same thing put into levitical language when he says that touching the whole world, Christ is a standing propitiation. And it will be manifest to every one how entirely new is the idea, or at any rate the expression of it. It is St. John who makes most prominent the universality of the benefit of Christ's intervention, but he nowhere more distinctly asserts it than here, where it comes in as it were by express deliberation and with an emphatic *nota bene*. The fact that, in this very epistle, the world is so sharply shut out of the domain of light, makes this all the more remarkable. At the close, "the world lieth in the wicked one:" here it seems to be in the Redeemer's arms, or in some sense under his shadow and protection.

For the offending Christians individually the propitiation avails, but in connection with a special advocacy. And each side of the statement defends us against its appropriate error. In saying that the Christian who may fall into sin has in reserve a propitiation which avails for him with God, the apostle answers effectually and finally a most important question: that, namely, as to the virtue of the atonement for sins committed

after the first benefit of that atonement had been received, or, to put it more exactly, for sins after regeneration. In the previous chapter he had been speaking at large of the efficacy of the blood of Jesus the Son of God, not so much for the cleansing of the sins of the regenerate as for the cleansing of all sin generally. If we examine carefully, we see that St. John divides men into two classes: on the one side those who walk in darkness and say that they have no sin, or that they have never sinned; on the other, those who come to the light and confess their sins. The universal atonement avails for these latter, who have their sins remitted as to their penalty, and cleansed as to their pollution. After that, the exhortation and Christian order is, "that ye sin not." But the troubled and sensitive conscience of the believer, who nevertheless has fallen, may only too well remember the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews as to no more sacrifice for sin remaining. His fear may misinterpret that, as we know that it has been so misinterpreted from the beginning: witness the whole economy of the added sacrament of penance. Now here is the last word of Scripture, and its great encouragement for the transgressor within the covenant. With the Father he has an advocate who is himself a propitiation for the sins of his people; and there is no limitation. We cannot help thinking of that remarkable sentence which runs thus in the Septuagint: *παρὰ Σοὶ ὁ ἱλασμός ἐστιν*, "there is propitiation with Thee." But we must add, from another psalm, "that Thou mayest be feared;" for if the word contains unlimited encouragement on the one hand, on the other it administers its caution. The apostle says that sinning Christians "have an Advocate," and that comes in before the "propitiation." He pleads for them though they have dishonored his atonement. Their case becomes as it were a special one; they must go to their great Confessor in heaven for absolution. If he pleads for them when they call him in as a Paraclete, they will find forgiveness, for he is himself an unfailing propitiation. Thus this double lesson is the second of our last series of witnesses to the doctrine of our redemption.

III. The strength and comfort of this testimony runs through a long chapter. But with a new topic the apostle finds his way to the atonement from another point of view,

approaching the altar from another side. "And ye know that he was manifested to take away our sins, and in him is no sin." Of all the seven this one is in some respects the most striking. But of all the seven it is introduced with the least formality. The theme has been the second manifestation of the Lord our Hope, and the necessity that all who would see him as he is should be found like him when he is manifested: "pure even as he is pure," and "righteous even as he is righteous." With what inexpressible grace does the writer interject for his readers, as it were appealing incidentally to their knowledge of what he and they would alike take for granted as a well-understood axiom of the economy of the Gospel, that there was a first manifestation before that second one, and that the design of the earlier manifestation was to make provision for all that the latter would require. The grandest of all the testimonies enters in the most artless and simple manner. And like all the others it is without a parallel. It is so because it connects as no other does the general manifestation of the Son of God with his atonement; but this will be referred to again in the next testimony. Meanwhile, we have here two points of distinctness and peculiarity: the "taking away of our sins" by Him in whom "is no sin."

It will be suggested at once that the passage is simply an echo of the words of the Baptist in the first chapter of St. John's gospel. Certainly the evangelist goes back to his own record of the earliest of all New Testament testimonies to the atonement, given when Jesus was "manifested" to Israel for the world. But he by no means echoes the Baptist: the two testimonies are not the same. They seem to unite in one word, "taketh away," which occurs in an expiatory meaning, and as a definition of the atonement, only in those two places: the two Johns lifting up the same standard, one at the beginning and the other at the end of New Testament revelation. The word is found many times between these, notably with reference to "taking up" the cross; but with reference to what was borne up and borne away on the cross itself it occurs only in these. But with a difference; rather with sundry differences. Here in our epistle "the Lamb of God" is wanting, "the world" is wanting: it is the combination of these, the lamb for the Jewish offering, but offered for the world's sin, that impresses such

sublimity on the Baptist's word; but our epistle is in no need of this striking witness. Besides, it is precisely "our sins" that the passage emphasizes: at any rate, even if we have to give up under critical pressure the "our," it is not the "sin" of the whole race, but individual "sins" that the Saviour appeared to "take away."

And what is the peculiarity of the word here? It is no other than this, that of its two meanings that one preponderates which includes the entire removal of sin from our nature. The word *αἴρειν* has a very special force in the New Testament exhibition of the atonement. It answers in St. John to several other words, such as "put away," "annul," which combine the two ideas of bearing and taking "away:" the former noting the bearing as by one upon whom our iniquities are laid, and the latter the taking away as by one whose indwelling by the Spirit entirely removes them; the former represented by the goat whose blood was carried for expiation into the sanctuary, and the latter by the goat which carried away the same tale of sins into the land of forgetfulness. Now when John the Baptist announced the Lamb of God who "taketh away the sin of the world," the translation should be "beareth," for the Redeemer bears rather than bears away universal sin. And when John the evangelist says that he was manifested "to take away our sins," the translation is right, for the Redeemer bears away rather than bears our individual sins. Our Revised Version gives in both cases "beareth" as the marginal alternative, without attending to this distinction.

But the relation of the words "in him is no sin" to this atonement passage sets on it the seal of perfection. For it cannot be doubted that there is a connection between the two clauses: what precise connection, the intermediate "and" leaves very much to the decision of our theology or of our hearts. Now if we assume that the *ἁρῃ* bears its double meaning, though with a leaning to "take away," then this additional clause may with St. John's consent be referred to either and both, though with a leaning to the latter. He who bears on himself the iniquities of us all must have no iniquities of his own: that is a fundamental postulate of the Gospel, and requires a much more absolute doctrine of the necessary (as well as the real) sinlessness of the incarnate Son of God than current

views adopt. St. John's brief and emphatic sentence seems to give the very last and determinate expression to the truth that the Son of God knew no sin in his "manifestation" in the flesh any more than he could know in his pre-human estate: "in him is no sin." St. Paul's formula is, He became or was made "sin for us who knew no sin:" when he felt our sin laid upon him, he owned or recognized or knew it not as his own. "He [Satan] hath nothing in me," said our Representative himself as he arose to "bear our sins to the tree." St. John's testimony is to the rightly hearing ear an end of all controversy. But the words refer with equal directness to the other meaning: he who bears away our sins makes himself the standard of our future perfection, and makes us partakers of his own sinlessness. Then here we have, as it were, a new definition of the atonement. It is a provision to make the great exchange perfect on both sides: the Saviour takes up our sin, bearing it to the cross; and we, united to him, must become as free from sin as he is himself free. One side of the definition must not be taken without the other. Whenever it takes place, whether in the other world, or at death, or during the probation of life, the entire deliverance of the believer from his sin belongs to the very statement of the doctrine of atonement. There ought to be no question as to the "when." St. John at least leaves no ground for doubt. He analyzes for us the sinlessness of our Pattern: on the one hand, and negatively, "He is pure;" on the other hand, and positively, "He is righteous." But he does not say this for the Lord's dignity, but "for our sake;" we are to become pure "as he is pure," and to become righteous "as he is righteous."

IV. The transition to the next allusion is a very remarkable one. Suddenly the apostle passes from the sin in man which needed atonement to the hand of Satan in that sin, and the kingdom of evil that he has founded upon it. There can be no doubt that the destruction here spoken of has still reference to the atonement: to the atonement, that is, in its effects. This is evident from the repetition of the word "manifested," which only introduces another aspect of the same work that had just been dwelt upon. St. John retains his Hebrew style of repeating the thought with certain changes. Here the change is deeply significant. Before, it was "He who manifested;"

Ἐκεῖνος, that well-known and Only Person, who stands for the unnamed Lord so often in the epistle. Now "the Son of God" is introduced most solemnly, and for the first time, as the antagonist of the prince of this world. But not as his antagonist generally, and in all his ways and works as the promoter of evil in the universe; only in relation to the sin of the world, and the deliverance of his people from it. We must remember that the "manifestation" is already defined, and limited to the earthly sphere of our Saviour's work; it is distinguished from the manifestation of the future parousia (chap. ii, 28), and finds its term of necessity in the death of redemption. This being so, we have once more a unique and distinct view of the atonement. In what sense, we may briefly make the subject of an investigation; which, however, must not include the whole teaching of the New Testament as to the relation the devil bears to the atonement. That relation is variously stated; from our Lord's own allusion to the prince of this world being cast out down to the words we now consider. It is enough for us to mark what gives this text its peculiarity. And that will best be seen by regarding it as a protest against two opposite errors.

We observe here, and afterward in the epistle, the distinct traces of a personal spirit of evil, who is and has always been (from the beginning) the head and representative of sin among men. And in this passage the taking away of sin from us is closely connected with the dissolution of the power of that being in us and over us. The Son of God came "for this purpose, that" he might accomplish such a dissolution. What makes the allusion much more emphatic is, that the whole history of sin among men and in the world is regarded as one great system which the devil has been uprearing from the beginning; and which even the Son of God, appearing manifest on the scene, could not overturn without an atoning death. There is nowhere outside the Apocalypse so full and explicit a statement of the relation of the death of Christ to the empire of evil. Elsewhere we have the idea of a redemption from the power of darkness and a rescue from the power of Satan. Here the thought is more emphatic: the λύειν of our deliverance became the λύειν of the enemy's dissolution. Then the New Testament ends with a clear testimony to the personality

of Satan as the head of the confederacy of evil, and to the mysterious overthrow of (by) the cross which "cast him out" and made the Incarnate Son of God "the Prince of this world" in his stead. This is an aspect of the atoning work which in some modern theology is summarily dispatched or resolved into the lingering echoes of ancient superstition. The representatives of this more enlightened theology make their sport of the personal Satan in the wilderness and at the cross. They point to the fact that, for many hundreds of years after the departure of the apostles, the true doctrine of the atonement was much darkened by the notion that the price was paid to the devil, as in a certain sense the immemorial lord of the world. We are quite ready to acknowledge and mourn over that perversion. But still the fact remains that among the last testimonies of the apostle who wrote the "spiritual gospel" is one that assigns to Satan his clear and distinct place, as in some most important sense the representative of human sin and the power from which our Saviour died to set us free.

It is very easy, however, to go to the other extreme and over-estimate this witness. We must be on our guard against pressing the interpretation of "destroy" too far. Destruction, in the sense of annihilation and utter abolition, is not in the word; indeed, it is not in any of the words that are used to signify the suppression of evil and of the father of it. It is not said that the purpose of the Son of God was to destroy Satan, or to remove every trace of the effects of sin from the universe. That is a consummation which is not opened up in any prophetic vista: that prediction is not to be found in the opened or the sealed roll. It is said that the Stronger than he will bind Satan and unloose his plans—if we may thus attempt to indicate the literal play on the words. There will be a dissolution, a breaking up, a subversion of his scheme, and a collapse of his empire. As an organized opposition to the Redeemer's sway it will be dissolved like a baseless fabric: though the poet's words can be no further quoted, all authority and power shall be put down; there shall be no open and avowed opposition to the divine will; evil shall be "silent in darkness;" and a second time shall Satan be bound, now not for a thousand years, but forever. And all this shall be the result of that atoning death which gave the Incarnate

Son of God the rightful authority over the race redeemed by him.

This remarkable testimony, however, must not be left thus. What after all stamps it with most importance is the confirmation it gives to the doctrine of the testimony preceding, that through the atonement all personal sin is to be taken away. The whole of the context is governed by that thought. Though the suppression of Satan's work in the world is included, certainly the neutralizing of his works within the believer's soul is not excluded. Here is the pendant and counterpart of that other witness. If the sins are our own, they are taken away from us by the power of Christ's redemption. If they are the works of Satan, the things in our heart and life of which it may be said that "an enemy hath done this," then they are to be brought to naught by the entrance of the Stronger than he. St. John does not go into the detail. He leaves the matter in its broad generality. He says nothing about internal redemption: he does not anywhere mention the word "redemption;" but he certainly purposes to convey the inspiriting truth that those who are born of God may be delivered from every trace of the work of Satan within them. Let any one read the whole with this idea in his mind. "He was manifested to take away our sins; and in him is no sin:" what is that but an assurance that those who rely on the value of the atonement may, and must, share their Saviour's freedom from sin? "He was manifested to destroy the works of the devil:" what is that but an assurance that all which is "of the devil" we may expect to have removed from our regenerate souls, now become the temple of the indwelling Christ? All this belongs to this fourth aspect of the atonement.

V. The fifth takes us to an altogether different view of the great sacrifice; that, namely, which regards it as the supreme example and pattern of self-sacrificing devotion to the good of others. The words are: "Hereby know we love, because he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." The whole sentence must be quoted; for the latter part of it materially affects the definition, limiting the intervention of our Saviour, in this passage at least, to that general self-suppression, self-surrender, and self-devotion, even unto death, which his servants are permitted, and indeed called

upon, to imitate. It is the passage as a whole that we take into account when we add this also to the unique testimonies to the atonement. The strong expression itself is St. John's own; rather, it is the Lord's, as his words are treasured by St. John. Only in his gospel and in the present quotation—for such we may call it—does the phrase occur. It was one of the Saviour's phrases, which he made and sanctified and sent into the world for our use; one whereby he signified that quality in his redeeming work which his people may share with him. About the same time that he first used it, he used another of a much deeper force: "the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." We see which of these Simon Peter ventured to copy: having heard both, he cried, "I am ready to lay down my life for thy sake." The apostle hardly knew then what he said; his generous word was like his noble act of throwing himself into the water; but at least it showed that he rightly understood his Master's meaning. And when his Master quoted back to him his own words, "Wilt thou lay down thy life for my sake?" and further prophesied that, as the opposite of those words, he would "deny him thrice," we are confirmed in our judgment that the love which lays down life for others is what our Lord meant in the gospel and the evangelist means in the epistle.

Here, then, we have the apostle's sanction of the theory or explanation of the atoning intervention of the Incarnate Son that makes it the sublime exhibition of a perfect self-sacrifice for the benefit of the human race, the virtue of which lies in its power to evoke imitation in us. The theory takes many forms; and there is hardly one of them which has not its measure of truth. In the presence of a passage like this we must admit that the atonement was a perfect surrender and oblation of the human self to God; a perfect example of the exact opposite of the sin and selfishness of mankind; and, it may be added, a sublime reproof of human selfish separation from God; and, finally, even such a restitution on behalf of mankind as might be held in the estimate of Heaven to be a compensation or atonement for those who make it their own by copying it. All this, and more than this, might be drawn from the passage in favor of the view that reduces the virtue of the atonement to its

sublime moral influence. And if these words stood alone, or if they were inserted as the corrective of other words which were liable to be misunderstood, we should have to accept the beautiful theory.

But the text does not stand alone. It must not be taken out of its connection, as the very form of the sentence shows. For here we have another instance of that remarkable Ἐκεῖνος which is one of the characteristics of the epistle; and it cannot but mean, here at least, to refer back to that well-known Person who had been already referred to as the propitiation for the sins of men. Indeed, nearer than that, "the Son of God" claims to be the antecedent of this "He." Collating this with the other references we see that He who "laid down" life is the same who "lifted up" our sins; it is hardly possible to avoid noting the correlation between the *θεῖναι* and the *αἴρειν*. And what is said of this may be said of all the other passages which extol the example of the cross. They either state expressly, or they necessarily imply, that there is something behind infinitely deeper than the example. Moreover, they all teach that the example of self-sacrifice in Christ is related to the imitation of it as God is related to man. Take, for instance, the great passage on this subject in the Philippians, which is the closest of all parallels to our own. There St. Paul says, in the simplest manner possible, "Let that mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus." But there is a large interval between the "self-emptying" of the Son of God and the self-devotion of his imitating servants. So here: the old reading, with which we are familiar, is, "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us." If we must give up the words "of God," we have them presently afterward; and there can be no doubt that the strength of the argument lies there. "We love because he first loved us," is the heart of the epistle. But the love is not human love exhibited even by a divine-human person. To insist upon that is the great mistake of much modern theology. The love shown in our redemption is, as we now go on to see, the love that provided propitiation in the person of the Son of God and in his passion and death. Having accomplished that —but not until then—it is also our pattern.

We shall now pass on to that next exhibition. But before doing so must add a final word as to that which, after all, is the

specific peculiarity of our passage: that the love of Christ in the atonement must, if received into our hearts, produce in us the same kind of self-sacrificing love which he himself displayed. It is not only that we "ought," as a matter of propriety and decency: it is much more than that. "How dwelleth the love of God in him!" is not simply a rhetorical appeal. The benefit of the love of God in our redemption is not indeed conditioned by our loving him; but it necessarily produces fellowship with itself. All that St. Paul is in the habit of saying about our union with Christ in his sufferings and passion is here said by St. John in another way. We have the mind of Christ's atoning love also in us. We cannot have his love shed abroad in our hearts in its benefit only; we must have its very self, according to our degree. And this is part of the doctrine of the atonement.

VI. The largest and most comprehensive of our testimonies is now before us. And we shall find that, like the others, it introduces the great subject under a new aspect. Not that the words are new. The apostle conducts his discussion or meditation by repeating the same idea under different forms. With respect to our theme the blood is introduced twice, the propitiation twice, the Son of God twice, the manifestation twice, the love of God twice. Love has the pre-eminence here as every-where, and it rules the whole passage we now consider with an absolute sway. Yet not absolute; for here is precisely the specific and distinctive point in this passage that love presides over the mission of the Redeemer, providing for us a divine life which itself requires and presupposes a propitiation. For simplicity, and leaving the "life" for our last example, let us consider this as the final testimony of revelation to the supremacy of love in the atonement.

And first, the nature of God is manifested as love in the atonement. "God is love. Herein was the love of God manifested in us, that God hath sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him." That here, for the first time in Scripture, God is said to be love, must needs awaken our keen attention. That love is an attribute of God, and as it were the bond of his perfections, has been said many times. It is more or less the melody of all revelation. But until now the highest note on the subject has been: "God so

loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life." Now this last testimony exactly joins on to that supreme one, and perfectly illustrates it. In no other sense is the nature of God love than in the intercommunion of the holy Persons of the Trinity. The manifestation of love in the mission of the Son rests upon this: that the Son is the object of the eternal love of the Father, and is given to us to be our life. We note that "the God" changes into "the Father" before the subject closes, as if it were an unconscious improvement or epexegesis of his own words. The truth appears in all its force if we combine two sayings: "Thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world;" "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son." But of this we cannot "speak particularly;" suffice that whatever attributes are displayed in the atonement, the atonement is the gift of what is immeasurably more than an attribute, the only-begotten Son of God himself.

But we cannot omit the attribute. "Not that we loved him, but that he loved us, and sent his Son:" where the emphasis lies on the origination of the purpose of God in love. Love in all things has the pre-eminence, and here pre-eminently. We cannot conceive a more express and formal statement on the subject than that which thus closes the New Testament. It seems like a final declaration, the force of which is to be thrown back on all that preceded, not only in the New Testament, but also in the Old. It might occasionally seem as if there were in the divine mind itself a reconciliation and harmonizing of the attributes; as if the holiness which guards the divine nature would not suffer the love to go forth without first being satisfied. Those who hold that the atonement—or reconciliation—was first pre-eminently, and in a certain sense only, in God, have very much in their favor. The entire family of καταλλαγή and λύτρον terms—none of which does St. John use—look that way, and it is well known that this idea in many forms, and with many modifications and alleviations, appears largely in systematic theology. But St. John in this last testimony throws around the doctrine an effectual defense. And it is a defense which had never been so effectually thrown around it before; for this is the striking peculiarity here, that

St. John links together the love and the propitiation. Herein is the supremacy of love, that God sent his Son, the ἱλασμός. The very propitiation itself that holiness requires love provided and sent. This is more than saying that "God so loved the world as to send his Son," that "God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us;" more because the very essence of the propitiation — that which brings God near by hiding sin, or by bringing God near hides the sin—is sent by the love of God, is indeed the very love of God in the person of his Son. Nothing in St. Paul's doctrine of "redemption" is given up; the price which our salvation cost was exacted and paid down. Though St. John does not use such terms, their full meaning is contained in the "propitiation." Nothing in St. Paul's doctrine of "reconciliation" is given up; the laying aside of the divine displeasure or "wrath"—that is, in other words, the looking upon him with judicial as well as fatherly kindness, is retained, and with even more than its own strength, in the ἱλασμός. In fact, all the methods adopted in the New Testament to assert and vindicate and make attractive the love of God in our salvation are here, so to speak, bettered and perfected. "God is love" and "herein is love" are two phrases which never had been spoken as thus connected in all the course of revelation.

Before passing on, we must note that in this last formal testimony to the atonement St. John places it in the middle position between two other great definitions of the mediatorial intervention of the Son of God. Here is the pith and essence of the whole in the midst: the love which is only not said to propitiate itself, out of which at least the propitiation flows. This is accompanied by two of the most universal statements of the Redeemer's work; on either side one. We may take them in what order we please. As they were written by St. John, the only-begotten Son was sent "that we might live through him:" "life" is the largest and most compendious definition of the object of the mission, the positive benefit being predominant. This is followed, on the other side of the ἱλασμός of the cross, by the declaration that the Father sent his Son "as the Saviour of the world." This expression, which like "taking away the sin," carries us back to the beginning

of St. John's gospel when the Samaritans use it—their early testimony and the Baptist's being here at the end remembered and echoed—also gives a large and compendious definition, the negative benefit being prominent. But the point is that the ἱλασμός is "in the midst:" to be a Saviour he must be a propitiation, and as a propitiation he gives us life. But this leads to the last of St. John's testimonies, the last in all revelation, to the virtue of the atonement.

VII. The link of transition to this is, as we have hinted, the word "life," which began the epistle by its application to Christ, and now ends it by its application to the Christian. That life, eternal life, is the supreme benefit of God in his Incarnate Son to man. If there is one sentence of the New Testament which may be said to be the conclusion of the whole matter, it is here: "The witness is this, that God hath given unto us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son hath the life; he that hath not the Son of God hath not the life." This witness, however, traced backward, is found to be triune: "the Spirit, and the water, and the blood." Still going backward, we find that the Spirit is isolated or eliminated, and made distinct, as being the supreme interpreter of the death of the Son of God through which we have our life. Then there remain "the water and the blood," together as the one atonement, but yet distinct; "This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not in [with] the water only, but in [with] the water and in [with] the blood." Here John, who does not mention the cross, places us nevertheless beneath it, and side by side with himself when his dying Lord beheld him "standing by." What he saw after the "It is finished" was uttered—that is, the wonderful sight which he beheld after the piercing of the sacred side—he bids us also behold. It is as it were the last view of the cross the New Testament gives us: the symbolical presentation of the whole mystery of the atonement. What the great miracle of living streams out of a dead side meant St. John does not fully declare in his gospel. He contents himself there by referring the whole to the fulfillment of prophecy concerning the paschal lamb and the pierced Fellow of Jehovah, and by declaring the unspeakable solemnity of his word: "There came out blood and water. And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true: and he

knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe." Who can pass from that "witness" in the gospel to this "witness" in the epistle without feeling that the apostle is alluding to the same great symbolical "witness of God" concerning the life which flows from death, which is really the very essence of the atonement.

We need not curiously ask why the order is inverted, and the water precedes the blood. In the sacrifice of our redemption they simply flow together; the water as the stream which signifies our new birth in Christ, "springing up within us as a well of water unto everlasting life." To use St. Paul's phraseology, our fellowship with his death is our fellowship with his life; and crucified with him we have in us the living stream from his dead side, the life of the Son of God. That is to John the supreme if not the only meaning of water as a symbol: "the washing of water" is an elementary principle that he has left far behind. With him all washing is with "blood;" and, indeed, not with him only, but with all the apostles, for they all unite in testifying that "he has washed us from our sins in his blood." And thus the New Testament ends—as we venture humbly to think—with a "testimony of God," given by the Spirit to St. John, confirming the meaning of the witness given by the miracle after the Saviour's death; to the effect that for ever and ever, as long as man's sin shall need it, the benefit of the atonement flows for it as the washing away of all the guilt and defilement of his sin by the blood of Jesus, and the renewing of his nature by the Spirit of life in Jesus, whose symbol is the water. And it will bear repetition, that the two combined forms, "by water and blood" and "in the water and in the blood," signify the unity of the one stream of life in the diversity of the two streams of purgation from sin and removal of spiritual death.

Lastly, it will appear from what has been said, that this final testimony to the atonement views it chiefly, if not solely, in its relation to the believer who partakes of its benefit through his union with Christ. The water and the blood flow together, and he who receives the one receives the other. The symbols, therefore, do not so much represent the relation of our Lord's death to the world as its relation to those who by it are saved. Hence, perhaps, the priority of the "water," as well as the

emphasis afterward laid on the "life" alone. The expiation of the precious blood avails for the whole world; it was provided for mankind, and its benefit is more or less shared by every man that lives. But it is not so with the life, of which the water was the emblem. It is true that Christ is the life of the world in a certain sense. But not in this sense. Not in the sense of the symbolical water that flowed concurrently with the expiatory stream. What we are saying may seem at first to introduce a far-fetched and hyper-mystical distinction. But from any such charge we must make our appeal to St. John himself, who closes his epistle and the whole of Revelation by making this very distinction as emphatic as words can make it. The meaning of the testimony, he says, is this—that "God has given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son." Elsewhere, whether in his gospel or in his epistle, the efficacy of the blood for the world at large is a theme that is always in his view. But here, at the very close, he confines the sacred streams within their narrower channels, and makes them flow together into the cleansed and regenerated nature of the believer in Christ. "He that hath the Son hath the life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not the life." And this theme he pursues, with varying emphasis, right down to the close.

We have been examining, through the prism of this final document, the several rays that make up the doctrine of the atonement. But when all is over, and we look away from each in particular, they all blend into the one light which we may, without impropriety, call "the light of life." And it is the same light which fills up every document and every page of the New Testament, leaving no part dark. It is true that in this final summary and recapitulation there are some elements of illustration wanting. But their absence we have accounted for; the terms of redemption and reconciliation fail, but they are replaced by the strongest possible form of propitiation, which stands for all they signify, but carries all directly to the temple and the altar. And this last remark will perhaps help to explain the choice of St. John's phraseology. Nearly all his words are of the Old Testament mintage, and nearly all his ideas have the *χρίσμα* of the ancient sanctuary. Not indeed all that bears indirectly on the subject,

but literally all that directly touches it: the "advocate" and "the destroying the works of the devil" are hardly an exception. His apostolic brethren gathered up illustrations from human jurisprudence and forensic procedure: St. John takes us back to the temple from which our religion came. But it is hardly necessary to say that he has left very much of the temple phraseology of atonement unused. Only two or three sublime ideas express all his mind: blood, propitiation, taking away sin, issuing from love and ending in life, are almost all. Altar, sacrifice, high-priest, holiest, sprinkling, and many more are as absent as if Christianity had so learned the substance as to comparatively neglect the shadows.

One thing, however, is stamped upon the whole document: that the atonement enters essentially and vitally into the entire economy of the new life. There is no book of the New Testament which makes the propitiation of Christ so absolutely all-pervading: it is the beginning and the ending, and fills up all the interval. In other books the redeeming act appears here and there; in this it is every-where. In other books there are ecclesiastical discussions apart, and chapters of ethical application; here every topic is connected with the mission of the Son to save mankind, and all duties are enforced by the argument "herein is love." The blood is sprinkled in the first paragraph, and it flows in the last. That first paragraph announced the manifestation of the Word of Life; but we find that he "came in the flesh" for the propitiation of God for sin; and the conclusion of the whole matter is, that "he came by water and blood," as if his coming was not perfect until he reached his goal, the cross. But we may hope to show this more fully by a paraphrase blending our seven testimonies into one.

The design of the manifestation of the Word, as preached in the Gospel, is to restore us to fellowship with God. Sin has kept us in the outer darkness, but the blood of the Son of God incarnate in our nature avails for the cleansing away of all human sin. That blood, however, was shed on earth once and forever. Its abiding virtue is represented by the person of the Advocate in heaven, through whose intercession the faithful Father forgives the sin and cleanses the defilement of all who ask him, even of those who, once pardoned, have

sinned again. He was manifested on earth sinless to bear our sins, and his sinlessness is the pattern to which the virtue of his cleansing blood conforms us. That work the Saviour is carrying on, and will perfect; so entirely perfect it that the works of the devil in the souls of his people shall be altogether abolished and done away. The source of the atonement is love; and the love which rescues us from sin and Satan must be within us the spring of perfect devotion to each other. We must be one with Christ in the love of his self-sacrifice; and our whole life must be a reflection of his charity. The eternal nature of God provided the Son of his love to be the sufficient propitiation on account of sin; the virtue of his death and intercession restores to us our forfeited life, saving us from the consequences of all our sins. But this virtue is not simply in the union of the sinless Son with our nature. He came in the flesh that through his death we might have the cleansing virtue of his blood and the life-giving virtue of his Spirit. Witness the last testimony of God given from the dead side of the Redeemer, whence issued the united though not mingled streams of water and blood.

There is something unspeakably solemn in the appeal of this last page of the Bible to the testimony of God concerning his Son, the atonement, and the life. And the force of that appeal applies to the whole of the epistle which thus closes. To us it seems as if the Holy Ghost would end his inspiring ministry at the very cross, and teach us there the eternal truth that we have our life in the Son through his propitiation. Whether LIFE OR PROPITIATION is written in larger letters we can hardly say; they are both alike clear and distinct, and certainly not the one without the other. Much of our current theology seeks to disjoin these: accepting life through the Son, but rejecting the atonement by which he "came" to bring it. Our Lord says to us in this final testimony, "I am the Propitiation and the Life."

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

UNIVERSITIES *VERSUS* COLLEGES.

ALL who have given attention to current discussions on education have seen signs of unsettling the old and time-honored courses of study which have till recently been accounted requisite for a "liberal education." That there should be changes in these things is only natural, as a result of the changes that have occurred in almost every thing pertaining to learning and to the affairs of society. The range of human knowledge has been very much enlarged during the not remote past, and the educated man of the present day must be much more widely learned than was one of the same nominal class three hundred, two hundred, or even one hundred years ago. These facts, therefore, compel the most conservative to consent to certain modifications of the prescribed courses of collegiate studies, and their adaptations to the new conditions; and they also show reasons why the requirements for college degrees should be much larger than formerly.

Our college system, it is well known, grew out of the conventual schools of the Dark Ages, and even since the revival of learning in Europe it has been the principal agency for the promotion of the best forms of education: and though it has preserved its essential identity, it has nevertheless submitted to new adjustments as these have been called for by the changes brought about by time, and by the wants of the ever-changing conditions of society. American colleges, as they were projected in colonial times, were copied after those of the mother-country; but of necessity they began at a comparatively low grade, and they also lacked the compactness of organization and the social articulation of the colleges of the old countries, which were the outgrowths of a more advanced civilization, and usually were appendages of the State Churches. As by virtue of the accepted universal liberty in all things ecclesiastical the number of independent sects have been multiplied beyond all reasonable necessity; so by a like liberality in respect to educational institutions, there have come to be the projects, and often the feeble beginnings, of almost innumerable schools claiming to be of collegiate grade, some of the least considerable ones calling themselves "universities," though often, as to their courses of actual instruction, very little more than primary schools. And yet, with all their diversities among themselves, there has prevailed among all such institutions a remarkable unity of general character and design, substantially following, in respect to both the studies pursued and the methods of their administration, the forms and examples of our oldest and best

American colleges. Nearly all of them have made the mathematics and the Latin and Greek languages their staple studies, with some attention to English grammar and rhetoric, and a very little to philosophy and the elements of social science and natural history. And from these common elements, with incidental variations and additions, the college system of the country has advanced to its present *status*. The mathematics and the two classical languages are still the foundation-stones of the somewhat advanced superstructure of our college studies, though upon these much of modern learning has been superimposed.

Our college system, as now developed, is largely a home production. It is in many things not unlike the English and Scotch systems, as seen in their so-called universities, and yet the differences are quite as marked as the points of likeness; and it is entirely diverse, in form and kind and purpose, from the German university system. These things should not be lost sight of in the discussion of the wants and capabilities of our American colleges. Great changes have been made, and still greater and radical changes are talked of; in what directions and how far these should be carried are practical questions of not inconsiderable interest. Respecting them wise men will make haste slowly.

The average American college of the current century is a school to which youth and young men of fourteen years old and upward resort for study and instruction. The course of study usually extends over four years; a fixed grade of preparatory training is required before admission, including the usual primary and high-school studies, with a mastery of the elements of arithmetic and plain geometry, and the first principles of algebra, and also a well-advanced introductory course in Latin and Greek. Of the four collegiate years, the first two are chiefly devoted to the three fundamental studies, with, however, more or less attention given to other departments. In nearly all cases the studies of these two years have been obligatory upon every student who proposed to pursue the course required for the regular degrees. For the latter two years some liberty of selection is usually allowed, though in most cases nearly the same subjects are pursued by all. Attendance upon recitations and lectures is required, and a register of each student's standing in his class is kept, ascertained by the record of his recitations, and by special examinations, and a minimum grade is predetermined, which must be reached in order to advancement from a lower to a higher class: and because these examinations usually occur only once a year, the full time of four years becomes a kind of necessary condition to the completion of the course required before graduation.

With this general plan our American colleges have proceeded with only slight and incidental modifications till comparatively recently, and indeed scarcely any have as yet departed from the methods just indicated; but all of the larger and better colleges have very considerably increased the matter of their teaching, and a few of the principal ones have added departments and lectureships that approximate to the character of universities. And now the demand is heard in various quarters for still greater

changes; in fact, for a "new departure in college education," so wide and radical as to constitute a reconstruction that will necessitate the destruction of that which has been hitherto. While none ought to oppose any real progress in education, nor to object to any needed readjustments for that purpose, still in so important a matter changes should be made only after careful examination, and in answer to clearly ascertained requirements.

The German system of education has no schools of a grade corresponding to our colleges. Its *gymnasia*, which hold the place of our high schools and academies, carry their pupils as far as the end of the second year's course in our colleges, and in these the studies are nearly the same for all. After completing the course in the *gymnasium*, the young man ceases to be specifically a "pupil," and he proceeds to such university as he may have selected to pursue certain chosen studies, usually in view of a selected profession,—by attending lectures, being aided, perhaps, by private tutors. University students are entirely free from all preceptorial surveillance as to their manners or morals, nor are they compelled to attend the lectures for which they have been matriculated; nor is their success or failure to obtain a degree determined by their diligence or proficiency, but solely by examinations. The entire unlikeness of that system to ours is obvious, and the substitution of that for this would require a more definite ordering of our universities and the reduction of most of our colleges to high schools—to *gymnasia*. Whether or not any thing of that kind is practicable, and if so whether it is desirable, are open questions that may well be considered; but the introducing of the German university system into our American colleges, and grafting it upon the prescriptive college system, many experienced educators believe would be altogether and intensely evil.

The time is perhaps at hand when a regular system of university instruction should be established in this country. Already some half-dozen of our most advanced institutions have become universities in fact, but still holding on to their original characters and work as colleges,—a process by which some of the cherished, and as many believe the most valuable, functions of the latter are of necessity sacrificed. To effect that, admission to our colleges should be made much easier than it now is in all really good institutions. This is also demanded for other considerations, so that the second year's studies would be about the same as are now those of the first. This would afford a very great relief to the large and desirable class of candidates for college who lack opportunities at their homes for the thorough preparation now required; and it would secure for all a better grade of preparation than can now in many cases be obtained. Four years in college, after entering at the point indicated, devoted with very little variation to the common curriculum, almost no electives being permitted except in the last year, would secure the necessary amount of drill, and also sift out the incompetents, and the better prepare the successful ones for their special and professional studies at the universities or professional schools. The relief to the colleges by

this process in labor and expense would be a large consideration, while the advantage in morals and discipline would be simply incalculable. To expose a youth in his teens to the unrestraint and the proverbial recklessness of university life could scarcely fail of the most disastrous consequences; and to give him up to choose what studies he will pursue would be, in many cases, to secure failure in all.

It is well known that most American colleges are the creatures of ecclesiastical bodies, and that it was intended by their founders that they should be in some sense ecclesiastical as well as religious institutions. It must, however, be obvious that if changed into universities their specifically religious character will be eliminated. It is in the very nature of university life that the student is a free man, and subject only to the restraints of the civil law. That such an institution should require of him attendance upon any form of religious services would be contrary to its character and genius; to appoint an hour for public prayer, attendance upon which should be simply voluntary, would probably only emphasize the prevailing religious indifference. Church-going could not be enjoined, and it would in most cases become exceptional in practice, and the Sabbath would soon be made in fact quite the opposite of a holy day. We are speaking of collections of youths, boys, and callow young men, newly removed from the restraints of home life and thrown upon their good pleasure, and among associations in which the least scrupulous would naturally become the leaders. It would be difficult to say why the Church should devote its labors and funds to maintain institutions over whose inmates it can exercise no discipline, and within which it may not rebuke evil manners without being told that its interference is an impertinence. Already the religious element in not a few nominally Christian colleges appears to be a vanishing quantity; but are we already prepared to surrender the form and pretense of holding on to a few shreds of the faith of the fathers? If religious teaching and discipline must be banished from our colleges, what use has the Church for them?

EDUCATION FOR THE MINISTRY.

It is a question of primary importance how to secure an adequate supply of ministers for the pastoral and missionary work of the Church. This requirement includes not only the requisite number of professional ministers, and their intellectual and spiritual qualifications, as these things are usually considered, but, besides these, also their personal adaptation to the incidental conditions and demands of the work to be done. We hear much about the need of thorough educational preparation for the ministry, with a sort of tacit assumption that, as a general rule, ministerial ability will correspond with the fullness of the scholarly preparations that may be made for the work. And, accordingly, most of the denominations have their theological schools, and in most of these courses of study are prescribed, usually

covering three years, and, in order to gain admission to such institutions, there is commonly required a pretty thorough academical training—in some cases only college graduates being admitted—or, if admitted to the classes and lectures, the regular academic degree is not granted to any others. It may be wise to look into this subject more carefully than has been customary, and to inquire whether or not the methods now in use are competent to the task set for them, and also whether other provisions may not be needed for supplying the churches with that much-talked-of commodity, "the ministry required for the times."

The desirableness of thorough biblical and theological scholarship in the ministry must be conceded. No associated body of Christians can, without this, hope to maintain its proper place as a leader of the Christian thought of the age, nor to make itself properly felt among those who must not only direct the thinking, but also conserve the orthodoxy and the wholesome spirituality, of the churches. It is well, therefore, that there shall be schools for the thorough training of candidates for the ministry, and that some at least of these shall pursue courses of instruction and study upon which only well-prepared students can either enter, or, if admitted, pursue to their own advantage. High-toned theological seminaries, such as most that are now maintained aspire to be, must be continued, since they are necessary in order to supply the churches with an indispensable class of ministers; though that the number of such institutions is beyond the demand is evinced by the paucity of students in attendance upon many of them; and it is equally evident that, of the required supply of recruits to the Protestant pulpits of the country, these seminaries prepare only a comparatively small proportion.

Leaving all others out of the account, we have now to consider the theological schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in relation to the supply of ministers to its Conferences and Missions. The annual number of recruits to the traveling ministry, for the last decade, will average not far from seven hundred. Of these less than a hundred for each year have come from the three principal and only full-fledged schools of theology. Perhaps half as many more have been college graduates or their equivalents, showing that each year over five hundred candidates enter our ministry without a liberal or classical education. And, while it is quite evident that most of the chief places—the General Conference offices, the chief educational positions, and the principal pulpits—will be supplied from the educated portion, the work that must be done by the other three fourths is quite as needful, and not less valuable, to the Church and the world. There is cause to suspect that this heavy contingent, really the rank and file of the ministerial host, has not received as much consideration as its importance would justify. They are received as they come, having almost every degree of school learning, from the simplest elements to the grade next below that of classical scholars; but in respect to their preparation the Church makes no provisions, nor does it seem to be much concerned about it. That matters have gone along as well as they have under this order of things is not a sufficient reason why nothing more

should be done about it. Our fathers got on tolerably well, for a long time, without any theological schools, and yet it was deemed expedient to provide such institutions; and now the question is forcing itself into notice, whether something should not be done for the promotion of education for the ministry of a less advanced grade than that offered by our regular theological schools.

It is a matter clearly established by the stern logic of facts, that the calling and office of the Christian ministry must be accessible to others than liberally educated men: and this remark applies with almost as much force and fullness to other denominations as to our own; and, with a single exception, all the churches provide for this necessity by admitting and ordaining those who have received only a limited academical training; and this one excepted case (the Presbyterian), with a beautiful inconsistency, will admit such men to its ministry if only, instead of coming to it directly, they will make their approach indirectly through the medium of some less exacting body. It is well known that some of the less educated ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been admitted on their credentials, or with very little examination, to the Presbyterian ministry, who have also taken good positions among their new associates, and yet, had they come up from the laity of that Church, they must have been refused.

An "illiterate" ministry is certainly not to be desired, but just how much is included within that designation is not very definitely ascertained; and because the work of the ministry is various, and not uniform in its demands at all times and places, the qualifications for that work may also be various, and its less exacting positions may offer the needed apprenticeship for higher places and more exacting conditions. The history of the Methodist ministry teaches a valuable lesson on this subject.

The thought and sentiment of American Protestantism is, that the minister shall be a man of the people; and, while his better learning and culture should qualify him to act as an educator among them, it is not desirable that he should be too far removed from them by his tastes and associations and modes of thinking. Respecting the subject under consideration a writer in the "New York Evangelist" not long ago made some important suggestions. Recognizing the peculiar and undesirable relations of the Presbyterians to this subject, because they will receive only thoroughly educated men, he remarks that among the difficulties in the way of providing a proper ministry "the first is to find men adapted to the work—men willing to engage in it, and who have not been disqualified by their previous circumstances and culture, so that they cannot come down to the plane of thinking, living, and the pastoral work required by the vast majority of those among whom they have to labor." It is a mistake to presume that all is coarse or crude or unintelligent that does not lie along the plane of mental existence in which the young man of five-and-twenty, who has been in schools all his life-time, lives and moves and has his being; and it is perhaps for no fault of either party that the newly graduated young minister fails to satisfy the requirements

of those whom he would serve, till the lapse of time spent in the school of actual life, with the exercise of common sense, enables him both to unlearn and learn, and so to become adapted to his calling.

Another and perhaps a more formidable difficulty is found in the financial aspects of the case. A large proportion of our "appointments," whether circuits or stations or missions, afford but very meager support to those who serve them. Saying nothing about the wisdom or unwisdom of the administration by which a vast number of starvation appointments have been created, the fact remains that probably in a majority of the places to which ministers are sent the allowance for support is less than the pay of a good mechanic, and his people have no conception that such a provision is altogether insufficient. Here we will again adopt the language of the writer just referred to. Regularly educated ministers, he remarks, "are men of culture and refinement and of scholarly tastes, with wives and children of like disposition, and with innumerable wants springing out of their peculiar circumstances. To all this no one raises an objection, provided they can be gratified. But for the purpose now spoken of they are unfitted; they are not able to live on the salary which these churches can pay."

Hitherto the Methodist ministry has been chiefly recruited directly from the local churches, sometimes without any special school-training for the candidates, and oftenest with only a moderately advanced English education; and our principal resource for candidates is still what it ever has been. More than half our annual supplies belong to the technically "uneducated" class, for whom, though they are not usually without a fair English education, the Church makes no provision. The chasm, in point of learning, between the average young men of the churches and any of our schools for ministerial education, is entirely too broad to be spanned by them, and, as a result, those who have looked forward to the ministry as their divinely designated life-work, in most cases either give it up in despair, or else they seek—usually successfully—to get into the traveling connection with only very meager preparations, and so the average grade of the ministry is kept at a relatively low level. A young man full of animal vitality, with some zeal and a ready utterance, and with the disregard for delicate living that often characterizes such persons, will usually make headway—especially if unincumbered by a family—with only a very moderate stock of learning. But these conditions are only for a little while. In the course of a few years the blood cools—possibly the zeal abates when the novelty of the situation is gone—the stock of preaching matter is not equal to the demand, and the glow of freshness fades away. Then, with larger requirements for living, usually with a family to support, better appointments become a necessity on the side of the minister, while abler ministers are demanded by the churches. But there is a better side to this picture. Some of those who begin at a pretty low level of learning, by diligence and unstinted labor overcome their early disadvantages and become able ministers of the Gospel; but the indomitable will power, and the persistency of efforts in the face of discourage-

ments required in such a herculean labor, make such successes remarkable, and also explain why they are so few. During the first half-century of Methodism young ministers were usually "junior preachers," associated with those who acted toward them as incentives and instructors; but now the callow youth from the farm or shop is thrust out in all his inexperience into the pastorate, a scriptural *episcopos*, to prepare and deliver two or three sermons each week, and to perform all the high functions of his office as best he may. That so many of them succeed as well as they do is greatly to their credit; perhaps in some cases their difficulties become their best teachers; and yet it would be desirable, were it possible, that better results should be reached at less expense.

These reflections force upon us the inquiry, whether it is not possible to do something for the better preparation for their work of that large proportion of our ministerial candidates to whom our present provisions offer no help. The young man with a plain English education, standing at the threshold of active life, and contemplating the Christian ministry as his possible calling, finds an appalling array of difficulties before him. Unless he shall give up in despair he is shut up to one of two alternatives—to enter the ministry unprepared, or else to fight his way to an education. If he can command the necessary means he may, in from eight to ten years, compass the required course of study, and leave the theological seminary at twenty-eight or thirty years old with the diploma of a bachelor of divinity. Some have done so, and found their profit in it. But this is a scheme which only a few will realize. Many *can* not, most *will* not, and perhaps nearly all *better* not, try to do it. But is not a better alternative than any of these possible? May there not be devised and executed a course of training for the ministry less extensive indeed, and, in respect to high scholarship, less valuable, which may be entered upon with no other preparation than an ordinary English education, and compassed in one, two, or three years, as time and circumstances may require or admit? Something of this sort existed among the English Dissenters of the last and the earlier half of this century; and Mr. Spurgeon has long maintained such a school with highly satisfactory results. Is not the establishment and maintenance of one or several training schools for candidates for the ministry, admittance into which shall be granted to such as have only a common English education, and in which all the teaching shall be in the English language, among both the necessities and the possibilities of our Methodism? Our regular theological schools ought not to abate any thing from the high standard they have assumed; nor should the proposed schools, for obvious reasons, be connected with any others. The Church needs a great many more pastors and teachers than it has places for scholars, and, though the two characters may co-exist in the same person, still they are distinct and sometimes incompatible. Such schools as suggested would not make *scholars*, nor would they remove their pupils, in their sympathies of tastes and thoughts, from the common people. Those instructed in them would know how to be simple in their manners and economical in their modes of living; their

plane of thought, though higher than that of those whom they serve, would still be not entirely above the reach of their people, and so these would themselves be drawn upward.

The necessities of the case we have here considered seem to demand some better provisions than the Church has now to offer—which fact is our apology. Let him who can, propose a better remedy.

CHRISTIAN UNITY.

The most precious truths are often rendered the most pernicious when perverted and misapplied, and of this the idea of the unity of the Christian Church, as it is often presented, is a conspicuous example and proof. Our Lord's prayer to the Father, in behalf of his people—"that they may be one, even as we are"—finds a response in every devout heart, and by all such no other article of the venerable creed which, from its character rather than its history, is called the Apostles', is more heartily uttered than that which recognizes the unity of "the Holy Catholic Church." The truth so embodied and set forth is indeed precious; and yet out of this, by that fatal ingenuity of falsehood through which the truth of God has been so often and ruinously changed into a lie, it has been, and still is, made the instrument of ecclesiastical pretentiousness and hierarchical tyranny, by which the unity of the body has been rendered impossible, and its members arrayed against each other. The fundamental idea of the Reformation is a protest against this kind of Christian unity, and the assertion in its stead of another and essentially different form of oneness in Christ, which indeed is inseparable from the Christian life.

Among the most pleasing signs of the times throughout evangelical Christendom is the increasing disposition among believers to recognize the spirit and image of Christ wherever displayed, without respect to ecclesiastical distinctions. By a common, though unspoken, consent, it seems to be practically agreed among the evangelical denominations as never heretofore, "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim," which is probably both the result and the further inspiration of an increasing depth and breadth of spiritual life. The prominence thus given to what is personal and experimental in religion, over what is only formal and ecclesiastical, relatively depreciates the latter and elevates the former, so that denominational lines no longer separate fellow-believers in respect to their religious sympathies. And to all such "the Holy Catholic Church" is an ideal to be earnestly desired, but which can be only spiritually realized, being itself, in form and spirit, "the communion of saints," the "city of God," the family of the faithful seed. The word *church* has become the designation of two distinct entities—one a politico-ecclesiastical organism, of which the Church of Rome is the most fully developed type, and the other a spiritual family, of which Christ is the head, and the Holy Spirit, revealed in faithful souls, the life and uni-

fying energy. Each of these two distinct entities is tolerant of the other only as that is made subordinate to itself. Ecclesiasticism as high as that of Rome readily accepts the presence and activities of the Spirit, but only within, and subject to, the hierarchy; and the highest forms of spiritual Christianity confesses the utility and the sacredness of ecclesiastical order, but requires that it shall be in all things subordinate to things spiritual. The word "unity," when used by these two parties, indicates entirely different ideas, and therefore its use is often disastrously misleading.

Christ's prayer for his disciples, "that they may be one," must be interpreted according to his own words respecting the company of his people. In his discourse found in the tenth chapter of John's gospel, he describes his Church, in its relations to himself and as to its composition, by the figure of a flock under the care of a shepherd. That flock was to be wider than the Jewish fold—other sheep were to be added to it, and still all were to be *one*—not one *fold*, but one *flock*—a remarkable distinction, though little noticed hitherto. Alford, himself an Anglican Church dignitary, remarks on this passage: "The μία ποίμνη (one *flock*) is remarkable —not μία αὐλή (one *fold as characteristically but erroneously rendered in our English version*—not ONE FOLD, but ONE FLOCK. [It is rendered correctly in the Revised Version.] Not one exclusive inclosure of an outward church, but one flock, all knowing the one Shepherd, and known of him."

A more spiritual unity than that of outward association and organic union is often partially recognized even by Churchmen and hierarchists, though the "churchly" idea is by them usually kept in the foreground. Charles Wesley, who held, by turns, to both extremes, has beautifully expressed the spiritual unity of believers, as

> "Joined by the unction from above,
> In mystic fellowship of love;"

and also their aggregate unity, when he says:

> "Scattered o'er all the earth they lie,
> Till Thou collect them with thine eye,
> Draw by the music of thy name,
> And charm into a beauteous frame."

It is therefore a misapplication of language to apply Christ's prayer for the spiritual fellowship of those that should hear his voice in favor of the consolidation of all Christendom in a single ecclesiastical organism. It is not one *fold*, but one *flock*, that is called for; and the unity of the flock is in its kind and character, and its common ownership, much more than in its subjection to the oversight of any single under-shepherd, or association of such.

The distribution of Protestant Christendom into a variety of self-governing bodies—"denominations"—is by no means an unmixed evil; on the contrary, its compensating advantages are much more than equal to its infelicities. It is indeed the natural, and to some extent necessary, result of the Christian liberty which inheres in the nature and being of Protestantism. Its evils are on the surface, and therefore manifest, while those

of centralized hierarchies lie deeper and work out their destructive results in secret, till they are manifested in the forms of ecclesiastical despotism and soulless formality. No doubt this liberty of ecclesiastical subdivision is sometimes carried to excess—as in any case liberty is liable to be—and perhaps some of the minor sects are without any sufficient reason for their existence. But this cannot be affirmed of any one of the half-dozen —more or less—chief denominations in the country. By this variety a greater versatility, and a more complete adaptation to different tastes, and the effective utilization of national or ancestral associations, are secured. The fact that a Christian organization exists, and is successfully prosecuting the great work which the Head of the Church has designated, is itself a sufficient vindication of its right to be. But above all else is the consideration that this liberty of independent action, though sometimes too freely exercised, is the only alternative for and safeguard against a dangerous centralization of power, with its inevitable corruptions and abuses. Nor do these diversities of ecclesiastical forms and governments necessarily interfere with the real unity of the "body of Christ." Protestant Christianity is itself a unit, complete and solidified, with its one Lord, one faith, and one baptism.

It is a suggestive fact that in nearly every case the pleas for the ecclesiastical consolidation of universal Christendom come from those who expect that it will especially inure to the advantage of their own sect. The Church of Rome, which in its spirit is the least catholic of all the Churches, after resolving all Christian unity into its own hierarchical polity, demands that all Christians shall submit to its authority, or, failing to do so, to be turned over to something worse than the uncovenanted mercies of God. And the pretensions of the semi-Protestant Anglican Church, on both sides of the Atlantic, are scarcely less exclusive and arrogant; though occasionally there may be heard coming unofficially from some of that body honeyed words full of patronizing condescensions toward the "sects," with lachrymose regrets for the prevalence of "schism," and the rending of Christ's "seamless robe." But there is with all this no abatement of the claims that effectually unchurch all but those of their own organizations; and the terms of the union offered, and for which they so earnestly plead, is to all others unconditional surrender and absorption into THE Church. On similar conditions, with the requisite variations, the Baptists would not only consent to unite with any and all others, but after that had been done they would agree to free communion, since all Christians would then have become Baptists. A little close attention will detect the fact that a large share of what is heard about the wrong and reproach of "sectarianism" is itself the outgivings of a narrow bigotry, which arrogates to its own all excellences; or else it is the expression of a worldly ambition for the upbuilding of a great organization—perhaps to counterwork the designs of Romanism, perhaps to become a power in the state; or, more probably, to gratify somebody's personal ambition.

But the objections against ecclesiastical centralizations are not simply negative—that it is not called for; but rather they are positive and formi-

dable. No lesson of history is surer or more instructive than that ecclesiastical ambition is always to be distrusted, both because of its tendencies to growth, and also for its dangerous character when largely developed. The possession of worldly greatness invariably corrupts the Church; and whenever the Church becomes both powerful and corrupt, it is the most dangerous enemy that can menace society. Happily, the tendency of American public sentiment has hitherto been adverse rather than favorable to ecclesiastical pretensions; but with the growth of wealth and luxury, and the love of display, it is quite possible that that tendency may be reversed. Indeed, signs of such a change are already noticeable; and clearly no greater calamity could befall the Church than the favor of the fashionable world, unless, perhaps, its becoming an active partner in or a sharer of the spoils of the party politics of the times. The strength of the Church is proportioned to its separation from the world; and its best safeguard against temptations toward worldly affiliations is in having but little that worldly men covet to offer for their favor. Overgrown and closely compacted "denominations" may readily become hotbeds of ecclesiastical pride and worldliness, and, if so, they will soon prove to be both corrupt and corrupting. It is best, therefore, that our churches shall not be so closely conjoined that there shall be anywhere, or in any body's hands, any thing at all like a Protestant vaticanism. It is better to endure the incidental disadvantages of too much diffusion of governmental power than to incur the inevitable peril of overmuch concentration of authority—for "the ferment of the free is better than the quiet of despotism." At some future time we may look into the question of Methodist unity—along this same line.

BIBLE STUDY IN OUR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

Our American people are greatly averse to any thing that savors of religious influence exerted by the State. We are almost morbidly sensitive to the slightest suspicion of sectarianism, wherever the public is in any way responsible. As a consequence of this sentiment, all positive religious instruction is carefully inhibited in our public schools. The Bible, which by an overwhelming majority of our population is regarded as, in some way at least, a divine message to man, is nevertheless treated as a sectarian book, because some small sects do not believe in it, or because some other sects object to the version generally used. While the influence of venerated custom retains it nominally in some of our State schools, it is doubtless destined to be wholly, as it now is virtually, excluded. Many of our teachers are even chary and delicate in regard to any kind of moral instruction, lest they should be accused of inculcating the tenets of some religious party.

Now, for the most part, we shall have to submit to this exclusion as inevitable. We may protest against it as not merely negatively but posi-

tively irreligious and practically atheistic, and also as radically damaging to our education, making it fragmentary and unsymmetrical; but we shall probably accept it as the only alternative to doing away with our Common School system. Bad as this is, it is sorely aggravated by the subtle influence it is having on our private and even our own denominational institutions. Established as the latter have been in the interest of religion, it might seem that there need be no delicacy or restriction in the matter not only of general religious instruction, but in the inculcation of particular denominational views where it might be thought desirable. But the disposition to secularize education, not unnatural if unfortunate, in public schools, has gradually affected even the schools established by the Churches, and in which such a spirit is reprehensible because wholly incongruous with the radical design of such institutions. The cry of sectarianism has become so much a bugbear that even our sects are frightened by it out of all reasonable propriety. Our colleges formerly had at least some form of positive religious instruction—one recitation a week, throughout the course, in the Greek Testament, or in the evidences of Christianity. But even this has been abandoned in most of our colleges of late years, and there is nothing in the way of required study or examination—save perhaps a term in Evidences—in which they differ from the purely secular schools.

What is true of the colleges is also largely true of our secondary church schools. In a great proportion of them there is no such study of religion required as is the case even in the State schools of Germany and other European nations. We do not wish to be understood as characterizing our denominational schools as altogether irreligious. This would be palpably untrue. The religious sentiment is probably more prevalent than at almost any former time. And yet this is perhaps a thing to be complained of, that it is too much a sentiment, and not enough a deep, solid conviction. Some of us who have closely observed the life of our colleges from the outside, and yet under conditions favorable to accurate perception, have found reason to lament the something like a partial divorce between religion and morality which prevails. We do not mean that there is more immorality or fewer religious students than formerly, but that many of our religious students are less sensitive to moral obligations than is compatible with thoroughly settled religious principles.

There is also, as is naturally to be supposed under the conditions here set forth, among our young people in general a very great ignorance of the Bible. Only those who are called upon to examine students in this respect are aware how great this ignorance is. We have been astonished at the utter lack of intelligence in biblical matters which has been exhibited by young people belonging to Christian families and members of our Sunday-schools—not merely exceptionally dull persons, but bright, quick boys and girls of scholarly capabilities. We do not mean to say that this is universally the case. There are many exceptions, but only where there has been special care and parental training at home.

What we especially criticise is, the general absence of systematic religious instruction in our educational institutions. There is, to be sure, in

most of our schools, a requirement that the students attend devotional services daily, and public service on the Sabbath, and usually a Sunday-school exercise of some sort. But how far short this comes of meeting the real need will be seen if we compare it with the requirement respecting any subject which students are called upon to study. Were the students in natural history, or physics, or geometry, or the languages called together every day for fifteen minutes to hear the teacher read a page or two from the text-book, and on one day in the week they were expected to be examined, and, say, half or two thirds of a page specially assigned, but to the special study of which there was nothing more than a general moral obligation, and that scarcely enforced by any considerable motive, it is evident that by the large majority of students nothing would be learned in these branches that would be of any permanent avail.

We do not here plead for the study of technical theology or ecclesiasticism in our schools. We should even earnestly deprecate this. But it would seem that the study of the Bible after the approved methods followed in the study of secular history and literature, and similar branches, cannot be wisely neglected. It is remarkable that while in all our classical and college-preparatory schools the study of the ancient heathen religions is indispensable, the study of the religion of our own race and people is carefully tabooed. It is universally recognized as essential in the investigation of the history or literature of any race or nation that its religious system must be carefully studied. We know how much pains is taken by eminent scholars to ascertain all that can be known concerning the ancient religion of India. Sanhitas, Brahmanas, and Upanishads occupy years of the time of the ablest minds. The same devotion is paid to the religious systems of China, Persia, Egypt, and Scandinavia. It is felt that we are well rewarded for any reasonable effort to investigate the religions of even many semi-civilized or barbarous races. But the Bible, which underlies our whole modern civilization, and impregnates all its literature and the civil polities of its various nationalities, and as well affects our entire educational methods, and which, even if of only the same value as the ancient mythologies, could not be neglected without a marked deficiency in our system, is, with a few exceptions, excluded from the curricula of all our schools; and this, too, when it is regarded as the basis of the only genuine religion which God had given to man!

There are some symptoms of a reaction in this respect, though whether they are sufficient to promise a return to a more rational usage it is not yet easy to determine. But the exceptions are increasing. In some of the new Western colleges, notably some of those under the Congregationalist patronage, definite provisions are made for this systematic study of the Scriptures. In many of the seminaries and colleges for women the same arrangements are made, and that, too, more frequently than in those for men. In Wellesley College, a more thorough and efficient system of this study prevails than almost anywhere else. Two hours a week on different week-days are devoted to this, just as the same time is devoted to certain philosophical, scientific, or literary subjects. It may be added,

that in this institution the religious spirit blends with and affects more fully the whole course of training than in any other college with which we are acquainted.

Of course, in the Roman Catholic and Episcopal schools there is special attention paid to religious instruction, but it is for the most part catechetical and ecclesiastical, and not the study of the Bible in a general and scientific manner.

In the oldest of our Methodist academies, that at Wilbraham, Mass., there has been for the last six years a plan of Bible study in operation which, though limited in its range, has been eminently successful, and attended with the most gratifying results. It is a part of all the general courses of study, and the same regulations govern it as control in other studies, both as to recitations and term examinations. It requires four years to complete it at one recitation a week. The first year's course covers the patriarchal and Hebrew history to the death of Solomon. The second year completes the Hebrew history, and takes also the poetic and prophetic writings. The third year's study is the life of Christ as contained in the gospels, and taken in chronological order. The fourth year is devoted to the early propagation of the Gospel based on the Acts and the epistles, also taken in chronological order. Outlines have been prepared and printed to guide and aid the student, which consist substantially of a syllabus in the form of topics and suggestive questions calculated to present the subject somewhat freshly and in an orderly manner to the mind. Many of the outline lessons are preceded by brief introductions explaining or illustrating the general subject or some particular ecclesiastical or political or geographical fact alluded to, or throwing some light on contemporaneous history.

The methods of instruction pursued are the same as those usually adopted by our best teachers in the study of history, literature, and philosophy, and those who are familiar with our educational history are aware that these methods have greatly changed within the last thirty years. Each recitation covers about the same amount of ground covered by the same students in these studies. There is no encouragement to turn the class-room into a theological debating club on metaphysical and speculative subjects, or to take advantage of students who might object to being drawn into a class-meeting or an inquiry meeting. The object is to get at the simple thought and meaning of the writers, and to become familiar with the practical bearing of what is written.

The method of Bible study is elementary, and in a sense superficial. But to those who have observed its working in the institution referred to its effect, both intellectually and morally, has been most gratifying. It has certainly exceeded the expectation of its initiators. The wide difference between taking a somewhat extended portion of Scripture for study, as in other text-books, and taking only ten or fifteen verses, is almost incalculable. We find no fault with the latter method. For its peculiar purpose it is not to be contemned. But it is not a substitute for the scientific and comprehensive study of the sacred Scriptures.

This plan of study does not contemplate the use of commentaries, or the aid, to any great extent, of dictionaries and cyclopedias or other aids, except such as come from the instructors. It would be a considerable improvement on the method here instanced, and especially in the case of more advanced students, if it could be pursued on a more extensive scale. At Wellesley College, as we have seen, it is thus pursued, and the students have opportunity to consult a very great variety of the best helps to biblical study for which the fine library of the college furnishes ample facilities.

The plan adopted at Wilbraham, though not widely published, has been adopted by several colleges in the West under the patronage of the Congregationalists, and the outlines used at the former school are in use in these. The same is true of one of the best colleges for women in the State of New York, and also of another of our Conference seminaries in New England. In still another of our seminaries a plan is being matured, and a pecuniary foundation is already laid, for the especial qualification of Christian workers. The study of the Bible in some such method as is here indicated will no doubt be a leading feature in this plan. We hail it as a most excellent omen of our religious educational progress. There is a demand for such a course of training in our churches and communities. Nothing better could be devised than a course of study not theological or merely catechetical, but preparing our young people who are hereafter to occupy important positions in the Church to fill these positions intelligently, efficiently, and honorably. S. M. G.

THE INCREASE OF CRIME.

In the "North American Review" for May, President J. L. Pickard, under the heading "Why Crime is Increasing," assumes and proves the designated fact, and also points out some of the conditions through which this most undesirable result has been reached. We shall be indebted to that article for some of his facts in what we now propose to write.

Though the apparent teachings of statistics are sometimes found, on closer inspection, to be fallacious and misleading, in this case no relief is gained by the most careful re-examinations of their details. Trustworthy reports show that in 1850 the proportion of persons in prison to the whole population of the country was as one to 8,442; in 1880 it was as one to 860, —a relative increase of just fourfold. As this shows not the number of offenses committed, but of judicial convictions, the question may be asked whether an improved administration of justice may not, at least in part, account for this apparently enormously large increase of punishable offenses. But not much relief can be gotten by such an inquiry, for any supposable improvement in the processes for detecting and punishing crime is much more than counterbalanced by the increased skillfulness of

criminals in evading the hand of justice. Apparently, therefore, the unwelcome fact must be accepted that crime has rapidly increased among us during the recent past; and it only remains for us to find out its cause or causes, and if possible to apply the needed remedies.

The composition of the population of the country has undergone very great changes within the past half-century through the infusion of a very large foreign element, chiefly consisting of persons very unlike the original American stock. That these new-comers, suddenly removed from the legal and domestic restraints in which they had before lived, and exposed to the peculiar temptations presented by their new conditions, with their unelevated intellectual and moral estate, should be drawn away to the commission of offenses against the laws, is no more than might have been anticipated; and the records of the courts and the prisons disclose the fact that a disproportionate number of the inmates of the prisons have been persons of foreign birth, or the children of such, brought up under their influence. That consideration will no doubt in part, though only very partially, account for the increase of crime in the land.

A remarkable change has taken place, during these years, in the proportions of the population of the cities as compared with that of the smaller towns and the open country. In 1850 just one eighth of the population of the entire country was classed as "urban;" in 1880 that proportion had very nearly doubled, having advanced from 12.5 to 22.5 per cent. These changes of habitations were both the effects and the causes of great and far-reaching social and moral disturbances, tending to both the worse and the better; and besides these changes of residences, the rural population has come to feel the influence of the cities, and has been removed by it from the simplicity of other times. As a general rule, it is found that in proportion as population becomes dense crime increases in even a much larger ratio.

The District of Columbia, with nearly three thousand to the square mile, has one prisoner to each four hundred and sixty-six inhabitants; while Kansas, with twelve to the mile, has one to a thousand and twenty-nine; and Iowa, with twenty-nine to the square mile, has only one to two thousand. Massachusetts, the home of American "culture," has at the rate of more than two of every thousand of her population in prison, though even in that State a large share of its people reside in the open country or in small hamlets. It has, however, a larger proportion of "factory operatives" in its population than any other State, many of whom are Irish Roman Catholics and French Canadians. But, irrespective of race or religion, manufacturing communities seem to be productive of criminals. Possibly the favorable showings for Kansas, and the still better for Iowa, are somehow connected, either as cause or effect, with the attitude of these States toward the liquor traffic. There can be no doubt, however, that city life affords both incentives and opportunities for criminal conduct beyond those of the country; nor that a country population brought into the conditions of city life would show a much worse criminal record than they would have done in their rural homes. The indus-

trial changes that are bringing together vast populations in cities and factory towns, are necessarily producing wide social and moral transformations, which assuredly are not all for the better.

With this relative increase of city populations has also appeared a quickened and intensified struggle for money-making—so much so as to give its own character to the popular life and thought. To make money and spend it is beyond all else the governing thought of the dictators of public opinions and pursuits. Every body would be rich, and very naturally every-where, "They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare." In a few cases the crimes which grow directly out of this inordinate pursuit of gain figure in the courts, and a very small proportion of these add to the census of the prison population; but the slain of this destroyer in its concealed, or indirect and far-reaching, actions is a very great army. The increased cost of living, as very many people choose to live, and think they are compelled to, is greater than their legitimate incomes will warrant, and the results are seen in wild speculations and defalcations—in the peculations and stealings of trusted servants, public and private, and in the false show and the domestic misery of thousands of households. This, too, no doubt, is the cause of the multitudes of unmarried men and women, constituting altogether a most unwholesome element in society. Only a few of these, however, are in their earlier stages among the "prisoner" class, which is the basis of the preceding calculation; but they may be found in the insane asylums, the almshouses, and the homes for the unfortunate provided by public or private charity; or, most sorrowful of all, in the suicides' graves. This greed of gain is also the direct procuring cause of the whole race of professional criminals—numbered by tens of thousands—who divide their lives between terms of imprisonment and intervals spent in preying upon society.

It is also found that the forms of their industries are somehow closely related to the prevalence of crimes in our social communities. Agriculture has the largest following of all the business occupations of the country, and from that calling comes by far the smallest percentage of our criminals. We speak simply of the fact, which cannot be called in question, without discussing its philosophy—which is, however, sufficiently obvious—further than to remark that the absence of undue excitements, the possession of a moderate competence, and personal independence—all of which are among the conditions of a yeomanry—are eminently promotive of self-respect and a wholesome individuality. But this form of industry is not the most promising in respect to sudden wealth, and, therefore, it is discarded by very many who have been trained to it. It is also the least cared for by the government, which burdens it with heavy taxes in the form of imposts on its foreign supplies, and draws from it large amounts for the maintenance of the criminal and the pauper classes, to both of which it makes the least relative contributions. Class distinctions are less known in agricultural populations than in any others, and there is much less of the wide extremes of the rich and the poor. The permanence and immovableness of the chief forms of property

gives it security against spoliation or sudden and wide changes of values, which, among other social conditions, become the fruitful sources of both poverty and crime. It may avail but little practically to plead for the relative moral and social superiority of country life over that of cities; but in a problem of social science so large a factor may not be disregarded.

Among the most alarming of the social aspects of the times is the evident general loosening of the ties of domestic life, and the small value that is attached to the family relations. Marriages are shunned by the cautious, often at the cost of personal purity; or they are contracted thoughtlessly, to be followed by wretchedness, abandonment, and divorce. Children break away from the restraints of home at ages when these are most needed; or perhaps they are freely dismissed by their parents, that they may plunge into the whirlpool of "business," with the godless and maddening influences of the outside world substituted for the needed protection and discipline of home life. Under this influence comes also the demand for the enlargement of "the sphere of woman," which means, in fact, whatever any may intend, that instead of caring for and illuminating the sacred precincts of the household, and guiding their own families, women shall take the places that nature intended only for masculine force and toughness,—that little girls shall learn trades,—that misses in their teens shall be put on exhibition in salesrooms by day and lodged in vast dormitories by night—orphaned, in fact, at an age when orphanage is most to be deprecated—and that an abler and more educated few shall forego all the special advantages and responsibilities of their sex and social positions to struggle with men, gentle or coarse as may chance, in professional life. The blighting effects of all this on the morals of society are not merely matters of speculation; that crime should increase among such conditions is inevitable; and side by side with this mad crusade for "woman's rights"—often, but not always, manifested in the same person—is witnessed a departure from both the faith and the moralities of Christianity, by which the salutary restraints of religion are taken away and the public conscience vitiated. While it is not believed that there is any general falling away in either the belief or the practice of religion, it is painfully evident that in certain social classes there is such a defection, and that this is operating most disastrously among those so affected.

The influence of intemperance in stimulating every form of vice and in promoting criminal action must be accepted as a constant quantity in the social problem. Drunkenness is not only itself a form of criminality, in certain conditions legally recognized and punished as such, but it is also an ever-present force to quicken and augment every other species of criminality; and although there may be no relative increase of this vice in the country, yet among certain classes there is evidently an increase, and from these classes, which are steadily recruited from the unhoused and unprotected youth and young people of our cities, come a very large share of all our criminals; and as the only partially effective prohibition of the

liquor traffic in certain States or lesser localities have uniformly been followed by a large decrease of crime, we may reasonably infer that its total and universal prohibition would proportionally diminish the fearful aggregate.

The remedies for the evils we are considering must be as various as the causes out of which they spring. Generally we need a better state of public and private morality—better government, improved prison discipline, less squalid poverty, better homes for the poor, more adequate primary education, better adjustments of the industrial interests of the country, a higher standard of political ethics, less drunkenness, less Sabbath desecration, and, to comprehend the whole in one, more of the religion of Christ wisely exercised in unselfish goodness in behalf of all classes and conditions of men. After all, there is no new specific for these modern epidemics of crime; they can be checked and extirpated only by the power of religion.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE POPE.—A prominent publicist of Germany has just given to the world a treatise on the above subject, which is attracting considerable attention, both from its solid character and the timeliness of the theme. It is written with calmness and good judgment, and although, of course, from a Protestant stand-point, it seems very free from any endeavor to treat the matter with other than logical consistency.

The introduction opens with an historical development of the Romish Church, the papacy, and the temporal power of the pope; the latter assuming that this power descends to him from God. For centuries the popes assumed to be only the successors of St. Peter; but by Innocent III. they were declared to be the vicars of Christ and God on earth. But it was one thing to make this claim, and a very different one to enforce it; and the author gives us a long series of facts, proving that down to Pius IX. they never relaxed their claims, though they often could not maintain them. In the famous Syllabus of the latter pontiff it is expressly denied that the Romish popes had ever exceeded their powers in assuming rights over temporal princes.

According to the Curia, this omnipotence of the pope has always existed, but in the Middle Ages it could not always be exercised, because of the rebellious spirit of sovereigns. The well-known Bull of Boniface VIII.—the *Unam Sanctam*—was burned by an executioner in Paris, and its publication in Spain was prohibited under pain of high treason. Frederick II. of Prussia assumed to control the Catholic peasants of Silesia, and the Bourbon courts of Europe forced the dissolution of the Order of the Jesuits. In Austria Joseph II. assumed the place of the pope, and granted to the Roman pontiff no supreme authority.

Then came the era of the concordats or papal treaties, many of which the author declares were illegal because not ratified by the popular will in legislative bodies. But the more the power of the popes increased the greater became in certain quarters the opposition. The quarrels between popes and councils, and the apostasy of entire nations, closing with the French Revolution, left the papacy in the most abject weakness.

The restoration of the papacy after the fall of Napoleon I., with all the restoration policy of that period, is to be regarded as but little more than an episode; and it was reserved for the third Napoleon to assist the kingdom of Italy in displacing the pope from his temporal throne.

The difficulty now in treating with the papacy arises from the difference between its actual position and its claims, one of the latter being that it has the right of international protection in its struggle with Italy. Against this position the latter country protests with great vehemence; and no power just at present would dare to interfere in the matter. And the position of the author of the work in question is, that the papacy has politically no international rights. The rejection of the modern state on the part of the Curia is logically correct from its stand-point, and indeed necessary to the position that the pontiff has rights over sovereigns and nations. The claims of the two parties are diametrically opposite, and they must therefore collide. The question will consequently, for the time being, continue to be settled as it has been in the past—namely, by the right of might. In the meanwhile the pope will continue to affirm that the spirit of revolution, destruction, and anarchy now abroad among the nations arises from their neglect of his advice and appeals.

"FRANCE IN CANADA" is the title of an interesting article in the last number of the "Revue Chretienne" by the French author and lay worker among the Protestants of France, M. Réveillaud. He is well known among us from his recent visit to this country in the interest of the Reformed Church of France.

He narrates in a very clear and succinct way the result of his experience and thought in regard to the French of Canada, whom he finds to be several centuries behind the age. He is much surprised to see that the French of to-day are as subservient to their priests as were their forefathers at the time of their emigration—paying their tithes, accepting the clergy as their guides in all family matters, and the controllers in the elections. The journals of the country which have tried to break this intolerable yoke have lost most of their subscribers.

Réveillaud explains this remarkable and growing power of the Catholic clergy of Canada about as follows: When New France was ceded to the English, Canada was decapitated, in a social and intellectual point of view, by the departure of the principal families of the country, and the return of the most of the civil functionaries and commercial notabilities to France. But the priests, to whom the treaty of Paris guaranteed all their former privileges, as well as their former tithes, remained, and became the prominent men of the province. They had soon, therefore, the

sole direction of the French population that remained fixed to the soil. They then began to reign without protest over a people who saw in them the representatives of their nationality and institutions. In proportion as the English and Protestant element entered the colony the Canadians gathered more closely around their priests and their churches, and Catholicism soon came to be considered as the palladium of their national independence. Now this same phase of Catholicism soon developed a spirit of routine and reaction, under the influence of which the character of the people became weakened. This spirit has shackled not only all literary growth, but even the free development of trade and industry, and kept them far behind the age.

THE CRIMINAL CLASSES IN FRANCE are a source of great trouble just now, which the deputies are trying to meet with a law for relapsed criminals or "old offenders." The sympathies of the turbulent classes are, of course, always in favor of the criminal; and no festivity of a national character occurs without an effort on the part of the Radicals to have a lot of hopeless fellows pardoned out of prison to return and annoy society and the government. This evil has grown to such an extent that there are said to be in Paris at present no less than thirty thousand of this class, whose occupation is to advance from crime to crime, and become a sort of prison tramps.

The evil has thus grown until it has become unbearable, nurtured to a great extent by the legislators themselves in the endeavor to gain popularity and votes. For instance, the wretches convicted of the most barbarous crimes of the days of the Commune in Paris were scarcely safely landed in the penal colony of New Caledonia, in the Southern Seas, before a political clamor was made for their release. The tocsin was sounded with such vigor that in a little while the authorities consented to liberate the least criminal, and then went a step and still another step further until at last the vilest of the leaders were again in Paris ready to wave the red flag and scatter the kerosene. Enormous sums had been expended in sending them away and then bringing them back again, only to form an audacious band of agitators ready to do and dare any thing in the line of social revolution and destruction.

But at last the crisis has come, and these relapsed criminals form so dangerous an element of the population of the French capital that something must be done to shield the community and the State from these vampires. Therefore for some time the Chamber has been busy in the discussion of a bill to become a "Law on the Recidivistes." In the outside discussion of these matters the French Protestants are taking a great deal of interest, and the well known Pasteur of the Oratoire, M. Robin, treats the matter very thoroughly from a philanthropic stand-point in the columns of the "Revue Chretienne."

The trouble now seems to be the danger of making the law too sweeping and severe, as it would pronounce the punishment of perpetual banishment against several categories of individuals who hardly deserve such severe

treatment, namely, vagabonds and beggars. M. Robin appeals for a distinction between the villainously criminal and the lazy and helpless. The latter he would have sent to reformatory institutions, with a view of reclaiming them by enforced labor; and would reserve the fearful penalty of perpetual banishment for the incorrigibly criminal and dangerous classes. He argues with great eloquence that a properly managed prison may be made a shelter and school, and a blessing to many who should be retained where they may have the means to effect this good purpose, rather than to send them to distant colonies to die, and be lost to a country that really needs their presence and their power. The discussion unveils some peculiar points in French national and criminal life, and especially the fact that banishment from France is to a Frenchman the most cruel sentence that can be put upon him. Many of them would rather be executed in France than suffer deportation to distant and lonely islands.

"FREE MISSION PREACHING" is becoming quite popular in Saxony, where, until very recently, the Established Church looked with horror on any unauthorized Christian work among the masses. But the regular preachers found that while they were pouting and neglecting the great crowds that collect in the industrial centers of that country, other Christian workers went among the rough and uncouth, the poor and lowly, and obtained a hearing and attention. In the first place, as a certain report relates, the Methodists went among them several times, remained for a considerable time, and held meetings that were largely attended. This was especially the case in the town and district of Planitz. More recently the Baptists have gone in there and successfully engaged in forming congregations and crystallizing their work. These facts proved to the satisfaction of the liberal Lutheran preachers that the said district was very favorable soil for what they call "free mission preaching," and accordingly a popular pastor of Dresden was invited there to do mission work among the people, and endeavor to retain them in the Church.

Pastor Seidel had evidently learned a lesson from those who had spurred him to the work. He laid aside his dignity, hired a large dancing-hall, obtained some popular hymn-books, and was rewarded with a large audience whose coarseness or indifference was overcome by the novelty and the attractiveness of the scene. He chose popular themes, such as "Divine and Human Love," "Belief in the Child, the Youth, and the Man," and "A Look beyond the Grave." The discussion of such subjects in popular and homely style and language made him an acceptable visitor, and his hearers listened with respect to allusions to some of their vagaries, such as pasturing in the foreign fields of the sects and even of spiritism. The scene of these labors is the seat of a large contingent to the socialistic vote of the country, and which sends a good many members to the Saxon Chambers; and any influence that can be brought to bear on these men to make them more loyal to the country, to religion, and the family is well spent. It is very clear that the German State preachers throughout

the land are coming rapidly to the conviction that they must adopt popular methods if they would reach the people.

THE RELIGIOUS STATUS OF SWITZERLAND is presented in no roseate hue by Prof. Oettli, of Berne, in a pamphlet just issued, containing his report on this subject to the Evangelical Alliance in Copenhagen. He considers church matters generally in a state of decomposition throughout the land. The last defenses of the Christian dogmas have fallen, the position of the people toward the Bible teachings is of the loosest kind, and in Basle and Zurich even the sacrament of child baptism is no longer required by the authorities. There is no common confession of faith, no general belief, no church obligation, and no clearly defined barriers between the absolute rule of the pastor and the rights of the congregation; between the simple will of casual majorities and the authority of the invested officials of the church. Every individual pastor, every separate congregation, and each particular member seems to be sovereign in power.

But we are happy to say that this discouraged pastor does also find a light side to this dark picture. He acknowledges that where there is belief it is self-conscious, energetic, and active. Many a personal testimony for Christ is heard, and the power of Christ becomes so effective that it then cannot be despised. The parties in the Swiss churches are keenly dissected; and we are told how the so-called Reformers soon neglect the very pulpits that they have wrested from their rightful owners. True religion is forgotten in the conflicts about baptism, separation of Church and State, and other comparatively unimportant questions. In many of the Swiss cities these unrefreshing struggles are the order of the day, absorbing the attention of the State, the school, and social life. The extreme radical party in Switzerland, with all its professions of liberty, is thus threatening the freedom of faith and worship. It is by them that most of the unreasonably violent treatment against the Salvation Army has been committed. And whatever may be the opinion of Christians generally about its *modus operandi*, it is certainly quite inconsistent that the radical newspapers, whose columns are overflowing with the most liberal phrases, should be the chief supporters of those who attack all meetings of the "Army," even those in private houses, and fairly force the government to violate its guarantees for the liberty of worship. But, even with all these discouragements, Swiss Christians still hope that the Gospel hour will soon come.

MISSION WORK IN SPAIN is still being pressed with vigor by Protestant workers, notwithstanding the most persistent opposition on the part of the Catholic Church, in collusion with the civil authorities. A new enterprise was begun last summer in Granada by the establishment of a school and chapel in the most neglected portion of that city, where men and women practice vice as a legitimate source of income. The inhabitants were totally destitute of all incentives to be either decent or honest, and the children were exposed to the most bestial lessons. In this hot-bed of

misery and vice the evangelist invited the people to come and hear him tell them the story of a true friend; and they came in large numbers. He read portions of the Psalms and the New Testament, and then told them the story of the cross and of justification by faith rather than by the intercession of the saints or the Virgin. A school was soon opened with forty pupils, where every evening and the afternoon of Sundays divine service was held, and attended by increasing numbers. The mission worker need scarcely have told us that his efforts soon attracted the attention of the priests, who hitherto had paid no regard to this neglected district. But suddenly they became aware of its needs and its dangers, and commenced a course of systematic opposition and interference against this new Gospel and philanthropic work. They succeeded in stirring up the population against the mission, and gathering crowds of roughs to stone the building and commit other outrages. This produced a riot, and attracted the attention of the police, who, to the surprise of the evangelist, offered him protection. Generally the government has found some excuse for interfering with the work so as to limit or stop it.

THE PROTESTANT ORPHANAGE IN JERUSALEM under the patronage of German Christians seems to be doing an excellent work there, and makes a report and appeal for help that cannot be disregarded. There seems to be the most violent opposition in the Holy City and the Holy Land, indeed, to Protestant Christianity. This enterprise, under the protectorate of the King of Prussia, and largely supported by his private munificence and the protection of the German consulate, are doing excellent work of various kinds. Besides the school for orphan children there is a hospital served by German deaconesses, and schools for both girls and boys. There is indirectly connected with it a Jewish and an Arabic mission, with branches in Bethlehem and Hebron.

The missionaries engaged in this work declare that religious antagonism is more bitter here than in any other place on earth; and they therefore need help from without to sustain them. If it were not for the strong Turkish police force maintained there it would be impossible on festal days at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to maintain order among the different sects contending for the preference to admission to the holy places. For awhile these were assumed to be under the special protection of Napoleon III., but since his fall the French have lost their prestige in the Holy Land, and that of the Germans has greatly risen. These are now ready to inaugurate many good works if sufficiently supported by their Christian countrymen, and to this end the appeal is made from which we quote.

The Hungarian magnates are passing through a period of strife and anxiety regarding the matter of reform in the Upper House. The religious conflicts have reached the people, and the feeling among the masses against the Jews is very strong. The question in dispute is that of Jewish representation in the Upper House. The Premier Tisza is decidedly in favor of the Jews, and was bold enough to say that the Hungarian nation

should not allow itself to be frightened by an outcry worthy of the Middle Ages. But the discussion brings up other troublesome questions, such as a Protestant representation also, because of the large Protestant community in Transylvania. The liberal minister at last succeeded in his endeavor to favor the Jews, by a large majority, which was gotten, however, by the absence of some two hundred members at the time of voting. This of course makes the final result more doubtful in the Lower House, which is still discussing the question with much bitterness, and great danger of a riot among the people.

The pontiff has never before come out quite so squarely against the Italian government as in his late allocution to the cardinals on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of his elevation to the papal throne. He complains that the position of the vicar of Christ in the Eternal City becomes more burdensome the longer it lasts. He looks forward to a time when the government, which has now approached the doors of the apostolic palace, will not hesitate to enter even its holy precincts. But he casts his heaviest bomb at the heresy that is allowed to run riot in Rome, and complains that he cannot shut the gates of the city against it. He says: "We can neither prevent the scattering of false and godless doctrines, nor annihilate the laws that violate the truths of the faith and the teaching of the churches." This passage indicates very clearly, if, indeed, any proof were needed, what would be the fate of Protestantism in Rome if the pope were returned to the possession of his so-devoutly-desired liberty and independence. Every Protestant enterprise in the city would be outside the walls without even decent delay.

The grandest missionary workers in Germany are battling on the outer walls in favor of having their missions go hand in hand with all efforts at foreign colonization; and large bodies of the people are listening to eloquent appeals to this end. The Christian missions and Christian colonization are not to be hostile to one another, but are to work together for the attainment of the same purpose. Indeed, Christian colonization is not conceivable without the Christian mission; for the question as to what will be done with the natives of these colonies cannot be solved without the mission work. Therefore the mission workers declare it to be the duty of the German government and people to favor the introduction and spread of Christianity in the new colonies. These colonies, as such, should assist the missions by aiding in the passage of wise laws that will keep heathendom within bounds, and in its place give the people schools and churches, and protect them as far as possible from the vices of civilization, especially that of the too free use of spirituous liquors. In truth, the opposition of the mission workers to ardent spirits is, for Germans, almost phenomenal.

The German people have a pleasant way of rewarding faithful scholars as public benefactors. That well-known Christian teacher and author,

Dr. Franz Delitzsch, of Leipsic, has just finished the fiftieth year of his professional labors, and his friends and admirers felt like celebrating this golden jubilee in grand style. Numerous gifts from high and low greeted the venerable man, and were an eloquent testimony to the breadth as well as the depth of his labors. The philosophical faculty of the University renewed his diploma, and the city council came in with thanks for his rare labors in cataloguing the manuscripts of the City Library. A messenger from the king brought to him the Cross of the Order of Merit, while all his colleagues of the theological faculty handed him a document saying: "Your name is an ornament of our faculty, and its attraction, which reaches far beyond the seas, is still unweakened in its influence. All your work has been constantly done in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Church on earth." In short, the learned servant of God was fairly overwhelmed with tokens of love.

It may indeed be said of the Germans, that of making cyclopedias there is verily no end; this is especially the case in the realm of theology. Among the newly finished ones are those of Herzog and Plitt, in seventeen volumes, and Wetzer and Welte, of ten volumes; then there is the "Universal Theological Lexicon" of Schenkel, the "Lexicon of Theology and Ecclesiatics for the Evangelical Church," by Holtzmann and Zöpffel, and the "Handlexicon for Catholic Theology," by Schäfler. But not any one of these seems to satisfy the demand among the Lutherans; they have long desired one that will treat of theological questions more especially from their stand-point, and this wish is at last to be gratified, and the empty chasm is to be filled by the "Church Handlexicon" of Dr. Carl Mensel, in collaboration with a number of *Evangelical Lutheran* pastors. This work is to be a guide in the investigation of the entire field of theology and the Church. It is primarily intended for a reference-book for the clergy, old and young; yet also for intelligent lay workers in Christian circles, such as the official members of the church bodies of various names. The breadth of the work will make it quite a library in contents, and it will be finished in four stout volumes.

The quaint old town of Nuremberg, in Germany, is more worthy of a visit for matters of antiquity in art, industry, and architecture than any other, but we had not thought of according to it special interest in the history of the Reformation until we noticed a recent publication, entitled "History of the Reformation in the Imperial City of Nuremberg." This proves to be a rich fund of literary and religious archives concerning the great movement as it affected that ancient city. Its narrative gives us a deeper insight into the influence of Nuremberg at the close of the Middle Ages, and throws a bright light on the peculiarity of the German religious life of the period.

About a year ago a society was formed in France for the evangelization of Algeria and Tunis, and since that period some money has been col-

lected and the work has been commenced. One evangelist has been sent to Tunis and one to Oran, in Algeria, who is working among the Spaniards, who collect there from the not-far-distant opposite shore. A preparatory school for Christian workers in Constantine has also been assisted. A Protestant chaplain in Tunis has just received, as a present from the governor-general, land for the erection of a Protestant church. At a recent meeting of the society the secretary gave a very sad picture of the miserable condition of the Protestants in those regions. The workers already there are few in number, and are very poorly supported. In Algeria alone there should be at least a half-dozen more assistants, and the call for these is made in France. But the reply is, that there are already so many parishes at home without pastors that they have none to spare. One of the speakers seemed to think that Protestantism is losing among the Latin nations more than it is gaining.

THE PRUSSIAN UNIVERSITIES had a very successful winter *semester*, numbering in attendance 12,937 students against 12,465 of the winter of 1883–84. Berlin led off with over 5,000, Halle had 1,681, Göttingen 993, etc. Within four years there has been a total increase of over eleven per cent. But in regard to this increase the numbers have been quite variable in the different schools. Indeed, the vacillation in this respect in German universities is quite peculiar. Sometimes this would seem almost a whim, or perchance a fashion; but it generally proceeds from the popularity of special teachers. One famous man will often draw a crowd at a certain period when he is specially active. In Protestant theology there were 1,926, a large increase. For a few years the decrease in this line was very marked; the increase again is now quite encouraging. In the Catholic faculties there were 286; in law, 2,338; in medicine, 3,256; and in philosophy, 4,879. On the whole, therefore, matters are looking well for the Prussian schools.

THE PROTESTANT PRESS IN ITALY makes a fair showing; there are at present not less than fifteen periodicals, whose titles are as follows: *L'Italia Evangelica*, *Il Piccolo Messaggiere*, *Le Témoin*, *Il Dispensatore*, *L'Ape Biblica*, *L'Amico de' Fanciulli*, *Il Giovine Cristiano*, *La Riforma Religiosa*, *Il Testimonio*, *Luce e Tenebre*, *La Fiaccola*, *Il Bollettino*, and *L'Avvisatore Alpino*. One of these is for the Waldenses in the valleys, and another is the organ for the young men's associations. Two others have had a hard struggle for life, but still appear; these are *Il Fra Paolo Sarpi*, a sheet issued especially for the dissatisfied Catholics of Venice, and the most important of all the Protestant publications in Italy, namely, *La Rivista Cristiana*, edited by Professor Comba in Florence. The *Rivista* begins the new year with a new cover and more lively and spirited contents, and leaves the Waldenses for the new alliance of all the denominations as far as effected, which seems to be the absorption of the Free Church by the Waldensian Church under the general, though it seems to us misleading, title of Evangelical Church of Italy. *La Nuova Scienza* closes the list.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE is receiving a fixed habitation and a name throughout Italy. The Roman branch, at its last session in December, resolved to enter into correspondence with the branches, as far as they exist, in other Italian cities, and to request their co-operation in promoting the formation of associations where they do not as yet exist. It is proposed, also, that these, when allied, shall form the Italian branch of the International Evangelical Alliance, with rules and regulations in accord with those of the parent society. The seat of the Roman branch has already commenced the work, and has sent circulars to Milan, Florence, and Naples, as well as to the divers cities where it is thought possible that such invitations would be welcomed, and would induce favorable action. Local committees will probably be formed in many centers, who will correspond with the main Italian branch at its next session.

THE FREE CHURCH OF TONGA.—The establishment of this new Church is a grave event, which has come about very unexpectedly, and it is impossible as yet to foresee all the consequences, though we by no means sympathize with the fears that seem to alarm those who speak for the parent Church. How serious a blow they feel it to be is evidenced by the utterances of the English Wesleyan press. "The Methodist Times" begins its announcement with these words: "A terrible calamity has befallen Methodism in the scene of our most glorious missionary triumphs. King George of Tonga, whose name has been uttered so often on missionary platforms, with the great majority of his people, has withdrawn from our communion, and established a new Church, entitled 'The Free Church of Tonga.'" So far as published, the facts are as follows:

The group known as the Friendly Islands, comprising Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau, with some smaller islands, was for many years a missionary station. When the churches on these islands became self-supporting they requested to be formed into a separate district connected with one of the Australasian Conferences. This request was granted, and three years ago Tonga was connected with the Sydney Conference. Since then the native brethren of that district have not only supported their own ministers, but have largely and nobly assisted in carrying on Wesleyan missions elsewhere. For a long time, however, there has been much dissatisfaction, the real cause of which does not seem to have been as yet made plain. At the New South Wales Conference of 1888, charges were preferred against the chairman of the Tonga district, a distinguished minister, whom King George wished to be removed, and a further request was made that the Friendly Islands should be transferred to the New Zealand Conference. The New South Wales Conference decided that the chairman should not be removed, and that the Friendly Islands should not be transferred to the New Zealand Conference. King George appealed to the Australasian General Conference which met last November in New Zealand. The letters of the king were read, and engaged the attention of the Conference for some time. It was finally resolved that a deputation should visit the

Friendly Islands and confer with the king and the European and native missionaries. Power was given to the New South Wales and New Zealand Conferences to effect the transfer of the Tonga district to the New Zealand Conference, if the deputation should recommend that course.

But this policy was too tardy to suit the king, whose venerable age has not diminished the force of his will. With his people, he evidently regards himself as at the first wronged and then ignored by the Australasian authorities. Still, it would seem to be doubtful whether the secession would have taken place but for the prompting of certain English Wesleyans. The prime mover in the secession appears to be the king's prime minister, who was, until recently, a Wesleyan minister. He has been succeeded by another Wesleyan minister, Rev. J. B. Watkin, who has consented to become the first minister of The Free Church of Tonga. The king hesitated long, but when his adhesion was secured the people deserted in a body. In three short weeks 11,000 adherents of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, including one European minister, 12 ordained native ministers, 800 local preachers, 600 school-teachers, 700 class-leaders, and upward of 5,000 members formally joined the Free Church. The whole of Vavau, the greater part of Haabai, and a part of Tonga have gone with the king. The deputation from the Australasian Conference has just set out, and perhaps it is not yet too late to heal the breach. Happily there is no doctrinal or even ecclesiastical difficulty. The Free Church of Tonga is to teach Wesleyan doctrine, and to enforce Wesleyan discipline. The founders of this new Church have a great task in hand. They seem to be, as "The Methodist Times" says, "quite unnecessarily depriving themselves of the substantial and ever-increasing benefit of close connection with the powerful and growing Australasian Churches." And we join in the exclamation of the same paper, "Surely exasperated feelings will not be allowed to prevail on either side." The history of Christianity affords not a few cases in which ecclesiastical separations have been the evidently divine method for the furtherance of the Gospel.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

Our Missions in India.—Those who will take the trouble to read carefully the pages of the Report of our Missionary Society allotted to the missions in India will be amply repaid. They are very interesting, showing not only the results accomplished, but indicating greater triumphs to come. The space occupied this year is fifty-four pages, of which all but three are devoted to the North India Conference, which includes the Province of Oudh, and the Rohilkund, Cawnpore, Kumaon, and Guhrwal Districts in the north-west, while the South India Conference, we are told in the "Discipline," embraces the rest of India. This, of course, does not mean that the two Conferences cover all India with their missions and stations. Immense districts are still untouched, and must remain so while

the occupied districts offer thousands of opportunities for the establishment of stations which cannot be accepted for want of means and missionaries. The South India Conference, which embraces the territory included in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, and in Bengal and the Central Provinces, as well as the Nizam's dominions, taking in the peninsula, has six Conference districts, with thirty-four appointments, which report 1,912 communicants. There are 29 churches, which are valued at 302,426 rupees, of which only 29,025 rupees represent debt. Concerning self-support, which is a strong point in this Conference, the statistics show that the pastors' claims, estimated at 44,120 rupees, were paid in full last year, and an excess of more than 4,500 rupees raised. The collections for the presiding elders fell short by about 250 rupees. The schools number 32, with 2,048 boys and girls, of whom 1,269 are Christians and 769 non-Christians. Upward of 32,000 rupees were paid for improving church property and for indebtedness, and 5,682 rupees were raised for missions. The baptisms of the year numbered 199, of which 170 were of infants. Turning to the statistics of the older Conference, the North India, whose work is almost wholly among the native population, we find a total of 4,450 communicants reported, indicating a net increase of 388, with 7,921 adherents, a gain of 1,242. There were 491 conversions, and 484 adults and 292 children were baptized. There are 33 churches and chapels, against 30 in the previous year, and these are valued at $97,639, a gain of over $25,000 during the year. The parsonages are reported to be worth nearly as much as the churches—$83,037. The contributions for various purposes show a falling off in nearly every instance. The Rohilkund District seems to be the most prosperous. Of the 434 conversions, 334 are reported from that district. The presiding elder says the spiritual condition of the native churches "is decidedly improving." He found it necessary to rebuke a community of native Christians for indulging in forbidden heathen practices in connection with marriage, and they promised to forsake them. In some of the villages nearly all the people are inquirers. On the Chandausi Circuit Sunday-school work is a prominent feature. Men, women, and children to the number of 500 or 600 attend these schools, and the children of all castes take great pleasure in singing the hymns. Mr. Bailey visited during the year a large town distant nine miles from Chandausi, and preached the Gospel daily to an audience of 2,000 or 3,000 men. On the Moradabad Circuit a native preacher, relinquishing his salary, against the advice and desire of his brethren, traveled in the garb of a religious devotee, depending on the people for his support. In one of his tours he spent five weeks in a group of Chumar (low caste) villages, and often sat up till midnight telling to interested audiences the story of the cross. The listeners would not leave him as long as he would continue to preach and sing. He often had to stop from sheer exhaustion. He induced the people in one place to throw down a heathen altar. The Chumars, who form a large portion of the population of the district, are being reached in Budaon and Kakrala Circuit. In a score or more of villages there are inquirers of this class, and

in the district there are eight Chumar workers. In Bilsi Circuit, also, the Chumar work is increasing, and similar reports come from other circuits. In one village of the latter circuit there is a band of 200 Mohammedans, all of whom are inquirers. The reports from the several districts indicate that the work of native preachers is becoming more and more a feature of the missionary scheme. They are generally very successful. Here is an incident of a native teacher laboring in the Oudh District, translated from his own account:

On the 1st of August I went to a village called Kanjarpurmá, and said to the inhabitants, "If you will let me teach your children the word of God it will be very beneficial to them and you." Hearing this, the people said, "If you were to give us ten rupees a day we would not send our children to your school, for we have never heard of such a thing as a Kanjar (a string-seller and snake-eater) being able to read." After telling them I simply wanted to teach them about God and his love toward man, they still refusing to send their children, with a heavy heart I turned away, yet with faith in God that he would make known his word in this village. The next day I went again to the village, on the way praying God to help me. As I neared it I met a leper, who asked me why I was coming there. I answered, "Friend, I have brethren living in this place, and I rejoice that I may be able to impart to them some instruction." The leper said, "What are the names of your brethren?" to which I replied that I did not know their names. He said, "You must have queer brethren that you do not know their names!" to which I again replied, "Nevertheless, you and all the people in this village are my brethren." He still further said, "Only those people are brethren who are children of the same father and mother." But after I told him that God, through Christ, was the Father of us all, he seemed greatly pleased, and said, "I like this new word; I have never before heard about it." "Very well," said I, "if you will call the children of this village together, I will instruct them." He agreed to this, telling me to come in the evening. I then went to my home, where at midday I asked God's special blessing upon the people. At the time appointed I went to the village, praying all the way, "O Lord, go with me to this village; as thou wast with the children of Israel, so be thou with me." Arriving at the village, I found that the leper, according to promise, had gathered some children together. These I told about Jesus and his love, and so greatly pleased were all that the men told me to come again, and many boys and young men enrolled themselves as members of my Sunday-school. Through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ this work was accomplished, not through my strength. Praise the Lord, who does hear and answer prayer!

Wesleyan Missions in West Africa.—The missions of the Wesleyan Missionary Society on the West Coast of Africa are reported to be in a very flourishing condition. From the Gambia to the Niger there is a general desire to extend the work into the interior, which, in most cases, presents few obstacles. The Gambia mission has long had stations as far up the Gambia River as M'Carthy's Island, 250 miles, but the lack of native preachers has been a hinderance to further advance. At Sierre Leone there is the same difficulty; but on the Gold Coast and at Lagos "we have taken hold of heathenism," writes the Rev. John Milum, "with a mighty grip." "Here," he continues, "we have a native ministry that any Church might well be proud of; earnest, pious, patriotic, loyal Methodist preachers, willing to go where they are sent by the Church, and to make a sacrifice if need be. They know how to pray and preach with soul-converting power." Mr. Milum, who was on a tour of inspection, attended the

district meeting on the Gold Coast, and writes of it very enthusiastically. It was, he says, a remarkable meeting:

To reach that district meeting some of the brethren had been two or three days in an open boat; old Father Freeman, now in his seventy-sixth year, had been three days and a half in a hammock, traveling one of the days for fifteen consecutive hours; and another brother had taken a week, walking hard every day, to come from the northern part of Ashanti. The contrast between that meeting and the first one I sat at, fourteen years before, was very marked, and showed what wonderful advances have been made without much noise within that period. The circuits are becoming more numerous. Some have attained self-support; all are honestly aiming at it. Some of the reports presented expressed the gratitude of the pastor for ingatherings, whilst others spoke of pruning "dead branches;" but that which called forth the doxologies of the brethren was the statement in reference to Ashanti. Our rejoicing was not that this blood-stained kingdom had so utterly fallen that it will never rise again, nor that the last of the royal dynasty had passed away, and that Kumasi, now in ruins, is reduced to the insignificance of an almost deserted village, and the golden stool of Ashanti, upon which the royal despots have sat, is now guarded by a small body of strangers. This may be God's way—degrading her to make her truly great. But our rejoicing was that the Gospel had entered Ashanti; that chiefs and kings were bidding it welcome; that they were building houses in which the Christian teacher might dwell, and school-houses in which their children might be taught, and the people hear the word of life in their own language, all at their own expense; and besides this, the chiefs and people were paying the agents' stipend. We have already gone far into the interior, but the path is now clear for the onward march of the Christian soldier, and he may soon take up his quarters some 500 miles inland from the coast. We have not forced ourselves upon the people of the interior; the only explanation is that of the leaven. They set a high value upon the Christian teacher. This was illustrated by the statement made in reference to the brother who had taken a week in walking to the district meeting. The King of Bekwa, fearing that he would not return, was wishful to keep the agent's clothes in pledge; but he not agreeing to this the king sent a servant with him to Cape Coast, thinking he would thereby insure the teacher's return. This man is one of a new class of native ministers who are remarkable for their zeal for Christ, and with these modern Lollards we intend to carry the Gospel to the regions beyond the present bounds of our operations. The climax was reached when two native princes from Juabin were introduced to the meeting. These men had come from a long distance behind the Akwapim hills, at the back of Accra, sent by their people to entreat the district committee for a missionary. During the late political disturbances with Ashanti a large colony of Juabins had fled from their own country adjoining Ashanti to the Protectorate. The English government has allotted them a fertile tract of country in the plains, where they have settled down to peaceful labor. From ten to fifteen thousand of these now form a colony which is daily increasing. These are the people who sent the deputation to ask for a native teacher. As these two men, who are themselves Christians, stood and delivered their message, arrayed in their fine native cloths, and pleaded for the appointment, one could fancy himself back in those early days of Christian missions, with the man in the dream saying, "Come over and help us!" only this was no dream. What could be done? There was no money to spare for engaging in this new enterprise. These native ministers did what I am sure friends in England will commend them for doing: they appointed a sterling man forthwith, and are taking up the work in faith and hope. At the public missionary meeting which was held that evening the two Juabin princes were invited to the platform, and delivered their message amidst wondrous enthusiasm. That missionary meeting I am not likely to forget. The fine Wesley Church was filled, quite a thousand people being inside the building; all the approaches, I am told, were crowded, and all the window spaces were full of earnest-looking people, pressing upon each other that they might hear the various speakers. The enthusiasm throughout was immense, and if by it we may gauge the missionary spirit of the Fantis there need be no fear for the future of the Church.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST MISSIONS.—The Southern Baptists withdrew from union with the Northern Baptists in the support of missions as long ago as 1845. The Regular Baptists then had what was known as the Triennial Convention, which controlled the foreign missions of the Baptists of the United States, North and South, from 1817 to 1844, and for a brief period also administered the domestic missions. The separation of the Southern Baptists was due to questions growing out of slavery. The Board, which had its head-quarters in Boston, stated candidly, in reply to a series of resolutions adopted by the Alabama State Convention of Baptists, that, "If any one should offer himself as a missionary, having slaves, and insist on retaining them as property, we could not appoint him. One thing is certain, we can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of slavery." The Southern contributors immediately took steps to obtain a separate Board, which was organized in 1845, in Augusta, Ga. The foreign and domestic missions and other benevolences of the Southern Baptists are under the control of the Southern Baptist Convention, which meets annually. In former years anti-mission Baptists were numerous in the South and South-west, but they have been gradually decreasing in number, and the contributions for missions have been slowly increasing. For the year ending April 30 the receipts for foreign missions were $65,481. This, added to the balance from last year and from collections in mission fields, made an available fund of $81,289. Of this sum the Board expended $80,135. The Board supports missions in Mexico, Brazil, Africa, China, and Italy. The past year has been one of great activity. No fewer than fifteen new missionaries were sent out. In Mexico the accessions for the year were 90; total membership, 190. In Brazil, accessions, 37; membership, 113. Africa, West Coast, accessions, 7; membership, 125. China, membership, upward of 500. The mission in Italy includes stations in nine of the chief cities and towns. All the missions are prospering, even those in China, which have been more or less interrupted by war.

THE UNION CHURCH IN JAPAN.—Most of our readers know that some years ago the missions of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the American Presbyterian and Reformed (Dutch) Churches formed a "Union Church of Christ in Japan," on the Presbyterian system. The union has proved to be a source of strength, and a bond of mutual advantage and satisfaction. The eighth annual council was recently held, and a well-prepared report of the year's work was adopted. The report begins by stating that there has been an increase of churches and an increase in membership during the year; "a growing appreciation of the true character of the Christian life, which is manifest in a more intelligent sense of personal responsibility and in increased contributions; a larger degree of devotion among our helpers and students, and a healthful spirit of independence which leads many of the churches to strive after the maintenance of their work without foreign aid."

The whole number of churches is now 35. Five new ones were organ-

ized, and two were consolidated. The net increase of members for the year is 554, which is an increase of 22 per cent., the total membership being 3,003. Of these 464 are children and 2,539 adults. These are very encouraging figures; but the improvement in the benevolent contributions is still more encouraging. For self-support and for benevolent schemes there was contributed about $5,500, an increase of 62 per cent. Besides these contributions there were liberal gifts from believers not enrolled in the churches, who in some cases defrayed the entire cost of maintaining regular services in their own places of meeting; and in several cases also there were large gifts for special purposes not within the range of church collections, as when one member of the Dai Machi Church in Tokio gave a thousand yen for the establishment of a Christian primary school. Of foreign laborers there are 46, and the force of native laborers has been greatly increased. Under the head of the state of the Church the following interesting paragraph appears:

> As appears from the reports of the churches, the state of the Church is such as to call forth our renewed thanksgivings. In some congregations the deep spiritual interest has been continuous. Twelve of the churches report the baptism of twenty or more adults, and one reports fifty-nine. A most remarkable change has passed upon the church at Yanagawa, which has grown from a state of great weakness to be a strong church, reporting fifty-nine members, among whom are some of the principal men of the town. The interest among the churches in the matter of self-support is steadily increasing, and together with this is found the desire to do more for the extension of the blessings of the Gospel to others. Although information is not at hand from which we can set forth the number of churches now independent of foreign aid, and the number engaged in missionary work, either individually or in connection with other churches, it is gratifying to mark a growing interest and progress in these matters. In the city of Yokohama two pastors are supported entirely by their congregations; and in the city of Tokio seven churches are entirely independent of outside aid for any ordinary expenses. There are others in other places. Among the churches in Tokio a missionary society has been formed which is doing good work. If the aims of its founders are realized, this society will eventually be brought under the care of one of the Classis or Presbyteries, or of the Synod. It would have been more in accordance with our desires if this society had had its beginning formally in one of these bodies, according to some plan similar to that mentioned in our last report; but as the Japanese Christians have chosen this method of beginning the work, we will pray for and rejoice in their successes, and aid them as we have the opportunity.

The report says that hinderances are disappearing. Access to the people in all parts of the empire is now practically without hinderance. The government seems quite favorable to Christianity, the general sentiment of the people is becoming more friendly, and prominent men who formerly opposed the Christian religion have ceased their opposition and become helpers in its propagation. Some of the Buddhist lecturers and societies have shown a spirit of antagonism, but the result in almost every instance was the increase of the Church.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

In the "Presbyterian Review" for April there is a very valuable article on "Conversions to Romanism," by Thomas Croskery, of Londonderry, Ireland. It gives an intelligent account of those religious and social influences which, since the Tractarian movement, have borne so many English Churchmen to Rome. The article is based, in part, upon the volume compiled by W. Gordon Gorman, and published in London by Swan, Sonnenschein, & Co., entitled "Converts to Rome." This contains a list of over three thousand Protestants who have become Roman Catholics since the commencement of the nineteenth century. The writer of this article is not absolutely convinced of the accuracy of these figures, but they are probably correct. It contains the names of 86 lords, 25 baronets, 15 sons or relatives of lords, 77 clergymen (marked separately), 302 clergymen and laymen of Oxford University, 149 of Cambridge University, 13 of Dublin University, 4 of London University, and many other people of all social stations and professions. With regard to these converts, Mr. Croskery discerns their chief cause in the great Oxford movement fifty years ago. But, he asks, what caused the Oxford movement? It was not the ambiguous language of the English Prayer-Book, but it was the reaction against the rising political liberalism of Oxford, when revolutionary principles were in the ascendant in Europe as well as in England, threatening the Church with disestablishment and the aristocracy with the loss of their privileges, and driving these two great interests back upon the principles of divine right as propounded in the High-Church maxims of 1837. Again, the peculiar scholastic training of Oxford University had no tendency to foster independence of thought. She has never been wholly and loyally identified with the Protestant cause. Macaulay reminds us how Oxford had the honor of burning those celebrated Protestant bishops whom Cambridge had the honor of educating. But we must look beyond the present century for the more remote or permanent causes of the movement. The influence of Alexander Knox and of the non-jurors is not to be forgotten. Account must be taken of two tendencies which have always been manifest in English society, even before the Reformation. One is the ecclesiastical, the other is the biblical tendency, or, in other words, High-Churchism and Puritanism. The whole article is exceedingly able and intelligent, and is the most philosophical discussion of the causes of the conversions to Romanism which we have seen.

Dr. E. F. Burr, in the same number, returns to the discussion of the question whether the heavens are inhabited. It is a singularly rhetorical and inconclusive article.

Dr. Henry J. Van Dyke, Jr., has a most stirring paper on "Vows in Protestant Churches," concerning which he is not severely critical, except with regard to the vow of celibacy. Against this he strongly protests as contrary to nature, and as historically disastrous. This young doctor of divinity is rapidly gaining reputation and influence.

The March number of "The Andover Review" has a striking paper by Mark Hopkins, on "Optimism," the key-note of which is in the following words, "Knowing, then, that God could not be better than he is—that the love revealed in Christ could not be greater than it is—that the heaven provided for those who love God could not be more blessed than it is—finding in the Scriptures as much of optimism as we had a right to expect—finding, also, in them the revelation of the future, which gives us a possible key to the fearful perplexities of the present state—we welcome each gleam of light, and wait with patience and hope the coming of that perfect day of the restitution of all things of which God has spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." The other papers are of medium quality.

In the April number of the same review the leading place is given to the notice of Dr. Newman Smyth's "Sermons to Working-men," and to the publication of the first sermon on the "Claims of Labor." These sermons are exceedingly intelligent discussions of the labor problem, and worthy the consideration of our ministers.

Much valuable matter will be found in the article on "Co-operative Creation," by the Rev. F. H. Johnson. It very nearly, if not quite, accepts evolution as the best solution of the facts of human experience, the principle of spiritual development laid down by Christ and his apostles, and the facts of the external world. We refrain from further comment, as this is a first article.

"The Lutheran Church Review" is too denominational to be very interesting to the general public. The paper of principal interest in the April number is that by Rev. W. J. Mann, D.D., on "Unsound Devotional Literature." This is a review of the meditations of Zschokke on "Life, Death, and Eternity." These he declares to be rationalistic and singularly defective in their ominous silence as to the means of grace.

The April number of "The Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," reviews the "United States Coast Survey," "Mountain Observatories," the "Poetical Genius of Sidney Lanier," the "Demands and Needs of Methodism," and Richard Grant White's "Words, and Their Uses." Other papers of less popular interest make it a valuable number.

We have few magazines which are the vehicle of more important matter than the bimonthly entitled "Christian Thought," and edited by Dr. Charles F. Deems. The most important paper in the number for March–April is the sermon by (the Episcopalian) Bishop Samuel S. Harris, of Michigan, on "The Theistic Argument from Man."

"The United Service," a monthly devoted to the Military, Naval, and Civil Service, has recently become one of our exchanges, and, so far as secular information goes, it is one of our most valued. Gen. Charles P. Stone discusses the British military operations in the Soudan. Gen. Jordan, of the Confederate Army, gives a Confederate account of the campaign

and battle of Shiloh, which must be added to the materials of the history of that much-disputed field. We have found this magazine one of the most interesting to the general public of the many which reach us. While taking tone from its clients, it is not exclusively written for them, but in its stories and in its papers has much of interest for all classes.

The numbers of "The Monthly Interpreter" (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark; New York, Scribner & Welford), Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., Editor, justify their existence by their value. This work does not hesitate to discuss the most difficult questions in exegesis and hermeneutics. Thus, in the November number, "Christ's Exaltation in the Epistle to the Hebrews," and "The Omission from the Fourth Gospel of the Temptation of Christ," are with other subjects made the foundation of important papers. In the February number, the Rev. Alexander Mair, D.D., has a most encouraging article on "Some Recent Checks and Reverses sustained by Modern Unbelief." He shows first, that the highest scientific authority is against spontaneous generation, and that Tyndall himself, while speaking rhetorically of matter as containing the promise and potency of life, is obliged to admit that there is no evidence whatever for spontaneous generation. The same is true of Pasteur and Virchow. He also shows how the many millions of years demanded by Darwin for the work of natural evolution cannot be allowed, in view of well ascertained facts. Passing to the region of historical criticism, he shows how recent discoveries of the manuscript copies of the Epistle of Barnabas prove that the gospel of Matthew was already written and acknowledged as Scripture at the date of that epistle. It is also shown, by reference to the long-lost work of Hippolytus, that John's gospel was in existence before A. D. 125. It disposes of Baur's theory that it could not have been written until after A. D. 160. Its leading paper is very valuable in meeting the charges of the author on "Supernatural Religion."

"The African Methodist Episcopal Church Review," edited by Dr. Tanner, deserves the largest patronage and sympathy. The several numbers which we have seen are invaluable in affording a stand-point from which to judge the intellectual progress of the African race. We receive several reviews which do not exhibit as much editorial tact as this late venture in literature. While there is occasional evidence of an ambition which overleaps itself, the reader will be as much surprised as gratified in discerning the sound scholarship and real ability manifested by the swart contributors of this review. The paper in the April number, entitled "We Must Educate," is no more valuable as a mark of progress than it is as a contribution to the problem of African education.

The new and enlarged form of "The Homiletic Review" makes it the fullest magazine of its class. It is now more than a collection of sermons. It embodies discussions from the best hands of the timely religious topics, besides maintaining all its old features.

It is strange indeed to see a woman attempting to prove that Christianity has cursed her sex rather than benefited it; yet, in "The North American Review," Elizabeth Cady Stanton labors to show that woman is not indebted to any form of religion for one step of progress, or one new liberty; that, on the contrary, it has been from a perversion of her religious sentiment that she has been so long held in the condition of slavery. To do this, Mrs. Stanton perverts history, and, in short, goes contrary to the general testimony of even skeptical writers. Singularly enough, her interlocutor in this symposium is Bishop J. L. Spalding, of the Roman Catholic Church. Surely there could scarcely be a greater contrast than between a woman's-right wife and a celibate bishop. Bishop Spalding follows the ordinary course of Christian argument in showing how woman has been lifted and benefited by the direct influence of Christianity. He says no more than is just, in saying:

"To maintain that Christianity crushed the feminine element, and, more than all other influences combined, plunged the world into the Dark Ages, is to indulge in a kind of declamation that, for the past half-century at least, has become impossible to enlightened minds. To say that the doctrine of original sin throws the guilt chiefly or exclusively on woman is merely to affirm one's ignorance of Christian teaching. More than one great theologian can be found who declares that woman's fault in the original fall was less than that of man, and that her bearing was, beyond question, more generous." The following sentences are admirable: "To proclaim that the Christian religion teaches that woman is an afterthought in creation, sex a crime, and marriage a condition of slavery for woman and defilement for man, and maternity a curse, is to mistake rant for reason, declamation for argument. The advocates of woman's rights speak like people who have a grievance, and to have a grievance is to be a bore. They scold, and when women scold, whether in public or private, men may not be able to answer them, but they grow sullen and cease to be helpful. To be persuasive, woman must be amiable; and to be strong, she must speak from a loving heart, and not from a sour mind. Whoever is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christianity must sympathize with all movements having as their object the giving to woman the full possession of her rights. For wrong-doing of whatever kind she should not be made to suffer a severer punishment than is inflicted upon man. The world will continue to be unjust to her until public opinion makes the impure man as odious as it makes the impure woman."

The man who has led a laborious life in law and in literature, and is vigorous at eighty, deserves to have many sit at his feet. David Dudley Field has an able article on "Industrial Co-operation." It contains more sense than half the books on the subject.

The North American admits Robert Buchanan's poem on "The New Buddha." The new Buddha is Arthur Schopenhaur.

Much quaint information will be found in the article by the Rev. T. F. Thistleton Dyer, on "Superstition in English Life," as well as in the discussion on "The Increase of Crime," by President J. L. Pickard.

The editor of a sedate review is a little loath to confess that he turns with pleasure from the heavier matter of the reviews to the more sprightly and popular literature of the magazines; but years and much study are as much benefited and cheered by that which is adapted to the masses of the people as are those who have the most of their life before them. What can be pleasanter, for instance, for any body, than to study the noble portrait of Lincoln in the April "Harpers'," or the puzzling figure in Howard Pyle's "Spring Blossom," in the May number. We do not know why any young lady of a proper turn of mind should be dressed in such a vesture, even in May. We have seen a specimen of the apteryx, the famous bird without wings, but here is a woman without arms; and what holds out the shawl against the May breezes remains a puzzle to the critic, who is an excellent judge upon more important but not more difficult problems.

The April number gives proof that neither the charm of foreign travel nor the ceramic craze has passed away. The artist Millet draws for us the queer sights of Stralsund and Lubeck, and Roger Riordan writes up the *curios* in C. A. Dana's collection of Chinese porcelains.

It is also evident that we have not yet completed the exploration of our own continent, for Sylvester Baxter has much that is fresh in matter and beautiful in illustration in his paper on "The Rio Grande."

The mine of our colonial history is being well worked. Richmond, Virginia, furnishes a quaint series of portraits for the pen of Eugene L. Didier. These portraits illustrate the aristocratic element in the colonial history of Virginia, as well as in those years which follow the Declaration of Independence.

Those who would like an entrance into the homes and lives of English royalty will greatly enjoy the sketch of the life of the Prince of Wales at Sandringham, by that veteran correspondent, W. H. Russell. The graver can accomplish nothing on wood more satisfactory than the full-page portraits of the Prince and Princess of Wales.

The work of exploring our frontier is continued by Burge Harrison in the May number. The illustrations show an architecture as foreign as any thing which can be found anywhere. In writing of Española and its environs, Mr. Harrison has really found the charm of novelty, and if one wishes to see what the Roman Church is in degenerate Latin populations far removed from the influence of Protestantism, let him consider the picture of Roman penitents kneeling and dancing on the thorny cactus.

James W. Gerard, a high authority on all colonial matters, gives an account of the famous farm of Anneke Jans on Manhattan Island, and of the law-suits that have vexed Trinity Corporation in New York, which came into possession of the property.

No city has been more minutely studied than London, and yet Benjamin Ellis Martin gives a picture of London life hitherto almost unknown; and that is, that of the canal which goes from Limehouse Dock to Paddington, and is carried under Maida Hill by a tunnel. The illustrations are exceedingly interesting.

Somebody else besides the farmers will be interested in the history of Jersey cattle in America, by Hart Comstock; with portraits of the most celebrated, living and dead.

Hamilton Gibson, who has been recently illustrating, in connection with Diehlman, E. P. Roe's popular book, "Nature's Serial Story," returns to his own field in describing and illustrating "A Witch-Hazel Copse." Many superstitions are connected with this shrub. Where it grows, why it is valued, and what the superstitions are, the reader will find fully set forth in this charming paper.

"A Wild-Goose Chase," which was begun in the April number, is continued in this. Mr. Millet wings his way to Copenhagen and other Danish towns, and the illustrations, while reminding one of Boughton, bear the distinct marks of Mr. Millet's own personality. Mr. Millet is the superior of Mr. Boughton in his management of atmospheric effect, and his equal in the drawing of figures. The article is enriched by the singularly beautiful drawing, by Swain Gifford, of the little town of Skagen.

As befits the May-day season, the weighty political and historical article, which has been such a feature in the winter numbers, is omitted.

Whoever deserves the credit of the suggestion, the public is certainly under great obligations to the "Century" for its wonderful series of papers on the chief events of the war. In the April number full account is given of one of the most dramatic, in its planning and attack, of the many great expeditions of the war of the rebellion. If there were nothing else in the number, the article on "New Orleans Before the Capture," by George W. Cable, and on "The Opening of the Lower Mississippi," by Admiral Porter, would be sufficient to put the "Century" far in advance in respect of popular interest. Not only is the matter of surprising interest, but the illustrations from photographs, and sketches only recently become accessible, give a pictorial interest of the highest class. These papers show that the history of the War of the Rebellion is yet to be written. Another striking feature of this great number, which reached an edition of 225,000, is the thoughtful and amusing presentation, by Theodore Roosevelt, of "Phases of New York State Legislation." Few men have at his age reached at once such political promise and political eminence.

While such scenes can be viewed as those depicted, both by pen and graver, in Eugene Smalley's journey "From Puget Sound to the Upper Columbia," our citizens need not go abroad to enjoy Alpine scenery, for here are mountains of great elevation and glaciers of sublime beauty.

It would appear that Mr. Howell must have a double, for, in addition to his striking story begun in November last, entitled "The Rise of Silas Lapham," he contributes to this number a delightful paper, entitled "A Florentine Mosaic." In illustrating it some of Pennell's most striking etchings are reproduced.

The frontispiece engraves Pennell's well-known etching of the Ponte

Vecchio. This illustrates the most picturesque bit of Florentine architecture.

Mr. Cable has certainly deeply stirred the Southern people, for in this number of the "Century," as well as in several Southern magazines, we find attempts, not wholly successful, to justify the Southern treatment of the Negro in respect to political equality and practical justice. Nearly all these papers substantially admit the truth of Mr. Cable's criticism, while justifying the South on the ground of necessity.

The April number of "The Pulpit Treasury" engraves the portrait of the Rev. F. D. Power, of the Christian Church in Washington. Mr. Power's face is singularly like that of Dr. Duryea as he was fifteen years ago. The number contains sermons by Dr. Power, Dr. Findley, the Rev. J. L. Harris, and Thain Davidson, D.D., and gives a synopsis of sermons by Drs. Hickok, Henson, Conrad, Parkhurst, Faber, and others. "The Pulpit Treasury" we place among our most valued exchanges.

"The American Journal of Philology," edited by Basil Gildersleeve, Professor of Greek in the Johns-Hopkins University, Baltimore, is among the most scholarly of our periodicals. It must necessarily appeal to a limited class, dealing as it does with the higher questions of linguistic criticism; but teachers of the classics cannot afford to dispense with the careful study of its learned pages.

That the rural scenery of England has a perennial charm is proved by the drafts made upon its objects for the delectation of magazine readers. We have seen nothing more beautiful in illustration, and attractive in text, than the series on English "Highways and Byways" now running in the "English Magazine." In the same number will be found one of the best of Archibald Forbes's military sketches, entitled "Interviewed by an Emperor." With regard to matters of art, one will find it hard to choose between "Cassell's Magazine of Art," with its many illustrations, its intelligent criticism, and its chronicle of current art, both English and American, and "The Art Journal," published by Virtue, of London, and by The International News Company, of New York. The brilliant feature in "The Art Journal" is its full-page engraving or etching in each number, while in wood-engraving and art criticism it is the equal of any. The May number has a first-class etching, after Saintine's charming picture of "The Apple Seller."

The successive numbers of "The Historical Magazine" are so rich in matter, so abundant in illustration, and so admirably printed, that one is compelled to ask where the public is which sustains so costly a periodical? Mrs. Martha J. Lamb certainly has a genius for historical writing, and, what is more, knows to whom to apply for her papers of critical accuracy and literary merit. Thus, in the April number, our readers will find several portraits of framers of the Constitution and signers of the Declaration of Independence which are wholly fresh and new.

The article in a previous number, by the Rev. Richard Wheatley, D.D., shows that the editor has learned that some Methodist clergymen are equal to the best magazine work.

The April number reveals, at the hands of Frederick W. Luther, the little known fact that Thomas Jefferson was a naturalist as well as a statesman. This was at least well enough known to inspire the following bitter yet vigorous doggerel:

> "Go, wretch, resign the presidential chair,
> Disclose thy secret measures, foul or fair;
> Go, search with curious eyes for horned frogs,
> 'Mid the wild wastes of Louisiana's bogs;
> Or, where Ohio rolls his turbid stream,
> Dig for huge bones, thy glory and thy theme."

It is pleasant to see the development of an enterprise from an insignificant tract, with more than a squint at advertising the wares of a particular firm, to a magazine of the first order. Such a development have the readers of "The Wheelman" witnessed. At first devoted wholly to the bicycle, it is now grown to be an authority of the first class on all matters of out-door amusements, and has papers on travel, technical industries, modern architecture, and forestry, which are worthy of any magazine in the world. In the process of development, it has changed its name as well as its character, and is now known as "Outing." It is well worth reading, especially in the summer months.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Prophecy and History in Relation to the Messiah. The Warburton Lectures for 1880–84. With two Appendices on the Arrangement, Analysis, and Recent Criticism of the Pentateuch. By ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M.A. Oxon, D.D., Ph.D., Author of "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah." 8vo, pp. 391. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

Dr. Edersheim's great work on "Jesus the Messiah," has made his name familiar to students of the literature of the important subject to which that work is devoted; and although the subject seemed to be fully written up before that work was issued, and all that was needful appeared to have been said, it nevertheless has awakened a new interest in the theme, by treating it as viewed from a new and important stand-point—the Judaic-Christian. The favor with which that work was received seems to have induced its author and publishers to bring out yet another and somewhat kindred work, presenting the Old Testament side of the subject, the Christology of both its literature and its institutions, so making a kind of supplementary epistle to the Hebrews, in favor of Jesus as their expected Messiah.

The form in which the discussion of the work now in hand appears—that of lectures, each one somewhat complete in itself—allows very considerable freedom of method, and even discursiveness, in respect to the chosen lines of arguments and the specific subjects considered. Himself a thorough Old Testament student, the author's attention was necessarily drawn to the treatment to which the Pentateuch especially has recently been subjected, and he practically recognizes the obligation of those who believe in the Bible as it is as a divinely given record, to meet the assaults of the destructive criticism of the age with fair and open arguments, and confronting criticism with criticism. And as a careful strategist he begins by considering what points in the traditional faith may be neither defensible nor worth defending, in order that there may be no waste of power and prestige in futile efforts to sustain them. He even welcomes the attacks that have been made upon the factitious portions of the popular beliefs respecting the Hebrew Scriptures as likely to result in fuller considerations of what may be invalidated, and so to lead to a wider and more adequate understanding of the whole subject. And here he defines the true and only tenable position at once courageously and cautiously: "It may be," he remarks, "that much that has proved indefensible, and which all along had only been held because it was traditional, and had never before been properly considered, *may have to be given up*, and that the old truth may have to be presented in new forms, as the result of more accurate investigation and more scientific criticism." In this spirit all his discussions seem to be conducted; and although so ready to surrender all that a just and liberal criticism might condemn, he is in no haste to abandon any point till it has been shown to be indefensible; and accordingly very little that seems requisite to the integrity of revealed truth is given up. The great difficulty experienced by rationalistic critics respecting the teachings of the Old Testament is not the result of literary criticism, but of an illogical, rationalistic skepticism, the denial, in advance, of the possibility of its supernaturalness; for if that is granted the chief difficulties at once disappear. From this point of view the author prosecutes his discussions, and comes to conclusions that ought to satisfy every intelligent believer in the divinity of the Bible.

There is, all along in these lectures, an implied confession that the criticisms of the Old Testament by the school of Wellhausen and Kuenen, of which Robertson Smith became the interpreter for English-speaking readers, are not to be set aside as worthless, nor silenced as simply the utterances of profane unbelief. In the progress of affairs the time has come when the Old Testament must be subjected to a no less thorough examination than has been given to the New Testament during the past years of the century; and as this has passed the ordeal unscathed, but not without important modifications of its interpretation, so no doubt will that, but with probably still greater modifications, which will also greatly contribute to its practical utility, especially in respect to its relations to the New Testament and to its own Christological testimony. To prosecute these studies fearlessly but reverently is the high duty devolved by the

existing conditions on the Christian scholarship of the age, and to this discussion these lectures may be accepted as a tentative contribution, showing how the work must be done rather than actually and effectually doing it.

The publishers have given us the work in a superb and attractive form; the paper, typography, and the whole mechanical execution are of a high order, and the pages invite to the reading. In behalf of all who may read this volume, we render thanks for the style in which it is manufactured, with the hope that the pattern here set may be copied in very many other cases.

The Old Testament Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom Traced in its Historical Development. By C. VON ORELLI, Professor of Theology, Basel. Translated by Rev. J. S. Banks, Headingly College, Leeds (England). 8vo, pp. 472. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The reconstruction of Old Testament thought among evangelical Christians is a marked, and also a hopeful, fact of our times. With the enlarged and corrected views brought about by improved methods of biblical interpretation, a modification of the conceptions of the substance of the older revelation, and of the correlations of the old and the new, had at length become a necessity. It is not strange that at such a time of the transition of thought the audacity of unspiritual scholarship should seek to discredit the traditional estimate of the character and design of the Hebrew Scriptures, and to develop just what is seen in a well-known and very pretentious school of Old Testament interpretation. These things have also devolved on the Christian scholarship of the age the duty of readjusting the conceptions of the prophetic Scriptures to the more or less complete development of their contents in the Gospel. This great work is now proceeding, not only ably, but on the whole not unsatisfactorily. We have noticed within the past twelve months, in these pages, several highly valuable contributions to this design, some of them translations from the German, and some originally written in English—of the latter special mention may be made of Edersheim's great works—and we now with pleasure place among these the work above named.

The Christology of the Old Testament is an attractive and a practically valuable study: for there can be no question but that the older Scriptures testify of Christ, and that the two Testaments are parts of an indivisible unit. It is no doubt true, that the Old Testament can be best understood when contemplated in the clear light of its own fulfillment as seen in the gospels. But to study and interpret that collection of history and prophecy and poetry through the New Testament has its perils also, which the Protestant commentators of the last two centuries before our own did not wholly escape. The remark of the good Bishop Horne, respecting his Notes on the Psalms, that he would rather seem to find Christ in prophecy ten times where he is not than to miss him once where he really is, may have a pious tone about it, but there is also in it a most damaging element of untruthfulness—something of the nature of a pious fraud con-

sciously accepted for one's self and imposed upon others. To truly enter into the spirit of the Hebrew Scriptures one should seek to place himself, in mind and thought, among their conditions and environments; to ask himself how they were understood by those to whom they were originally given, and what the writers themselves meant by them; and while his better Christian knowledge will greatly help him to apprehend their deep spiritual import, which the people did not suspect and the prophets themselves only partially perceived, great care should be used not to read the New Testament *into* the Old. Especially is it needful to avoid that sort of microscopic literalism which seeks to make of prophecy a kind of anticipatory history of future details of facts. The design of the work we are noticing appears to agree with this notion. Its full "Introduction," of nearly eight pages, discusses the general character of biblical prophecy, distinguishing it from every thing, pretended or real, in heathenism, and showing that its perpetually recognized ideal was the "kingdom of God." In Part I. we have a discussion of the prophetic manifestation of God's purpose in respect to that kingdom among the patriarchs and to the Israelites; and in Part II. is given the testimony of the prophets of Israel to its future manifestation in Him "of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write." We can heartily commend this work as well calculated to prove helpful to all earnest students of the Bible who dare to be instructed in the truth. There are points at which we hesitate to accept the writer's views and to adopt his methods, and there are minor conclusions drawn from accepted methods that may appear doubtful; but as a whole the work is wholesome, evangelical, and conservative.

An Explanation of the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Rev. SAMUEL LOWRIE, D.D., Pastor of the Ewing Presbyterian Church, New Jersey. 8vo, pp. 539. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

This goodly volume appears to be the fruit of the private studies of a Christian pastor, who, instead of spreading his labors promiscuously over the whole Bible, has selected a single book for special and more thorough consideration, and also for his own profit, rather than for purposes of authorship. The plan is an excellent one, and the example so set is worthy of general imitation, both on account of the learning so to be gained, and for the habits of study to be acquired. The method of annotation is that of continuous discussions, rather than specific criticisms and exegeses, and of crisp and concise statements of results. This method has its advantages, and also its disadvantages, and the preponderance of each or either will depend largely on the mental habits of the reader. For desultory reading the plan here adopted may have the preference, but not so for more exact thinkers, who require that every thought shall be clearly defined and differentiated. The author brings a decidedly reputable amount of scholarship to his chosen task, though in some things the influences of the seminary and university lectures are quite manifest. His favorite authority is Von Hofman, who may be described as able but one-sided, which

latter quality very decidedly affects his admiring disciple, yet not so unfavorably but that he has given us both an able and an instructive *discussion*, rather than "explanation," of this most excellent epistle. Whenever a Calvinistic writer attempts an exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is occasion for curiosity as to how he will deal with the famous passages in the sixth and tenth chapters respecting the "falling away" of those who were once "enlightened," etc., since for dogmatic reasons all such are compelled to reject their plain and obvious sense, and so to find out some other way of escape. But because scarcely any two are agreed as to what device shall be used, since for very plain reasons no one can be expected to accept any of the palpable sophisms that have been propounded, it is always interesting to notice how each new contestant will deal with the case. Our author discusses the text with commendable fairness, confessing that each man's opinions are usually determined by dogmatic reasons (a confession which he is at liberty to make for himself and his party, but not for others), and as he is not ready to surrender the crown-jewel of his system, he decides, without much argument, that notwithstanding the strong language used by the inspired writer, the persons described in those places were not truly regenerate Christians. All of which is only a practical illustration of the maxim, "When reason is against a man, that man will be against reason."

Sermons by Bishop Matthew Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Edited, from Short-hand Reports, by GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 454. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Bishop Simpson, though eminently many-sided, was especially a preacher, which means more than simply a maker of sermons. His discourses had no lack of thoughts, but these were peculiarly striking by reason of their setting, and still more so on account of the indescribable power of the speaker's presence—not his voice, or gestures, or oratorical methods in their severalty, but in the clearly appreciated but never analyzed power that attended his discourses. It was feared that his sermons, reproduced after his decease, would lack much of that peculiar flavor which so largely distinguished them as spoken; nor can it be claimed that this fear was wholly groundless; and yet by the process used much of the original freshness is retained.

Only two of these five and twenty discourses were written out in full by their eloquent author, and most of them were untouched by him after their delivery. It is not pretended, however, that, as here printed, these are precisely the same as the spoken discourses, for in preparing them for the press the editor has wisely adapted them to their new condition, yet not so far changing them as to deprive them of the freedom and freshness of extempore discourses. Those who often heard the great preacher will recognize among these sermons some old acquaintances, and will be pleased to meet them in their new conditions. The work is a valuable contribution to current Methodist literature, which will also, no doubt, become permanent and abiding. Dr. Crooks has done his work well.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Autobiography of Henry Taylor, 1800–1875. Two Volumes. 12mo, pp. 307, 287. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Perhaps some one will ask, "Who was Henry Taylor?" who is here named with the apparent assumption that his identity, and something of his history, will be at once recognized, while perhaps to very many it will be only a name. This question the work before us answers, and at the same time vindicates its own right to be. It is not, however, the story of great adventures or sensational achievements, nor yet the biography of either a hero or a genius, but rather a sketch of a somewhat successful career, during a long life-time not yet ended, for the writer and subject is still living, and enjoying a green old age at eighty-five, spent in London, occupied in the public service, with occasional excursions into the fields of literature, and a free mingling in society and among the leading men of his times.

Mr. Taylor, whose years correspond with those of the century, began his life in Bishop-Middleham, Durham, the son of a "farmer," who seems to have been a man of some wealth, and also of very considerable culture, and at twenty-three years old he came up to London "on a venture," intending to devote himself to the pursuit of literature, in which he had already made a hopeful beginning. But through the favor of Dr. Holland (afterward Sir Henry) he was offered and accepted a place in the Colonial Office, in which occupation, in some of its grades, he passed his subsequent active life, retiring, duly pensioned, in 1875. From his quiet retreat he now sends forth his personal recollections of men and events as they came under his observation.

The special value of this work is the clear insight that it affords into the most distinguished circle of English social and public affairs during the not remote past, and which are still considered the things of to-day. He was personally brought into intimate and honorable contact with most of the leading men of his time, both literary and political; held confidential relations with the heads of the various governments of both parties; and was the associate of many of the great lights of literature, among whom he continues to hold a respectable position, both as a writer and a critic, and also as a leader of public opinion. During his public career occurred some of the most interesting events in England's colonial history, of which he was not only a close observer but also an active and efficient promoter. He was an active opponent of slavery in the British dominions, and gives a most interesting account of the transition of the Negroes from that condition to freedom, as it took place in the West Indies during the "six-years' apprenticeship" system that began under the abolition act of 1834. The Chartist movement of 1848 affected the Colonial Office so far that the old brick house at the end of Downing Street, where its home was, was converted into a fortress, of which he gives a graphic account. His interest in the problem of human

slavery made him a deeply interested looker-on during our great Civil War. On this subject he writes:

> The real triumph of the war was in the extinction of slavery, which was *not* the object of it. If there was no hope that slavery could be extinguished as we extinguished it in our colonies, or otherwise than by force, it may be well to have had it extinguished even at the cost of that monstrous and horrible war, with all the demoralization and evil passions it has left behind it.

A capital feature of this work is its pen-and-ink portraits of an unusual number of distinguished persons with whom the author was on terms of intimacy. This is what he says of Carlyle:

> His relations with the people are without a precedent, as far as I am aware, in these times or in any—the human paradox of the period. He is their "chartered libertine," assailing them and their rights, insisting that they should be every-where ruled with a rod of iron, and yet more honored and admired by them than any demagogue who pays them knee-worship. In courting the people it is easy, no doubt, to err on the side of obsequiousness, and to lose their respect. But it is far from easy to defy them, and yet to conquer. How the conquest has been achieved by Carlyle is a perplexing problem.

As a literary man, Taylor will certainly be chiefly remembered as the author of "Philip Van Arteveldt," and of this "Autobiography," in which he has clearly builded better than he knew; and certainly he has given a deeply instructive and entertaining work: capital leisure-hour reading.

Old Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church of Brooklyn, N. Y. An Illustrated Centennial Record, Historical and Biographical. By Rev. EDWIN WARRINER, Corresponding Secretary of New York East Conference Historical Society. With an Introduction by Rev. ALBERT S. HUNT, D.D. 8vo, pp. 520. New York: Published for the Author by Phillips & Hunt. Cloth, $3; sheep, $4.

"The people called Methodists" have usually been makers of history, rather than careful custodians of their own annals. They have been so busy doing that they have failed to write down in order their own works, and the results of their efforts. The reflection of Goldsmith respecting the evanescent nature of literary renown, that when fame is increased by time it is usually too late to investigate the subject, adding beautifully, "The dews of the morning are past, and we vainly try to continue the chase by the meridian splendor," applies with increased emphasis to such a case as is here presented. Like "the kingdom of God" generally, this one of its later manifestations comes "not with observation," and its story of scarcely a hundred years is already obscured in the dimness of distance, while, like the remnants of the sibyl's books, the value of what remains increases in inverse ratio to its abundance and completeness. When Methodism began its career in New York, in 1766, there was no Brooklyn; but twenty-one years later, the minister stationed at John Street, New York, went over the ferry and preached in the open air to the few "'long-shore" people then dwelling in that vicinity, and from such small beginnings the plant of Methodism became naturalized and localized.

The book named above is the result and the monument of an untold

amount of indefatigable and well-directed labors, which, indeed, is abundantly justified by the outcome; to the author by the successful achievement of a long-cherished labor of love, and to all who care for the truth of history by the rescuing of so many almost entirely forgotten facts and incidents respecting early Methodism in Brooklyn. Though the writer tells us apologetically that "it is not an easy task to prepare memorials of persons long since dead, about whom no timely record has been made," still that his quest has not been an unsuccessful one is sufficiently evinced by this noble volume. It contains, besides a continuous record of the society and church of "Old Sands Street" from the beginning, with incidents and anecdotes, memorials of nearly two hundred persons, and half as many illustrations, chiefly portraits, many of them of ministers of connectional reputation, and also of laymen and women of that church. The book is a valuable contribution to both general and local Methodist history, and the author has made the whole Church his debtor by its preparation. It deserves a liberal sale.

Women of the Reformation. By Mrs. ANNIE WITTENMYER. 12mo, 460 pp. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $2.

This work has been carefully compiled from many sources, and from numerous volumes. The whole, however, has been rewritten, so that there is the uniformity of style that might be expected in a strictly original work. The *facts* only are borrowed; the telling of those facts is largely Mrs. Wittenmyer's. The period selected by her is the latter half of the sixteenth century, when the greater part of Europe was stirred to its depths by the wide-spread upheaval of religious thought which marked that part of European history, beginning with the time and labors of John Wiclif. The selections take a wide range, embracing not only notices of many of the noble women of England, but also of those of Germany, France, Holland, and Scotland. The book is instructive and pleasant reading, and will prove especially valuable to young people.

The Bishop of Africa; or, the Life of William Taylor, D.D. With an Account of the Congo Country and Missions. By Rev. E. DAVIES, Author of "The Gift of the Holy Ghost," etc. 12mo, pp. 192. Reading, Mass.: Holiness Book Concern.

This is a spirited book, by an earnest admirer of the latest, and in an eminent sense the best, of all the African explorers; and any defect of mental grasp and literary finish that may be detected is compensated by the writer's zeal, and the fervor of his conceptions. Its spirit is also generally kindly, though the points of the animal's claws occasionally reveal themselves, protruding from the velvet paws. Some really good people are all the time apparently spoiling for a fight. As a trumpet call to the Church, we expect good to come of this little volume, for we are persuaded that the heroic element in Christianity ought to be turned to account, especially in foreign missionary work. When the writer undertakes to expound constitutional law we somehow think of the proverb, "Shoe-maker, stick to your last."

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Descriptive Atlas of the United States, for Reference and General Information. (Copyright, 1884.) Quarto, pp. 292. New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, & Co.

Very great improvements have been made in all departments of school-books during the life of the present generation, and in none greater than in manuals of geography. By the aid of maps and pictures all the advantages of object-teaching are obtained, and the reader at home is enabled to see what are the forms and the relative extent, and in some degree the physical features, of the various countries, even better than can be seen by the traveler. The work whose title is above written, though designed especially for schools, is also well suited for the study and fireside; and since it becomes needful to renew one's geographical knowledge every few years, some such work in its successive editions is a necessity; and we know of none better fitted for general use than is this. A new edition, we are informed, is in preparation, and will soon be published.

The Children's Portion. By ALEXANDER M'LEOD, D.D. 12mo, pp. 337. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

How to interest and edify the children in the exercises of public worship is a question about equally important and difficult. Dr. M'Leod and some others have attempted its practical solution by "giving from ten to fifteen minutes of the morning (or evening) service to the instruction of the children present." The volume in hand is made up of these brief, direct, and very plain discourses, written out and somewhat modified for the press. They are good and very wholesome lessons, especially adapted to be read aloud in the family circle or in groups of young children.

Letters from Hell. Given in English. By L. W. J. S. With a Preface by GEORGE MACDONALD, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 350. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Under the above startling title we have here a rather remarkable *quasi*-religious work, originally written in Danish, but translated into English under the auspices of George MacDonald, who also contributes a Preface, in which he tells us that his sole purpose in his efforts to introduce the work to English readers is to help some "to turn away from that which alone is really horrible, the doing of unrighteousness." The "Letters" recount the experiences of a man who has lost his soul through sin, and after death finds himself in hell. Here he encounters other beings who, in various ways, and as a punishment for misdeeds done in the body, have reached the same place. They relate their histories. The misery of these sufferers grows out of their own recollections and remorse. The author expressly states that "there are no devils in this place, save our own sinful desires, evil passions, and thoughts." By giving the reader a foretaste of these possible thoughts, he endeavors to terrify sinners into repentance before it is too late. Mr. MacDonald, it would seem, is not acquainted with the scriptural lesson of the rich man and Lazarus.

My Sermon-Notes. A Selection from Outlines of Discourses Delivered at the Metropolitan Tabernacle: with Anecdotes and Illustrations. By C. H. SPURGEON. From Genesis to Proverbs. I–LXIV. 12mo, pp. 389. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Return, O Shunammite, and Other Sermons. Preached in 1884. By C. H. SPURGEON (London). 12mo, pp. 379. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A wonderful man is Charles H. Spurgeon, and as admirable as wonderful. In the forty years of his ministry in London he has preached and printed more matter than any other man—probably more than any two—and it has all been good, in the best sense, calculated to make men better and to glorify God. Upon such works merely literary criticism would be misplaced; they have the signature of the favor of God and man in their results. The former of the volumes above indicated is made up of outlines of sermons; the latter is a collection of seventeen sermons fully written out, the rather awkward title of the first of which is here given to the whole book.

Democratic Government: A Study of Politics. By ALBERT STICKNEY. 12mo, pp. 166. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The times seem to be at once prolific of politicians (in the lower sense), and barren of statesmen and statesmanship. A few solitary scholars and writers, among them John Fiske, George Ticknor Curtis, Charles Nordhoff, and Albert Stickney, are endeavoring to perpetuate the study of the first principles of statesmanship, of which our public men appear to be willing to remain in ignorance, while struggling for the ascendency of their several parties and dividing "the spoils." We therefore welcome such a book as this, because it suggests thoughts, and is therefore valuable, even if some of its proposed measures may seem to be utopian and impracticable.

Diet for the Sick. A Treatise on the Values of Foods, their Applications to Special Conditions of Health and Disease, and on the Best Methods of their Preparation. By Mrs. MARY F. HENDERSON, Author of "Practical Cooking and Dinner Giving." Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 234. New York: Harper & Brothers.

New Light on Mormonism. By Mrs. ELLEN E. DICKINSON. With an Introduction by THURLOW WEED. 12mo, pp. 272. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

This clever little book is made up largely of reliable information respecting the beginnings of the Mormon delusion, drawn from original and evidently trustworthy sources. Mr. Weed's Introduction, filling a single page, is simply an indorsement of such of the facts as came under his personal observation when, fifty years ago, he was a printer at Onondaga Hollow, with the added expression of "surprise and regret that such vulgar impostors (as were the originators of Mormonism) should have obtained a following which is even drawing proselytes by thousands from Europe." His wonder would have been less had he considered the saying of Southey, who, referring to the then recently suppressed treason of Burr, remarked, "The next Aaron Burr may discern that *fanaticism* is the most effective weapon with which ambition can arm itself;" words that, in the presence of the existing gigantic Mormon delusion, sound like the voice of prophecy, now reaching its fulfillment.

Oats or Wild Oats. Common Sense for Young Men. By J. M. BUCKLEY, LL.D. (Editor "The Christian Advocate.") 12mo, pp. 306. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Readers of "The Christian Advocate" will recognize these chapters as old acquaintances, though somewhat dressed up for their new presentation. Agreeable to the maxim that you should never criticise your friend's performance, for if you praise it will be credited to your partiality, and if you blame you will alienate a friend, we are prohibited from discussing this work, which emanates from the office next adjoining our own. But we will recommend all young men who may read this notice to see for themselves what are the real merits of the book.

A Manual of the Romaic or "Modern" Greek Pronunciation, and its Application to Ancient Greek. By H. A. SCOMP, Professor of Greek in Emory College, Oxford, Ga. 16mo, pp. 24. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

The Shoes of Peace. By ANNA B. WARNER. 16mo, pp. 136. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Virginia Cookery Book. Compiled by MARY STUART SMITH. 12mo, pp. 33. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Lives of Greek Statesmen: Solon—Themistokles. By Rev. Sir GEORGE W. COX, M.A., Author of "General History of Greece," etc. 16mo, pp. 227. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The first sentence of the preface of the book gives the true reason for its form and substance: "The history of a people is often best studied in the lives of individual citizens." Acting on this thought, the author of this little volume gives, in the form of biographies and personal characterizations, the chief events of their nation's career. The persons named and sketched are Solon, Peisistratos, Kleisthenes, Polykrates, Aristagoras, Miltiades, Aristeides, Themistokles, Pausanias, and Gelon. The personal histories of these together comprise the history of Greece during its brightest periods.

The Adventures of Jimmy Brown. Written by Himself, and edited by M. L. Alden. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 236. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Alden, who is also known as the *funny man* of the "New York Times," is better in a continuous story than in some of his briefer articles, in which there is occasionally a rather conspicuous want of both humor and wit. But "Jimmy Brown" is a pretty good story-teller—amusing if not instructive.

Hegel's Æsthetics. A Critical Exposition. By JOHN STEINFORT KEDNEY, S.T.D., Author of "The Beautiful and the Sublime." 16mo, pp. 302. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

The editor and publishers of this little volume are engaged in bringing out, in condensed forms, some of the most noted works of the later school of German philosophers—Kant, Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel. This one is the fourth of the series; the preceding ones were "Kant's Pure Reason," "Schelling's Transcendental Idealism," and "Fichte's Science of Knowledge." The book now in hand is a fine embodiment of the subjective principles of art, as illustrated in artistic creations and as operating in æsthetic culture. It is a work of great merit, which will probably be read by comparatively few, but by them it will be greatly admired.

The Pattern in the Mount, and Other Sermons. By CHARLES H. PARKHURST, D.D., Madison Square (Presbyterian) Church, N. Y. 12mo, pp. 254. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. $1 25.

Seventeen sermons—probably written for use in the author's ordinary Sabbath services—devoted chiefly to different phases of the Christian life. Good and wholesome, and sufficiently learned and able for their original purpose; and in their printed form quite worthy of the attention of those who delight in this kind of reading.

Assyriology. Its Use and Abuse in Old Testament Study. By FRANCIS BROWN, Associate Professor of Biblical Philology in Union Theological Seminary, New York (city). 12mo, pp. 96. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Union Theological Seminary, according to its custom, opened the last seminary year by a discourse, having Professor Brown as preacher, who made Assyriology his theme. His discourse was both appreciative and depreciative of his subject, as it is now treated; the great value of the study is recognized, while the almost always manifested tendency to overdo, in such cases, is pointed out with appropriate cautions. It is a well-written and suggestive production, with a valuable outline of the literature of the subject.

Elias Power, of Ease-in-Zion. By JOHN M. BAMFORD, Author of "The Disciple Among the Poor," etc. 12mo, pp. 220. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 80 cents.

An allegory illustrating the Christian life in its decadence, with suggestions for its revival. It is locally a North of England story, with a decided Yorkshire flavor.

The Overthrow of American Slavery: Containing Descriptions of Important Events and Sketches of some of the Prominent Actors. By WILLIAM G. QUEAL. (Printed for the Author.) 12mo, pp. 275. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

The whole story of the antislavery conflict, with its consummation, is here given in verse, written not without some show of cleverness, though the poetical claims of the production are not especially well sustained. It will, perhaps, interest some and amuse others, but it will not, probably, secure a permanent place in the literature of the age.

Romer, King of Norway, and Other Dreams. By ADAIR WELCKER. 16mo, pp. 245. Sacramento, Cal.: Lewis & Johnson.

The author tells us that these poems are written especially for the critics of the future. To them they are respectfully commended.

Delivered from Afar; or, Hopes Realized in Dakota. By RALPH ROGERS. 12mo, pp. 428. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1 50.

A story of "going West;" with suggestions respecting social and moral problems.

At the Sign of the Blue Boar. A Story of the Reign of Charles II. By EMMA LESLIE, Author of "Before the Dawn," etc. 12mo, pp. 313. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

Miss Leslie is a good story-teller, and all her books are good; but they are many, and all pitched to the same key—and so just a little monotonous.

After the pages of this number of the Review had been made up, we were called to record the decease of our honored predecessor,

REV. DANIEL D. WHEDON, D.D., LL.D.

He was born in Onondaga, N. Y., March 20, 1808; was graduated at Hamilton College in 1828; was Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature at Wesleyan University 1833–43; was Professor of Rhetoric, Logic, and History in Michigan University 1845–53; was elected Editor of the "Methodist Quarterly Review" in 1856, and continued in that office by successive quadrennial elections till 1884, when he retired on account of failing health. His death occurred at Atlantic Highlands, N. J., Monday, June 8, 1885.

Dr. Whedon was among the early classically educated ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of his more than fifty years in the ministry only four or five were devoted to pastoral work. Twenty years were given to educational work, and twenty-eight to the editorship of the Review.

His scholarship was of a high order. He excelled in the classics, and was thoroughly a master in logic and rhetoric, but was especially at home in philosophy and in social and political science. His work as editor of a leading Review kept him abreast of the varied learning of his times, in all the varied forms of which he was recognized as an authority. He will, however, be the longest and most gratefully remembered for his work as a biblical critic and expositor, and his Commentary on the New Testament is his best monument. Though Dr. Whedon is most widely known by his public reputation, yet to a narrower circle, with whom he was brought into personal relations, his memory will be cherished as that of a man of great purity of character, and of high moral and religious qualities. And as he had, in his life-time, proved the divine goodness, even with length of days, so now, we are assured that the last promise to God's favored ones, "I will show him my salvation," has been accomplished. D. C.

Henry Bannister

REV. HENRY BANNISTER, D.D.

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1885.

ART. I.—REV. HENRY BANNISTER, D.D.

AMONG the names of those who helped to lay the foundations of the present system of higher education in the Methodist Episcopal Church not many are worthy of a more honorable mention than that of Rev. HENRY BANNISTER. He was of a sturdy stock. His paternal ancestry, dating from Old England two hundred years ago, belonged to the best of New England's early colonists. The first representative of the family in America was Christopher Bannister, born in 1636, and died, in Sudbury, Mass., in 1678. During the colonial period, one or more of his descendants were officers in the local military forces, and assisted in protecting the settlers against the Indians. A grandson, John Bannister, was an officer in the French and Indian wars, and had a part in the struggle whose result changed the destinies of the North American continent from French Catholic to an English Protestant character. A son of this officer, another John, and an uncle of [illegible] a captain in the Massachusetts forces during the war of independence.

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Henry Bannister, son of Amos, was born in Conway, Mass., October 5, 1812. When he was but three years old, his parents removed to Canton, N. Y., where his father died. When but a child he read the life of Benjamin Abbott, which deeply affected him. When about twelve years old he was deeply convicted of sin, by a sermon preached in a country school-house by Rev. B. G. Paddock; and about two years later, under the judicious teaching and guidance of a pious

school-master, he was clearly and soundly converted. His early religious associations had been with another denomination, but as he had been drawn to God by Methodist agencies he chose to cast in his lot with that people. He now felt an earnest desire for an education, and he devoted himself to study as far as he could find opportunities. When about nineteen years of age he found a door providentially opened for him to attend Cazenovia Seminary, which was commenced four years before. His friend and father in Christ, Rev. B. G. Paddock, was about to make his home at Cazenovia, and young Bannister was encouraged to go thither also. Accordingly his trunk was sent forward with the goods of his friend and patron, while he himself walked the whole distance of a hundred and fifty miles, and soon after (in 1831) he became a student in the Seminary, with only his own resolution and his trust in God for his dependence. By working and teaching and hard studying he was able to complete his preparation for college in two years. Rev. W. C. Larrabee was principal at that time, with Nelson Rounds, William H. Allen, John Johnston, J. Wadsworth Tyler, and Lockwood Hoyt for his associates. Young Bannister's earnestness, regularity, and fidelity to all his duties as a student secured for him not only proficiency in all his studies, but also the admiration of his instructors.

He entered Wesleyan University in 1833, when Dr. Wilbur Fisk was its president, and A. W. Smith and D. D. Whedon were among the professors, and later during his college course he enjoyed the advantages of the instruction of Professors Holdich and Johnston. He was graduated in 1836, having for classmates, among others, D. P. Kidder, Schuyler Seager, and D. W. Clark. In the classes below his, but his fellow-students, were D. Curry, E. Wentworth, Charles Collins, W. M. Rice, Edward Bannister, J. L. Alverson, H. M. Johnson, L. L. Knox, and B. Hawley. It was a time when giants were training younger giants for great work. The fact is obvious, however it may be explained, that the earliest classes of our colleges contained an unusual number of students who afterward became distinguished men. Not a few of them were without other pecuniary resources than their own earnings, or in some cases loans to be repaid, often secured by a life-insurance, or ad-

vances made by their parents to be repaid from their patrimony. They *went* to college rather than *were sent*, and the same zeal and devotion to a great purpose that first brought them into student life made them effective in it, and also carried them to eminence in their after careers. It is not an unmixed evil for an ambitious young man to be compelled to struggle with the burdens and embarrassments of poverty. To overcome them is the best possible assurance of ultimate success.

After his graduation Mr. Bannister attended the Auburn Theological Seminary for three years, and for the next two years was a teacher in the Academy at Lowville, N. Y. In 1840 he took charge of Fairfield Academy, N. Y., then an institution of high rank; and in 1843 was elected Principal of Cazenovia Seminary, succeeding Rev. G. G. Hapgood.

That institution, now over sixty years old, has had a most honorable career, and has occupied an advanced grade among the highest class of Methodist seminaries. It was first opened in 1824, when the only other institutions under the patronage of the Church were: Augusta College, Ky., founded in 1822; Kent's Hill Academy, Me., 1821; Wilbraham Academy, Mass., originally established at New Market, N. H., in 1818, but removed to Wilbraham in 1825. The foundation of Cazenovia Seminary was laid as early as 1817, with the design of expanding it into a college to be located at Ithaca, but the scheme shrank to the dimensions of a seminary, in which capacity it was first opened for the reception of students in 1824. In 1843, when Mr. Bannister became its principal, it had risen to be the third in the number of students in the State. The financial distress that prevailed in and after 1843 greatly embarrassed the institution. Among his first duties was the attempt to raise funds for the removal of the indebtedness of the institution, and to secure some greatly needed repairs, which he accomplished in the face of the most discouraging circumstances. After this the advance of the institution was greater than ever before. The number of students increased, and its grade of instruction was very considerably elevated; extensive additions were made to the apparatus and the library; and only a few years later, the buildings were greatly enlarged; in all of which work the principal was the chief agent. And so successful was he in his efforts that he soon placed the seminary in

the very front rank of institutions of its class in all the State. About this time his *alma mater* honored herself by conferring upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. Among his associates in the board of instruction were such men as James L. Alverson, afterward president of Genesee College; Dr. A. B. Hyde, late of Allegheny College, now of Denver University; Dr. J. W. Armstrong, late principal of the State Normal School, at Fredonia, N. Y.; Dr. Edward Bannister, late president of the University of the Pacific, Cal. After a collegiate department had been added to the seminary at Lima, a similar scheme was attempted at Cazenovia; but the attempted university at Troy, and the subsequently more successful enterprise at Syracuse, seemed to forbid that undertaking, and it was at length definitely abandoned. As now arranged, the Methodist Episcopal Church has a well-ordered system of educational institutions for the Empire State, a central University, and a large and ably conducted Seminary in most of its Annual Conference territories; and with its work so organized it is able to secure the greatest aggregate results. Dr. Bannister was principal of Cazenovia Seminary for thirteen years—1843–56. During those years some thousands of students received his instruction and guidance, many of whom still live and hold his name in precious remembrance. Though he was a thorough disciplinarian, sometimes almost approaching to sternness, yet his recognized kindliness of heart, and the evident purity of his purposes, secured for him the esteem of all who came under his control. It is given to only a favored few to mold and impress so many minds—and persons afterward found in so many walks of public and private life—and in all cases for their good. Among those who were his pupils not a few have risen to distinguished positions. Among these may be mentioned General Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut; Hon. Charles Andrews, of the New York Court of Appeals; Charles Dudley Warner, of literary fame; Hon. Leland Stanford, of California; Rev. Dr. John P. Newman; Eliphalet Remington, Esq., of Ilion, N. Y.; Rev. Dr. W. A. Bartlett, of Washington, D. C.; Rev. O. H. Warren, of Syracuse; Professor A. M. Prentiss, of Cornell University; Hon. D. P. Baldwin, of Indiana; and Hon. D. L. Follett, of the Supreme Court of New York State; and this long and illustrious roll might be extended much further. Not

many academies can present such a record of distinguished names.

In 1856 Dr. Bannister was called to fill the chair of exegetical theology in Garrett Biblical Institute, at Evanston, Ill., in which position he remained till removed by death, declining on several occasions to accept invitations to more conspicuous, but to him less desirable, positions. In 1869–70 he traveled in Europe and the Orient, visiting the great centers of European learning and culture, and studying the sites and topography of the lands of the Bible. It was while on this tour that he traveled from Jerusalem to Beyroot with Bishop Kingsley, and was with him at the time of his death at the latter place. He was connected with the old Oneida Conference from 1842 to 1856, when he became a member of Wisconsin Conference, and remained such till his decease in 1882. He was a member of three successive General Conferences—those of 1864, 1868, 1872. In 1870 he was appointed by the United States government a visitor to the Military Academy at West Point.

Rev. John Dempster, D.D., who is the recognized pioneer of special biblical and theological schools for training candidates for the Methodist ministry, after ten or more years devoted to that work at Concord, N. H., during which time the "Biblical Institute" at that place became thoroughly established—it still lives as the "School of Theology" of Boston University—undertook a like work at Evanston, near Chicago, aided by the noble liberality of a Christian lady, Mrs. Eliza Garrett, and in honor of its patron, and in remembrance of the title of his earliest "school of the prophets," Dr. Dempster called the new seminary "Garrett Biblical Institute." His original associates in its board of instruction were Drs. D. P. Kidder and Henry Bannister. To this new field of labor and of Christian endurance Dr. Bannister brought the same transparent honesty, fidelity of purpose, and earnest love for his work, and especially the marked personal care for the subjects of his teachings, that had distinguished him at Cazenovia—qualities that pre-eminently fitted him for his work.

The visitor at Evanston to-day finds but little to remind him of the newness and crudeness of the condition of thirty years ago of that quiet seat of Christian learning, and now flourish-

ing suburb of a great and wealthy city. Every thing was to be begun and carried forward with the fewest and simplest appliances, and with subjects for tuition as crude and unprepared as were their surroundings. Into this work Professor Bannister threw himself with characteristic devotion, and in it he continued with indomitable perseverance, laboring patiently and hopefully through all its formative stages, till he saw it established and enlarged into its full proportions, standing side by side with the noble array of kindred institutions which together combine to make Evanston at once the Oxford and the Mecca of the North-west. Here he lived and labored, happily and successfully, till, smitten by disease he ceased to live and labor, April 14, 1882—one of the noble few of whom, at the close of his career, one instinctively exclaims, "Well done, good and faithful."

Of his work and character, a judicious and not overdrawn estimate is given in the reported remarks made by his surviving associate, Dr. Ninde (now Bishop), from which brief extracts are subjoined:

In the sphere of Christian education, and during the past twenty-seven years in the sphere of ministerial education, he has labored with unwearied devotion and distinguished success. He came to this infant seminary in response to what he solemnly regarded as a providential call. Here he found a congenial field, which for more than a quarter of a century satisfied his pure ambition and employed his best energies; and as the result, hundreds have gone forth into the various fields of ministerial service bearing his stamp. In sunshine and in storm, the welfare of this cherished institution was uppermost in his thoughts and affections. His was that paternal interest which sets no bounds to its sacrifices and toils. And surely no hand has been more influential in shaping the inner life of the school. His views of ministerial culture, and of the province of the theological school as contributing to it, were singularly broad, progressive, and practical.

The contemplation of the possibilities of Garrett Biblical Institute kindled his intense nature to high enthusiasm. But his calm judgment taught him that these possibilities could only be realized by bringing the educational work of the school to the highest standard of excellence. This he sought with unresting endeavor and inspiring hopefulness. To find out and adopt improved methods; to broaden, unify, and perfect the course of study; to secure in the administration of the school the utmost harmony and order; and withal to inspire its students with those

high ideals which should lead to the most constant, strenuous, yet cordial devotion to their work, were ends which he never ceased to cherish and promote. He could not restrict his interest to his own department, important as that might be. His generous mind embraced the whole work of the school, and sought by sympathetic co-operation to promote its entire efficiency.

But back of the teacher was the man. Underlying his great professional usefulness was a character as rare as it was beautiful, a character whose leading traits were manifest to all who shared his friendship. Strong in the conscious purity of his intentions, he had nothing to conceal. He believed in the truth—in its divinity, its invincibleness, its imperishable vitality; and hence his honest convictions were presented with a refreshing frankness and manly freedom. Yet this frankness was joined with such extreme modesty that it was with difficulty he could be persuaded to accept positions or discharge offices which would bring him into personal prominence.

The intenseness of his emotional nature, tempered by a mature and sober judgment, gave great beauty to his spiritual life. He could appreciate to the full the heart-side of religious experience. Those portions of the divine word which expressed the Gospel in its richest invitations and privileges stirred his spirit to its depths. The unseen world was to him an every-day reality; its mysteries were in his most familiar thoughts. And so in his company, as one of his students well expressed it, there was the strange sense of other-worldedness. His very presence was a benediction, and his daily life an unspoken prayer. It is not surprising that death was disarmed in the presence of such a soul.

Respecting his personal religious life his pastor testified at his funeral:

He was a humble and devout Christian, of simple faith and unwavering trust in God for a full and a present salvation. Regular in his attendance on the public service and on the prayer-meeting, he was an attentive hearer, and his prayers and testimonies were marked with great earnestness and simplicity. Quietly, unobtrusively, he has moved among us as a holy man, most exemplary in his life and character, desiring above all things to be a true servant of God, and leading men to love him because of his blameless life and Christian friendship. He illustrated in an eminent degree the harmony of extensive learning with a humble piety.

Such was the career and the Christian character of Henry Bannister. He lived well, and died well; and dying in life's early afternoon, he enriched the Church by his good name.

Art. II.—STRUGGLES AND ROMANCE OF A GENIUS—BERLIOZ.

[The history of genius affords warnings of dangers to be guarded against quite as largely as incentives to high endeavors; and often the most eminent successes are associated with faults and failures that more than counterbalance all these. The account here given very clearly displays the undesirableness of that kind of genius which manifests itself in the excessive development of certain forms of taste and artistic impulse, while the less brilliant but incomparably more worthy qualities of mind and heart are neglected. Berlioz was certainly a rare genius; but who would choose to be like him, as a man? And yet all that is really excellent in genius is quite compatible with moral and social worth.]

Our title assumes that Berlioz was a genius. That he was such, "more or less," will hardly now be denied by the most pertinacious of his many hostile critics. In the most disputed of his compositions can be found passages of such power and beauty as could proceed only from a mind of real genius, though that they have faults, sometimes glaring faults, need not be denied. Hardly has there been a notable man in the history of music who was pursued by more unrelenting critical persecution; but since his death, his works have been daily attaining ascendency among his countrymen, so long reluctant to acknowledge his claims, and he now seems destined to become one of the art idols of the French capital.

He is now acknowledged to be the greatest of musical "instrumentalists;" but it was precisely for this superiority that he was so persistently criticised. The great musician is a great poet. For what is music if it is not poetry—poetry in sound—an attempt to turn the very atmosphere of the planet into an organ for poetical recitation and rapture? And this auricular poetry (if it may be so called) is as genuine as poetry on paper—not only rhythmical in intonation, as written poetry is rhythmical in phrase, but, like written poetry, expressive of sentiment and scene, of character and action. Berlioz insisted that, by sufficient instruments and their right collocation, orchestral effects might be made as expressive as written poetry, and nearly if not quite as much so as the scenic representations of the stage. If his theory needs some qualification, it is, nevertheless, essentially true; he practically dem-

onstrated it before most of Europe, and died victorious over his critics. And what conception could more elevate and ennoble instrumental music?

Beethoven confounded his critical enemies by his "Symphony on the Battle of Vittoria," in which (anticipating Berlioz's theory) he demonstrated the possibility of expressing, by orchestral effects—by sounds—the scenes of a combat. A contemporary journal (the "Leipsic Music Gazette") acknowledged his victory with some surprise. "The effect and the illusion were complete," it said, "and it can be affirmed, without reserve, that there exists not in the domain of imitative music a work similar to this." This theory of instrumental imitative music, more or less intuitively anticipated by all great masters of the art, was, we repeat, the chief offense of Berlioz—his capital heresy. The critics, who at first proscribed him as a self-conceited and talentless innovator, were compelled, in time, to acknowledge that he was not quite talentless, though an unpardonable heretic. Like Beethoven, he has triumphed, in his main heresy at least; and not a few good judges esteem him an "epochal" man in music, for, in respect to instrumentation, he initiated something like a revolution in the history of the art.

He was, then, we need not hesitate to say, a man of genius. Apart from his merits as a composer, he had the virtues and the vices of genius of the "artistic temperament." He was passionate, capricious, romantic, amorous, self-reliant, and world-defiant; a man whose soul was wholly possessed by his ideal—his ideal of life as well as of art. He was fierce in his resentments, and fought out, unfalteringly, the contest with his critics. But he had a warm and a profound heart, and by its instincts he conceived his noblest thoughts, his best ideals; for, as Vauvenargues says, "Great thoughts come from the heart." Inevitably such a man's life must be one of struggles. The whole career of Berlioz was a bravely sustained fight against formidable trials; and it is these chiefly that we propose here to record. Their lessons are far from pessimistic; they teach, in a manner seldom seen in any one human life, the power of determined will, and the invincibility of right ideas—their ultimate, their predestined, success. Whatever the reader may think of alleged defects in his music, we are sure he cannot, after our brief study of his life, decline to acknowledge him

a hero as well as a genius. And is there any higher ideal of intellectual life than genius combined with heroism?

His trials began with the first revelations of his genius. He was born on December 11, 1803, and was a born musician. His little native town on a hill-side (Côte Saint-André, not far from Lyons) was not without rural charms. It afforded him views of the distant Alps, and throughout his life he was vividly susceptible of the poetry of scenery. While yet a child he heard a hymn in a convent which awoke his musical instinct. "I saw heaven open," he says, "a heaven a thousand times more pure and more beautiful than that of which I had heard so much. It was my first musical impression." Before his tenth year he had learned, in the solitude of his mountain home, to sing "at first sight," and to play two instruments; and in his twelfth year he studied "composition." A romantic incident, which colored his whole remaining life, occurred in this year. On a visit to his grandparents, at Meylen, he saw, for the first time, his "Estelle." She was a young lady of eighteen years, of mature beauty, "elegant and tall, with great eyes always smiling, hair that might have ornamented the helmet of Achilles, Parisienne feet," etc. The boy was smitten, through his whole being, with a pure, an ideal passion—one of those poetic or Platonic passions which not a few men of genius have precociously experienced. With most it is a brief episode, and is remembered as a charming dream; with Berlioz it never ceased to be a reality. "The romantic vertigo seized me," he wrote in his old age, "and has never left me." He suffered profoundly; Estelle divined his secret, and, hoping it would be transient, endeavored to relieve him by womanly caresses. "I hoped nothing," he says, "I understood nothing; but my heart experienced inexpressible suffering. I passed entire nights in desolation." Seventeen years later he attempted to find her, and had a brief yet passionate glimpse of her, but she was then a wife and mother. After sixteen years more he learned her address, and sent her a letter, but received no reply. When both of them were old he sought her again, as we shall see, with all the ardor of his first love, and her sympathetic interest for him consoled his last years. This incident is worth alluding to here, as it prompted his genius. He read with enthusiasm ("hundreds of times," he says)

Florian's pastoral, "Estelle et Nemorin," because of its name; and some of his earliest and hardest studies were an attempt to make an opera of it. The image of Estelle was ever before him, beckoning him onward. A once famous Scotch critic, Lord Kames, said that we should never speak of our disappointments in love, for the world cannot sympathize with such griefs; on the contrary, it always sees something ridiculous in them. Berlioz thought otherwise, and seems never tired of alluding to this romance of his childhood. It was his first trial, and doubtless he deemed it one of his greatest; but, by its genial and prolonged influence upon him, it may be considered one of his greatest blessings. After the interval of seventeen years between his first and second sight of Estelle, though unrecognized by her at the time, he turned away, he says, exclaiming in his heart, "Estelle! still beautiful! Estelle! the nymph, the hamadryad of Saint Eynard, of the green hills of Meylen." "I returned," he adds, "all vibrant with emotion." He sought relief in music. He discovered an old flageolet among some rubbish of his home, and, after distracting the family with it for two days, he had mastered a "heroic chant." He was soon composing duets, trios, and quartets. He wrote a "Pot-pourri" on Italian themes, and then a quintet for the flute and violins, alto and bass, which was successfully played by himself and some friendly amateurs. "It was a triumph," he writes, "my father alone not sharing in the applause." "All my compositions were tinged with a profound melancholy, all in the minor key. I could not avoid it; my romantic love swayed my feelings. In this state of my soul, reading without ceasing Florian's 'Estelle,' I proposed to put some of its episodes into music, and failed not to do so." He read the lives of Gluck and Haydn with great agitation. "What glory," he exclaimed, "what beautiful art, what happiness to cultivate it as a great master!"

His next trial, if less romantic, was to be more real, for it was to agonize his best filial instincts. His good mother was a Catholic devotee, and could not conceive of the musical profession but as implying frivolity of life and the dissipation of the Parisian opera and theaters. To allow her boy to be trained for it was to consign him over to perdition in both worlds. His father was a physician, the Hippocrates of the

village, with a wide circuit of "practice" and renown through all the surrounding country; a student, who had won a prize at Montpelier by a pamphlet on some subject of his profession; a daily sufferer from an internal malady for which he too freely used opium; a skeptic, believing only in theological unbelief; a sturdy character, but, withal, fond of his boy—fondling him as a bear might his cub. Yet the old man had a genuine heart, and was at last carried to his grave with the tears and lamentations of the neighboring peasantry, for he had been generous to them in days of affliction. He hoped to keep up, by his son, the family dynasty in his profession. He early withdrew him from school, and worked hard at his education at home, drudging with him in Latin, and even in the humbler studies of geography, arithmetic, etc. He was at first proud of the child's talent in music, and provided him instruments and a teacher in the art, blinded by his fondness against any anticipation that he might thus defeat his own dearest hope respecting him. He had no theoretical notions of education, especially of the part which the heart plays in it, as taught by Goethe in "Wilhelm Meister"—for "Wilhelm Meister," like Rousseau's "Emile," is substantially a treatise on education in the form of a novel. The natural predilections of the child, especially when they are obviously strong, should be the indices, the guides, of his education; they are the instincts of his heart, and reveal his original capabilities. If you secure his heart you secure his head; and this means the success of his life, and its happiness as well, for does not an untold amount of the misery of intelligent men come from their misdirected education, and consequent misplacement in positions of life? The veteran doctor of Côte Saint-André had no such reflections, and when the time came for his boy to seriously begin his medical studies the old man was surprised and astonished at his hesitation. A temporary compromise was made, the father promising him a "magnificent flute" from Lyons, furnished with all "the new keys," if he would attempt the study of anatomy under his own instruction. This instrument had been a long time the object of his ambition, and he consented, but he went to his chamber, and threw himself on his bed, oppressed with grief. "This decision seemed," he says, "the absolute overthrow of the natural order of my life—monstrous and impossible."

A cousin was studying medicine in the family, and young Berlioz was sent with him to the Medical School in Paris. The father supposed he had triumphed, but was soon to discover his mistake. Berlioz was disgusted and sickened by the revolting scenes of the hospitals and dissecting-room, and was quickly absorbed again in his musical studies. He pored over the compositions of Gluck in the library of the Royal Conservatory. "I read and re-read them," he says, "I copied them, I learned them by heart; they made me lose my sleep; I forgot to eat and drink, I was delirious over them." He wrote to his father, pleading for his muse, but received indignant admonitions to abandon his "folly," his "chimera," and devote himself to the "honorable career traced out for him." The old man became more and more obstinate and menacing; Berlioz became equally obstinate, "excited," he says, "even to furor." Lesueur was, at that time, all-powerful at the Conservatory; Berlioz did not dare to enter it as a student, but was received by the master as one of his private pupils. He speaks affectionately of Lesueur, but the originality of his genius soon revolted from the "antediluvian theories" which he was required to study; and he had, later, to "recommence his musical education from the foundation to the crown." Lesueur, in spite of a sort of affection for the youth, persisted, through life, to oppose his peculiar ideas of music, and exasperated not a little his trials.

Cherubini was Director of the Conservatory, and became his life-long enemy, denouncing him in hot wrath and broken French. Ludicrous scenes sometimes occurred between them. Berlioz one day entered, by mistake, the library of the Conservatory through a wrong passage (the *porte feminine*) and was reported by an assistant as a transgressor. While absorbed in Gluck's compositions, among numerous students, he was approached by Cherubini and his accuser; when the latter pointed him out as the offender, the master flew into a rage, for he had vague unfavorable recollections of the young innovator, and with "hair on end" and "flashing eyes" exclaimed, "Ah! ah! it is you dat comes by de wrong porte." "Monsieur," replied Berlioz, "now that I know your rule, I will obey it at another time." "Another time! another time!" cried the enraged Italian. "Vat for you come here?" "I

come to study the compositions of Gluck." "And vat is it you regard de compositions of Gluck?"—for Gluck was yet little sanctioned in France. "Monsieur," responded Berlioz, losing his *sang-froid*, "the compositions of Gluck are the best dramatic music I know of, and I have need of the permission of no one to come here to study them; the library is open to the public, and I have a right to profit by it." "De—de right?" "Yes, monsieur." "I's forbid you to come again!" "I will nevertheless return." "Trembling with fury," Cherubini demanded, "How, how you calls yourself?" "Monsieur, my name will perhaps be known some day or other, but for the present you shall not hear it." "Arrest, arrest him," cried the enraged master, "and put him in prison!" "and master and assistant," writes Berlioz, "to the stupefaction of the company, pursued me around the table, prostrating chairs and desks, without power to reach me, and I ended the scene by flying to the street with ringing laughter, and shouting, 'You shall have neither me nor my name, but I will soon return here to study Gluck;'" and he did so with "official" permission. Cherubini never forgave Berlioz, and obstructed him through all his early struggles. In a few years, and in spite of the master's opposition, he was to become himself Conservateur, and head of the library whence he was chased. Hottin, the assistant who denounced him to Cherubini, became his devoted "*garçon d'orchestre*," and the "most rampant partisan" of his music.

His resolution never quailed. He plied his studies, and produced tentative compositions, some of which won commendation from his musical associates. The "Maitre de Chapelle" of Saint Roch, requested him to write a mass to be executed in that then "fashionable" church, on a special occasion, and promised him a hundred choice musicians and a still larger choir. He worked diligently on it, endeavoring to imitate the style of Lesueur; but it failed utterly in the rehearsals, and was abandoned. "The lesson, at least," he writes, "was not lost." Genius can never dispense with work, though it insists upon its own methods of work; its very egotism makes it jealous of its faults. He rewrote the whole composition, in accordance with his peculiar theory of instrumentation; but his parents heard of the *fiasco* and ridiculed his hopes, demanding that he should turn to better work. Determined to

succeed, he borrowed twelve hundred francs, in order to command an adequate orchestra for a new experiment with the defeated composition; and it was now "splendidly executed" in Saint Roch, and again at Saint Eustache. He nevertheless was not content with it, and burnt it, together with his opera of "Estelle" and a Latin oratorio.

. A new trial awaited him. He entered the lists of annual competition for prizes, before the musical section of the Institute. Candidates had to pass through a preliminary trial of their compositions, and the least successful were excluded. Berlioz was unsuccessful. His father learned the result; renewed admonitions and denunciations poured in upon him, and his pecuniary allowance from home was stopped. What could he further do, for to persist was to starve? He returned to Côte Saint-André to plead for what he felt to be his destiny. A domestic scene ensued there—the youth entreating, the mother remonstrating with tears, the father grim and stiff with resolution, and declaring, "Thou shalt never return to Paris." No king with his dynasty imperiled by the perversity of an heir could be more chagrined; but, after some sleepless nights, the old man had calmer reflections, and saw that it was worse than useless to force the youth; that he could never be made in this way a successful representative of the medical dynasty of Côte Saint-André. Another compromise was made, and he was allowed to resumè his musical studies on condition that they should be abandoned if, after a given time, they were not crowned with some signal success. He was warned by his father not to make known this decision to his mother, and to escape secretly. But she soon scented it out, and, bursting into his room, exclaimed, "Your father has had the weakness to yield to your culpable projects; I will not. I conjure you, persist not;" and, falling on her knees before him, she entreated him as only a mother could. He believed his "projects" would, some day or other, make her proud of him, and persisted. "Thou refusest, with thy mother at thy feet!" she cried, "then depart; dishonor thy name; kill thy parents; thou art no more my son; I curse thee!" She disappeared from the premises, and hid herself in a country house of the neighborhood. Aided by his father and two sisters, he made a last attempt to obtain from her an adieu, and a revocation of her

cruel words. They got a glimpse of her, reading under a tree; but, on perceiving them, she flew away; they pursued her, "my father appealing to her," he says, "my sisters and myself weeping; but all was in vain; I had to depart without embracing my mother, without obtaining a word or a look, and burdened with her malediction."

He returned to Paris to relieve his heart by hard work; he economized his allowance (of twenty-five dollars a month) to repay the money he had borrowed for his mass at Saint Roch; he taught pupils in music and lived "like a cenobite," in the sixth story of an old house, on seven or eight cents a day, eating, usually, bread, raisins, and prunes. Fate itself could hardly conquer such a soul. For, after all, what is fate in human affairs but the determinations of the human will? With comparatively few exceptions, he is master in all this world who is master of himself. If Berlioz was not master of himself in some of the ordinary affairs of life, it was because he recklessly declined to regard them; he was master of himself in the supreme purpose of his life—his musical aims—and in this he was invincible.

He continued to prosecute his studies, received lugubrious letters from his father, who regretted the concession he had made, and had many a wakeful night; but, after much seeking, he obtained employment in a second-rate orchestra, which afforded him an addition of ten dollars a month to his resources. By joining a young friend, living in the same chamber with him, and cooking his own food, he was enabled to improve his diet, spending on it twenty cents a day. He was now instructed by Lesueur and Reicha, for he had entered the Conservatory. Both were able masters, but were incapable of appreciating his peculiar genius. "They taught me nothing," he says, "in instrumentation." By studying Beethoven, Gluck, Weber, and Spontini—by conversations with virtuosos and trials that he made with their various instruments—and finally by "a little instinct," he came to perceive "the secret relation between musical expression and the special art of instrumentation;" but "no person," he remarks, "had placed me on the way." He tried his luck again, at the next annual competition before the Institute, by an elaborate orchestral composition; but a feeble pianist, representing the orchestra, failed in a difficult part of

the piece, and it was declared "inexecutable." He was enraged at the "incredible organization of these competitions—the tyrannical absurdity of institutions which strangle talent."

These successive trials were enough, certainly, to utterly discourage any ordinary man, but it is evident by this time that Berlioz was not an ordinary man. Conscious of the power that was within him, he only worked the harder, studying his models, and making compositions, some of which won him enthusiastic friends among amateurs who saw in his originality traits of genius. He was encouraged to attempt a public concert, including in its programme some of his own productions. Performers from the Conservatory, the Odeon, etc., volunteered their assistance, but he had no little difficulty in procuring a hall. The government superintendent of the "Beaux-Arts" allowed him to use that of the Conservatory, though Cherubini spitefully opposed this concession till it was authoritatively repeated by the superintendent. Some of the performers, having no hope of compensation, fell off in the preparatory rehearsals; and others, who were faithful, were destitute of talent. They were, nevertheless, enthusiastic over some of the pieces, with "tempests of bravos." The concert itself was not satisfactory to Berlioz, but was applauded by the public, especially three pieces from his Saint Roch mass, and the journals warmly praised it. Fétis, a music critic and journalist, later his implacable enemy, "himself announced," he remarks, "my entrance on a public career as a veritable event. But the receipts were not sufficient to pay the expenses of lighting the hall, the placards, etc. Still the occasion was of real utility to me, for I saw how much remained to be done in order to surmount the difficulties of such attempts."

He was soon afterward engaged as music critic of the "Revue Européenne," and also of the "Journal des Debats," and had thus the means of defending, before the French public, his peculiar opinions and his favorite masters—Gluck, Spontini, Weber, and Beethoven. Some of Beethoven's Symphonies had recently been introduced by the Concert Society of the Conservatory; and this was an event in Paris, especially to Berlioz. "I thus saw," he says, "the immense apparition of Beethoven rise above the horizon." The experiment was, however, not without great difficulties: "It was a struggle against

the reticence, the tacit opposition, the blame more or less disguised, the irony of the French and Italian composers, who were unwilling to see a temple erected in France to a German whose compositions they considered monstrosities; redoubtable, nevertheless, to their school."

He was admitted to the next competition before the Institute, and won the second prize; but he was disappointed, for he had been ambitious for the first, and deserved it. The second prize was accompanied with a crown publicly awarded, a gold medal of little value, and the right of gratuitous entrance to all the lyrical theaters of the city. The advantages of the first prize were much greater; in addition to those of the second it had higher honor, and assured the artist an annual pension of six hundred dollars for five years, on condition that he spend the first two years at the French Academy in Rome, the third in Germany, and the remainder in Paris. Could Berlioz have won this, it would have ended, he believed, his grievous troubles at Côte Saint-André. The final decision in the competition before the Institute was made in those days by a large jury of not only musicians, but savants, painters, sculptors, architects, engravers, etc., in whose presence a selection of the best compositions offered was executed in private session. That of Berlioz produced visible effect on the miscellaneous judges; and it was certain a spontaneous vote would be in his favor, when (as an attendant who witnessed the scene informed him) a musical member, who was hostile to him, changed the mind of an architect by denouncing the Beethoven style, and declaring that Berlioz would "never enter a good route; he is a fool, and has Beethoven on the brain"—citing Cherubini as authority. A musical friend spoke out with emphasis for the piece, opponents responded, and Cherubini himself declared that "this pretended effect of instrumentation does not exist; there is no sense in it; it is detestable to orchestral artists." A sort of *mêlée* ensued, the painters, architects, sculptors, etc., declaring that they could not decide if the musicians were so discordant. Three of the painters (including Regnault) finding their favorable opinion denied, so far distrusted their own judgment as finally to refuse to vote, and thus the struggling young genius lost the first prize, though he came within two votes of it. Some years later he published a

severe but very comical satire on this annual farce of the Institute, and it has since been thoroughly reformed. All musical students in Paris should be grateful to him. He entered the lists again, at the competition of the next year, this time with strong hope, for his second prize of the preceding year was a tacit title to it, and the musical public generally expected his success. But again he failed, though his composition was an unchanged extract from his lyrical drama of "Lelio," and was afterward successful in his concerts in Germany. The academicians evaded him by declining to give the first prize to any candidate. Boieldieu, who was one of them, assured him the next day that he lost it only by his theory of instrumentation.

Girard de Nerval's translation of Goethe's "Faust" now fell into his hands, and was read with enthusiasm. He saw in it almost boundless range for compositions in accordance with his notions of instrumentation, and published "eight scenes" from it, which brought him an appreciative letter from Marx, the celebrated Berlin critic. But he himself afterward saw serious faults in the work, and hastened to gather in all the copies he could find, and burned them. It was, nevertheless, the germ of what is now his most effective and most popular production —his legend of "Faust." Other and more satisfactory labors ensued, and meanwhile the next competition, before the Institute, approached; he had four times failed, yet he resolved to face the learned body again, but, whatever might be the result, to never afterward reappear there. On the appointed day, while he was awaiting his fate in the library, Pradier, the sculptor, came to him beaming with delight, and pressing his hand exclaimed, "You have the first prize." "He seemed," says Berlioz, "in his joy, to be himself the laureate, while I appeared the academician, for my opinion of this competition before the Institute did not allow my self-love to be flattered by the result; still it was an *official* success which would save me with my parents, and afforded me a pension, a title, independence, and even ease for five years"—and also an artistic home in Rome. Even his enemies seemed to relent before such "pluck" and perseverance, and gave him a unanimous vote—an unprecedented fact.

It was customary to crown the successful candidate, and execute his composition publicly, two months after the decision.

Berlioz went through the ceremony of the coronation without very grateful emotion, before a crowded assembly composed of academicians, musicians, artists, fashionable dames—the best society of the capital; but here again he was to have one of his severest trials. He himself records the ludicrous story, with frankness but with intense indignation. His composition was the cantata of his "Sardanapalus." In its previous execution before the Institute jurors, he had cautiously omitted its most characteristic scene—the self-destruction of Sardanapalus and his women amidst the conflagration of his palace. He knew that its necessary instrumentation could not be represented by the single piano used on that occasion; but now he was to be favored with a full orchestra. Still he could hardly hope that, with their inexperience in such instrumentation, they would succeed. But he had received the prize, and it could not be forfeited in the remaining part of this farce, as he considered it. He recklessly inserted the omitted part. When the orchestra reached this difficult climax it utterly broke down. The instruments became confused and intershocked. The audience became still more confused. Madame Malibran, who sat by his side, "bounded backward as if a mine exploded at her feet." Berlioz uttered a cry of horror and threw his manuscript composition across the orchestra. All was in racket—"the performers and academicians scandalized, the auditors mystified, the friends of the composer indignant." It was a thoroughly French scene. "A hundred thousand maledictions on the musicians!" wrote Berlioz, when he recalled it years later in the days of his success; "it was another musical catastrophe, the most cruel of all that I had hitherto experienced."

Liszt called upon him, for the great pianist could appreciate his genius, and heartily sympathized with him in his undeserved disaster; and their friendship never ended. Berlioz could not be discouraged. He immediately projected a concert at the Conservatory, determined to repeat his "Sardanapalus," together with his "Symphonie Fantastique." He had now many appreciative friends, and not a few critical musicians perceived that what was denounced as his extravagant originality was genuine talent. Habeneck, orchestral leader at the Conservatory, offered his services as director, and the orchestra of the Conservatory gave theirs gratuitously. Cherubini rancorously opposed

all his preparations, and other enemies endeavored to deter him, "for," writes the young heretic, "my impiety in regard to certain scholastic musical creeds exasperated them." The "efforts of some French critics against what they called my extravagant system, my follies, my nonsense, were incredible." But the concert was a success. Liszt was present, observed by all the audience for his "applause and enthusiastic demonstrations." Certain parts of the symphony produced "*une grande sensation;*" the "Marche au Supplice" elicited tumultuous applause that shook (*bouleversa*) the hall, and the cantata that ended so disastrously before now triumphed. The public journals passionately discussed the performance, some for, some against it. Berlioz was sufficiently vindicated, and he packed up his small baggage, and, in accordance with the terms of his hard-won prize, departed for Rome, reluctantly but victoriously.

His dearest victory was at Côte Saint-André, where he paused on his way. The old folks at home were now not only reconciled, but proud of him; he had won the highest musical students' honor at Paris; he was independent for five years; he was to be supported by his country, at Rome; he was to be a famous man, and they were all to be famous with him; the maternal farewell kiss could be no longer refused him.

Americans whose travels in Europe have reached Rome can hardly fail to remember the picturesque "Villa Medici," the palatial French Academy, whither France sends her most promising students of art—painters, sculptors, architects, musicians —for the completion of their education; and where they form a select society, a charming little æsthetic commonwealth. It is reached by the marble stairs of the Piazza di Spagna, the resort of the Roman "models." Some parts of the edifice show the handiwork of Michael Angelo. Its beautiful gardens, decorated with antique specimens of art, were designed in the taste of Lenôtre; the apartments of its Director (who was now Horace Vernet, the painter) are sumptuous enough for a prince. Its pupils' rooms are modestly furnished studios. It has been pronounced one of the most splendid points of view in the world. It stands on a declivity of the Pincian Hill, the top of which (studded with numerous busts of the great men of Italy) is the fashionable afternoon promenade of the Romans, and near by

is the French Ursuline Convent, famous for its vesper music. Enchanting views surround it; all Rome, with its great monuments, lies below, and in the distance are seen the Sabine Hills, Monte Cavo, and the Camp of Hannibal.

On arriving there, Berlioz was received in the refectory, with loud hurrahs by the students who were lingering, in after dinner talks, at the table, for some of them knew him personally, and more of them had heard of his Parisian struggles and success. He was happy for a few days, frolicking and rollicking with his comrades (who mixed, however, artistic discussions with most of their clamors) at the Café Greco (a detestable cabaret, but the customary rendezvous of artists), at the Lepri restaurant, but still more in the gardens of the Academy, where they had debates on their favorite studies, and where, assembled in the moonlight around a marble fountain, Berlioz thumbed his guitar, and sung to them melodies from the "Freyschütz," "Oberon," "Don Juan," etc. They extemporized there concerts which, at the usual academic signal for retiring, broke out in *crescendo*, accompanied by the howlings of frightened dogs around the Pincio, and brought out to their doors the barbers of the Piazzo di Spagna, who laughingly shouted to one another, "*Musica Francese!*" "But these juvenile extravagances could not long satisfy the serious ambition of Berlioz; he had come to Rome to study music; the city afforded boundless resources for the painters, sculptors, and architects, but none, comparable to those of Paris, for the musician. To him its music was little above contemptible, even in the grandest churches. We have all, later, learned what it was from the "letters" of Mendelssohn, who was then in Rome. Berlioz fretted impatiently under this privation. His "spleen," as he calls it, brought on a state of mind which a physiologist might pronounce partial insanity; he rambled over the adjacent country with his gun and guitar, and, at last, over most of Italy. The companionship of Mendelssohn became his chief relief, and ripened into enduring friendship. He was bound, by the conditions of the first prize, to send annually to the Parisian academicians who had awarded it a specimen of his work at Rome; he tricked them again, sending them his "Resurrexit," an extract from his old mass at Saint Roch. The wiseacres (wise enough in almost every thing save music and common sense) were quite

pleased with it; and, supposing it was a new production, avowed that it showed remarkable progress, that it was a manifest proof of the good influence of Rome on his ideas, and of the abandonment of his former false tendencies. More than ever he now despised the musical judgment of the "immortals" of the Institute.

His Roman life had become intolerable to him, and he obtained from Vernet permission to return to Paris before the expiration of his term. He sat for his portrait, which still hangs in the refectory, and turned his face northward to confront the world in the more public career for which he had been so long and so bravely preparing.

He was now about twenty-eight years old; they had been years of almost unintermitted conflict, with just enough occasional success to save him from despair and self-abandonment. And the hard fight was not yet ended.

As he descended Mont Cenis, on his way homeward, he saw the delicious valley of Gresivaudan, through which the Isere meanders, and Saint Eynard burst upon his view—the *Stella Montis*, the scene of his first interview with Estelle, whom he still loved; for all his "subsequent loves," he says, "were dominated by this passion" of his boyhood. He was about to try a new passion which might at least be a relief to the old one, but which was to become one of the saddest afflictions of his life. Before his departure for Rome, the English actress Henrietta Smithson had shared, with great *eclat*, in the exhibition of Shakespeare's plays in Paris. She was the theatrical idol of the hour. Berlioz was determined to win her hand, but was unsuccessful. She was now again in Paris; but the old *furor* for Shakespeare was gone, and the actress was suffering from neglect and crushing debts. Berlioz projected a concert, to consist entirely of his own compositions, one of which was to be an appeal to the heart of the lady. By the aid of a friend he secured her presence. She was profoundly affected by the music, and discovered his design; he won her, and married her. The concert itself was a signal success with the public; it was a demonstration of his theory of instrumentation made by an adequate, "an immense, orchestra." For a time the occasion seemed a complete triumph, both for his passion and his theory; and it was, for the latter: but he had plunged into his new

love with his usual impetuosity, and time brought repentance. An "incompatible" domestic life led, at last, to a "separation;" an amicable one, in the French style, but not the less a wreck of his private life. Another evil followed; before going to Rome he had quarreled with Fétis, the music critic and editor, who had hailed his appearance before the public, in an early concert, as an important "event." Fétis superintended a Parisian edition of Beethoven's Symphonies, but, in accordance with the still remaining French prejudices, he had tampered with these sublime compositions, changing them in some instances, bigotedly annotating them in others. Berlioz detected in the "proofs" these enormous crimes, as he considered them; he indignantly exposed them to the musical public, and the publisher had to erase them. In one of the pieces of his new concert he inserted a sarcasm on Fétis and his class of critics. Fétis was present, and the allusion was too direct and personal not to be detected by him and many other critics. There was an explosion of laughter at his expense, and henceforth he was the most relentless of Berlioz's antagonists. It seemed that the trials of the poor composer were never to end; but many of them were self-incurred, for, whatever we may say for him, on the old plea of the "artistic temperament," he was not only thus far, but all through his life, his own worst enemy. Had he possessed a modicum of the geniality and prudence of his friend Mendelssohn, he might have won his victories with half his conflicts; but he rushed on with headlong passion. He was a born Frenchman as well as a born musician.

He attempted another concert, encouraged by Alexander Dumas, Liszt, and other friends. The orchestra was a composite one again, mostly unpaid, and incompetent for his instrumentation. Liszt executed for him Weber's "Concert-Stuck" with "magnificent success;" but other performers failed, and slunk away one by one, till a totally inadequate number remained. The disappointed audience clamorously called for his famous "Marche au Supplice;" Berlioz, in his "consternation," cried out to them: "I cannot execute the Marche with five violins. It is not my fault. I confide in the public." The assembly dispersed and he was "red with shame and indignation." His enemies had now the odds of him, notably Fétis. The receipts only partially paid the debts of his wife;

and her uncanceled obligations imposed upon him, for years, cruel privations.

Like the heroes of the Old Guard, Berlioz never knew how to surrender. He immediately projected another demonstration—a concert at the Conservatory. He paid for an orchestra of the first order. Habeneck, his former leader, declined to risk again his reputation, but Gerard, one of his friends, offered his services. His "Symphonie Fantastique," formidable on other occasions, now triumphed, from beginning to end. The success of the concert was complete, and he was rehabilitated. At its close he observed, not without some anxious apprehensions, a strange-looking being gazing intently at him; his face was haggard, his hair long, his eyes piercing, his whole appearance spectral. He approached the young musician, barred his way, and, seizing his hand, overwhelmed him with "burning eulogies," which, he says, "fired my heart and head." It was Paganini, the prince of violinists for all the world, and, probably, for all time. The great artist could understand the genius of his struggling brother, and henceforth they were fast friends for life. Berlioz felt that now he could hold up his head more hopefully than ever; he was sanctioned by the best violinist and best pianist of Europe. Such an indorsement was decisive; his enemies might bark on to their hearts' content; Paganini and Liszt could outweigh a world of them. The famous violinist was soon to give him a still more affecting proof of his sympathy—one that shows what profound goodness may remain in the soul of a man of most wayward life and bizarre manners. He was suffering from that disease of the larynx which was, before long, to deprive him of speech and end his days, and was on his route to seek relief in the south; but, before departing, he put Berlioz on the way to his composition of the symphony of "Harold"—a reminiscence of his reading of Byron's "Childe Harold" in Italy. Its first performance was a failure, and a Parisian journal of music endeavored to crush him with invectives, beginning characteristically its criticism with the exclamation, "Ha! ha! ha!—haro! haro! Harold!" and he received an anonymous letter reminding him that he "might commit suicide but had not courage to blow out his own brains."

The government engaged him to write his "Requiem," in

commemoration of the victims of the Revolution of 1830. He wrote it rapidly, but the memory of Estelle gave him aid, for he had long before conceived its theme while reclining at the foot of a "charming acacia," in sight of the place of their first interview. "Where is she? where is she?" he exclaimed, as he proudly felt the music develop in his soul. He now knew that, if successful, it would be his most important victory; but never had his enemies attempted more nefarious intrigues to defeat him. Cherubini had hoped the government would have chosen one of his own funeral masses, and the chagrin of his disappointment sent him to bed with a fever. The hostile critics contrived to get Habeneck appointed leader for the occasion. Habeneck, as we have seen, had failed in leading for him at an important concert; he had ever since been among his enemies, and now designed to crush him. The celebration was in the church of the Hôtel des Invalides, and was attended by princes, ministers, peers, deputies, correspondents of the press, and a "vast crowd" of the people. Berlioz was tremulous with anxiety, for he felt that a failure, or even a mediocre performance, would be disastrous; he therefore placed himself near Habeneck to save the day if need be. At a critical moment he caught him in the very act of his treachery, and, leaping in front of him, and stretching out his arm, he led the musicians himself; they followed him faithfully, and the success of the "Requiem" was complete. Habeneck muttered an affected apology, acknowledging that "without you we would have been lost." "Thus failed," wrote Berlioz, "the cowardly and atrocious conspirators." The government gave him thirteen thousand francs, and the cross of the Legion of Honor. Some time later, at a concert given by a society in the city of Lille, and led by Habeneck himself, the "Lacrymosa" of this "Requiem" was performed with profound effect, and, in spite of its great length, was encored by the public with tears. Habeneck sought reconciliation with him, by writing, "Your 'Lacrymosa,' perfectly executed, has produced an immense sensation."

Berlioz was now appointed librarian of the Conservatory, a place which he long retained, though his opponents, in a time of absence, tried hard to wrest it from him, and would have succeeded had it not been for the intervention of Victor Hugo.

His "Benvenuto Cellini" was performed, but amidst outrages from his enemies which defeated it. Liszt afterward repeatedly gave it with applause before the *élite* society of Weimar, and Mayer, of Brunswick, published it, adapted to the voice and piano, in both the German and French texts. Though suffering severely in his health from this defeat, he exhibited again his "Harold." At its close the tall phantom-like figure of Paganini was seen kneeling by his side, amidst the musicians, and kissing his hand. The veteran violinist originally suggested to him this composition, as we have seen, but, being absent in Italy, he had never heard it; he was now too feeble to speak except in whispers in the ear of his little son, through whom he said that "in all his life he had never experienced, in a concert, an equal impression; that this music had overwhelmed him." The next day, while ill in his bed, Berlioz was saluted by the child of Paganini who brought a letter from his father, in which he said: "Beethoven being gone, no one could resuscitate him but Berlioz; I, who have felt the power of your genius, believe that I ought to beg you to accept, as an expression of my homage, twenty thousand francs." The letter inclosed a check on Rothschild for the munificent donation; and no remonstrance, no repayment, from Berlioz, was allowed by the great and generous master.

An affecting scene followed the reception of the letter. Berlioz had been as reckless in money matters as in most other things; for he was too absorbed in his musical ideals and combats to think of any thing else. He was now not only sick, but poor, and his family suffered from severe privations. His wife, on reading the letter, ran bewildered through the house crying for her child; and, leading him to the bed, they both knelt down and thanked God—"the mother," he writes, "praying; the boy, astonished, joining his little hands by her side. O Paganini! what a scene! would that he could have witnessed it!"

The incredible fact was soon known to the public. "Then came," adds Berlioz, "the comments, the denials, the lies, the furies of my enemies; the joyful transports, the triumphs of my friends; the letter that Jules Jannin wrote, and his magnificent article in the 'Journal des Debats;' the insults with which some wretches honored me; insinuations against Paga-

nini; the shock of twenty passions, good and evil." But his debts were now all swept away, and he had a considerable sum remaining; he could lay out his plans for the future.

At this beautiful climax (beautiful by the conduct of Paganini, at least) we might drop the pen, for has not its theme been fully enough illustrated? And does not the narrative sufficiently suggest, to all like strugglers, its own high lessons? But the striking story is not half told; and we remind ourselves of "Estelle," who, though out of sight and unheard of, was never forgotten by the struggling artist. We must, nevertheless, hasten over the remainder of his career—henceforth brilliantly successful, yet not without continued combats.

He wrote his "Romeo et Juliette," and three times it had "grand success" in concerts at the Conservatory. Paganini had gone to the south to die, and they were never to meet again; but they kept up a warm correspondence, and the violinist wrote him, after this last composition, "Now all is accomplished; envy can do no more; it is silenced." But he was too generously hopeful; few of Berlioz's productions were more harshly criticised. The government ordered from him a "Symphonie Funèbre" for a commemorative occasion, and paid him ten thousand francs for it; it was executed with enthusiastic applause in the Salle Vivienne, and Spontini wrote him a letter of commendation. He now projected foreign travels, determined to try his compositions before the musical world of Europe, except Italy, whose music he never much appreciated. He gave two concerts in Brussels and set all its critics by the ears, some for and some against him. He went to Germany, the best land in which to test his pretensions, and gave there fifteen concerts, with about fifty "repetitions." In passing he learned, at Mayence, that a regimental band had been giving his music with "prodigious effect." At Stuttgart he gave a concert, including some of his most difficult pieces, with success, the king and court being present and liberal in their felicitations, though some of the critics dissented. At Weimar they had already performed his "Francs Juges;" they now understood at once his difficult "Symphonie Fantastique." It was greeted with long applause and frequent encores, with compliments from the ducal family, and with "congratulations from new friends till three o'clock in the morning." At Leip-

sic he was welcomed by Mendelssohn, who heartily promoted his success. The published letters of the German master show that at Rome he had little sympathy with the Frenchman's musical notions; but this was before he had seen any of his compositions. He now did his utmost to help him, and the occasion was successful. It won him the friendship of Schumann, and a physician who attended him in an attack of illness refused his fee, demanding only his autograph, having "never," as he said, "been so much struck by music as by your 'Offertory.'" At Dresden some of the higher classes criticised the "Symphonie Fantastique," approving, nevertheless, parts of it; the audience applauded heartily, and the young Maitre de Chapelle, Richard Wagner, became his friend, for the time being, at least. At Brunswick he had a complete triumph; the audience was in a "fever" of excitement, and at the close burst forth with stormy acclamations, "shaking the hall," and joined by a fracas of all the instruments. Müler, the Maitre de Chapelle, advanced bearing flowers in "the name of the Ducal Chapel," and crowned with them his manuscript compositions. A hundred and fifty artists and amateurs of the city demanded his presence at a hotel, where they gave him an uproarious supper.

At Hamburg he had similar success. "It was one of the best of his concerts in Germany." At Berlin Meyerbeer helped him zealously, and his two concerts were triumphs, commanding warm interest on the part of the king and his court. He now returned rapidly to France, giving concerts at Hanover and Darmstadt, and recording his gratitude "for the reception he had received in Germany, for the warm sympathy of her musical artists, and the indulgence of her critics and her public." He had made a sufficient demonstration of his music, had won the suffrages of princes and their courts (generally good amateurs in Germany), of the cultivated German people, and, above all, of important masters; he had been tested, also, by serious difficulties and some hostile criticism. One of his critics there predicted that his music would become popular, and, spreading over Germany, would raise up imitators, and be thus a calamity." It has since spread, in spite of continuous hostility, over most of the musical world; but good music still survives.

On arriving in Paris, after the "most difficult musical pilgrimage ever perhaps undertaken," as he wrote, "and which was to affect the rest of his life," he projected, with the aid of Strauss, a concert at the Exposition, to be given at the close, and in honor of that great occasion. It was to be a gigantic demonstration—the grandest musical one ever made in the capital, with one thousand and twenty-two "executants," including five hundred instruments. It took place in the open court of the edifice, and was a magnificent success; parts of it "seemed accompanied with the *eclats* of thunder, and chanted by the tempests." Some of his own most difficult pieces were particularly successful. The audience was immense, and the receipts amounted to thirty-two thousand francs; but, after paying the expense of his large corps of musicians and an eighth of the sum to the hospitals, he had for himself but eight hundred francs. His labors on this occasion nearly cost his life; he was attacked by a fever, and had to go to the Mediterranean to recuperate.

On returning he went again to Germany—now to the south—to Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary. He was successful at Vienna, where they gave him a public supper and a baton inscribed with the titles of his compositions, and the emperor sent him a donation; at Pesth, where they insisted on retaining some of his manuscript music, and whence a society of young Hungarians afterward sent him a silver crown; at Prague, where Liszt aided him, and, after a supper in his honor, presented him a silver cup in the name of the amateurs and critics of the city; at Breslau, where the people of the neighboring towns turned out in hosts to hear him, and his receipts were greater than in most of the German cities.

He returned to Paris, where he was soon again embarrassed with debts, and was unable for some time to begin a projected journey to Russia. His friend Bertin, of the "Journal des Debats," helped him with a thousand francs; Hetzel the noted publisher, a thousand, and other admirers five or six hundred each, and he departed for St. Petersburg, bearing a letter of introduction from the king of Prussia. He had hardly reached his hotel before his arrival was generally known in the higher circles of the capital, and he was immediately invited, by a music critic, to meet "all its musical authorities" in a *soirée*

at Count Wielharski's palace, where arrangements were made, by the government functionaries, for his first concert, its place assigned (the Hall of the Assembly of the Nobles), and its admission fee (nearly two and a half dollars) determined. In less than four hours after his arrival he found himself in *medias res*, for the German journals had spread his fame every-where. The concert was entirely successful: the immense hall crowded; "the applause, the cries for repetitions, enough to make him dizzy," and the receipts amounted to eighteen thousand francs. The empress had him brought to her *loge*, and gave him flattering attentions. His second concert was attended with equal results. At Moscow he had similar success. Returning to St. Petersburg, he was greeted with increased enthusiasm; and he gave two more concerts to crowded assemblies composed of princes, nobles, amateurs—the *élite* society of the city—"dazzling with costumes and diamonds." His orchestra and choir were large enough to meet the demands of his music. The *scherzetto* of his "Queen Mab" had been denounced by Parisian critics, who declared that "he did not understand Shakespeare;" it was now executed "marvelously." He was overwhelmed by his emotions at this success, and hastened to hide himself in a private room of the building, where Ernst, the violinist, found him weeping alone like a child.

We must remind the reader that while we have been rapidly, too rapidly, condensing the story, the years have been rapidly flying. Berlioz has long since passed the meridian of life, and has painful infirmities; he is "fatigued," he says; "consumed, and yet always burning, and still filled with an energy which sometimes even frightens me." He has been honored, not only with the badge of the Legion of Honor, but with the greater distinction of membership of the Institute. The place of Maitre de Chapelle at Dresden has been offered him, and the princes of Germany are urging him to continue his visits to their capitals; the Grand Duchesse Helene of Russia, on a visit to Paris, fairly forces him into an engagement to go again to St. Petersburg and give six concerts, his home there to be in her palace; one of her carriages to be at his command; his expenses both ways to be paid, and a liberal compensation guaranteed. He learns that his music is given in America, that New York receives his "Harold" with applause; an American

calls upon him to urge him to go thither, offering him a hundred thousand francs for concerts during six months, and, on his declining, the enthusiastic Yankee has a colossal bust of him made in bronze, to be carried to New York. The citizens, especially of his own country, are still belaboring him; but though he relishes the fight as heartily as ever Murat did a charge in battle, he longs for rest. He has married and buried a second wife; his son is away, on the seas, a naval officer; his mother has been dead some years; his old father has gone, also, and he projects a visit to Côte Saint-André to comfort his sisters, dreaming meanwhile of Estelle, and of romantic wanderings among the scenes of his first love. "My arteries beat faster," he says, "at this thought." He has recorded the poetic visit with the ardor of a young man. Every scene in the old localities overpowers him. "Thirty-three years," he writes, "have passed since I last visited them. I am as a man who has been dead since that period, but who comes to life again; and I find myself, in this resuscitation of all the sentiments of my anterior life, as young and as passionate as ever." He inquired of old peasants about Estelle; they remembered her as the maiden "so beautiful that every body stopped at the church door, on Sunday, to see her pass;" but none knew what had become of her; they only knew that her aunt still lived at Grenoble. "My palpitations redoubled," he says, as he wandered over the picturesque scenes so dear to his memory. At one of them a cry escaped him, "a cry which no language could translate; the past is present; I am a child again, twelve years old—life, beauty, first love, the infinite poem! I cast myself on my knees and exclaimed, 'Estelle, Estelle, Estelle!' An indescribable access of isolation came over me, and my heart bled." This was passion, the passion of a true poet, and few but poets can appreciate it. It is the old cry for sympathy and affection which suffering humanity has ever, and will forever, utter in this world of illusions. In this case it will, perhaps, be pronounced excessively juvenile; but is not genius forever young, young in heart however old in head? And did not Coleridge characterize it as childhood continued into manhood? Such a passion would have befitted Rousseau; and Berlioz was the Rousseau of music. He left these scenes, arresting himself "often with anguish" on the way, and ex-

claiming, "Adieu, mounts and valleys! adieu, my romantic childhood, last reflections of a pure love. The flood of time bears me away. Adieu, Estelle, Estelle!" But the next day he went to Grenoble to inquire further about her, and learned that she was now a widow, and lived in a distant town. He wrote her a pathetic letter, but received no response.

The old dream could not be dispelled. When more than sixty years of age he wrote: "My career is finished; I compose no more music; I direct no more concerts; I have ceased to be a journalistic critic; I do nothing but read and suffer." Yet he goes again to seek Estelle, and the old scenes at Meylen were revisited with the old emotions. Reclining on the earth with the beautiful valley extending before him, he murmured: "Estelle, Estelle! The past, the past! Never, never again!" But he learned, later in the day, that she still lived, and on the same evening he arrived at Lyons and discovered her home there. After a sleepless night he wrote her a letter, alluding to his early affection and his repeated visits to Meylen, and beseeching her to allow him to call on her. "I shall control my feelings," he assured her; "fear not the emotions of a heart which has experienced the pitiless realities of life. Accord me a few minutes; allow me to see you again, I conjure you." Apprehending an unfavorable answer, he carried the letter himself to her door. His card accompanied it, and before reading the letter she admitted him. He beheld again, after about half a century, his idol. Her hair was gray, and she was otherwise much changed, "but, on seeing her, my soul," he says, "flew toward her, as if she were yet in the splendor of her beauty." In a long conversation she treated him with "sweet," matronly dignity, but with womanly tenderness. She had never forgotten him, but had read accounts of his remarkable career, and had received "details of it" from one of his friends. Her life, she said, "had been very simple and very sad," for she had early lost children and her husband; she was "deeply affected and grateful" for the sentiments that Berlioz had so long maintained for her. With a "melting heart" and "trembling" frame he kissed her hand, and begged her to allow him to write her from time to time, and to visit her at least once a year. He saw her again the same day for a moment, but on the next she had departed for the country.

On his return to Paris he began a correspondence with her, which, with occasional visits, consoled the remainder of his life. He published some of its letters—his full of passion, hers full of good sense and sympathy. Their renewed friendship ameliorated his heart after the irritations of his long warfare, and he closes the record of it with the words: "Stella, Stella, I can now die without bitterness and without wrath." "Which of the two powers," he asks at another time, "can most elevate man to the sublimest heights—love or music? It is a problem; nevertheless we may say that love can give no idea of music, but music can give one of love. Wherefore, then, separate them? They are the two wings of the soul." Had it been possible for Estelle to have controlled, more intimately, his life, it might have been a better one. He lacked balance; he had no moral symmetry; no moral self-support; no repose, like that which the classic ancients attributed to high character, and classic art impressed upon the statues and busts of great men. Like most intellectual Frenchmen he abandoned the faith of his childhood, and knew no substitute for it; his views of life were cynical, and the agitations of his career, and especially the hostility of his critics, had impaired his health, and in his last years he suffered from chronic neuralgia, which "tortured him night and day" and exasperated his temper. But with all his faults, in both life and art, he was a genuine hero, a genuine poet, and, as the world now admits, a genuine musician—a "grand master of vast conceptions," as Gounod has pronounced him.

On the 6th of March, 1869, his hard-fought "battle of life" ended in a tranquil death. The leading journal of Paris ("Journal des Debats") reminded France that "one of her great sons" had departed, one whose "work had been immense," whose "name posterity will inscribe among the names of the greatest masters, the Beethoven of France." He rests in the cemetery of Mont Martre, amidst the tombs of Ary Scheffer, Gautier, Halévy, Offenbach, Heine, and the many other illustrious men who sleep there in peace after the storms of life.

ART. III.—THE HINDU PANTHEON.

ON the other side of the earth, upon a vast plain two thousand miles long and nineteen hundred miles wide, live one hundred and sixty-three millions of our relations, from whom our fathers parted thousands of years ago, to "go west" and seek their fortune. More favored than the stay-at-homes, the emigrants have in some respects succeeded better, and so, not unmindful of our common origin, or the rapidly being fulfilled prophecy, "I will enlarge the borders of Japheth," we of the Occident go back now to tell our kindred how we have gotten on in the world, and to give a reason for the hope that is within us. And while we try to enlist their interest in ourselves, and especially in our religion and Redeemer, it behooves us to learn something of their thoughts concerning God and religion, in order that we may the better know how to induce them to "come to a knowledge of the truth," and accept that which has proved so beneficial to us in our western home.

But in order to gain correct knowledge of the wonderful faith of the Hindus we must go back to its source. To the Hindu mind the classic Vedas are the fountain of all knowledge. They are certainly among the most ancient religious, if not the oldest literary, productions in the world, some of them having been composed one thousand four hundred years before the True Incarnation. Before the exodus from Egypt, and while Job was sojourning upon the plains of Arabia, five hundred years before Homer, and a thousand years before Confucius and Solon, devout Aryans chanted their sacred *mantras*, and their untutored minds saw God in clouds and heard him in the wind. The very name of their most ancient records suggests our kinship, as seen in Veda, *oida*, *videre*, wit, *wisdom*, while the root of the word, that is, *vid*, means "to know," and the word itself "knowledge," and that, too, given orally. These books are considered the direct communication of the Supreme Being with man, and so sacred that as early as seven hundred years before Christ it was deemed a grave offense for a single word of the Vedas to be heard, much less read, by a person of low caste. There are four of these sacred books, namely, the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, and

the Atharva-Veda. The Rig-Veda is the oldest, and derives its name from the style of the composition and the manner of its recitation, *Rich* meaning praise, and the work is in meter, and designed to be chanted in a loud voice. Each Veda is divided into two parts: a Sanhita, or collection of *mantras*, or hymns; and a Bráhmana, or ritualistic precept and illustration. Attached to each Bráhmana is a Upanishad, containing mystical doctrine. The first two are for all men, but the latter two for only the more philosophical. These four Vedas mark the first stage in the development of Hindu mythology.

But these are but a small part of the sacred books of that wonderful people. There are other books which have more to do with the present belief of the people than the Rig-Veda, and furnish nearly all the gods of the present Hindu pantheon. There are six philosophical books called Shasters, two great epics—the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata—and eighteen Puránas, or "old traditional stories." The two epics were originally written about five hundred years before Christ, but were frequently revised afterward. The first of these, the Rámáyana, relates the story of Rám Chandra, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu, in his conquest of Lanka, or Ceylon, and overthrow of the tyrant Rávan. It is believed to have been written by the human but inspired author Válmíki, and consists of twenty-four thousand stanzas arranged in seven books. The Mahábhárata is the largest epic poem ever written, consisting of two hundred and twenty thousand lines, divided into eighteen sections. It is a sacred history, or rather an encyclopedia of traditions, legends, ethics, and philosophy. The Hindus say of both these books that "he who reads and repeats them is liberated from all sins, and exalted, with all his posterity, to the highest heaven." The Puránas, eighteen in number, while the last written, being composed not earlier than the sixth century after Christ, are for us the most important, as they give an account of the Hindu pantheon as it exists to-day. These books were written for the purpose of exalting one or another of the numerous manifestations of Brahma. They consist of no less than one million six hundred thousand lines. The whole of these sacred books combined—the four Vedas, the six Shasters, the Rámáyana, the Mahábhárata, and the eighteen Puránas—form no small body of divinity. It is safe to say

that no Hindu has ever read the one fiftieth part of the books he calls inspired.

These books, then—all written in the ancient and stately but now (except by the few) unspoken Sanskrit language, a language not unworthy of being considered "the language of the gods"—constitute the chief source from which to draw correct knowledge of what the Hindu pantheon was in the ages past, is now, and will most likely result in, if left to itself.

And first, as to what it was. The Hindus were not always Hindus. Once upon a time they abode with our fathers and the Persians somewhere in Central Asia, probably in the region surrounding the sources of the Oxus, near Bokhara; they then migrated with their Persian brethren into what is now Persia. The fathers of the Hindus separated from them, as we originally had parted from both, and going eastward, settled down as agriculturists in the rich country of the Punjab—the land of the five waters—and commenced their career in India nearly two thousand years before Christ. In those days they were not idolaters. They worshiped their thirty-three gods, but they were spiritual deities of air, earth, and sky. "They worshiped those physical forces before which all nations, if guided solely by the light of nature, have in the early period of their life instinctively bowed down, and before which even the more civilized and enlightened have always been compelled to bend in awe and reverence, if not in adoration. Their religion was what may be called in one word, *physiolatry*." Dyans (Heaven), Prithivi (Earth), Agni (Fire), Surya (Sun), Ushas (Dawn), Indra (Rain), Soma (deified juice of a plant), were among the leading Vedic deities. There were the Storm deities, as Indra, Indráni, Parjanya, Váyn, etc., and the Light deities, as Surya, Pushan, Mitra, Varuna, Ushas, etc. Indra represented the eleven gods of the air, Agni the eleven gods of the earth, and Surya the eleven gods of the sky, and these became chief by desire and constant sacrifice. The following description of Agni, or the god of Fire, is given:

"Bright, seven-rayed god, how manifold thy shapes
Revealed to us, thy votaries: now we see thee
With body all of gold, and radiant hair
Flaming from three terrific heads, and mouths
Whose burning jaws and teeth devour all things.

Now with a thousand glowing horns, and now
Flashing thy luster from a thousand eyes,
Thou'rt borne toward us in a golden chariot,
Impelled by winds, and drawn by ruddy steeds,
Marking thy car's destructive course with blackness."

But while three or four gods took a leading place in the Vedic pantheon, it should be remembered here, as throughout the whole system of Hindu mythology, that each of the gods for the time being in the mind of the devout worshiper was considered superior to all others, and, as Max Müller remarks: "It would be easy to find in the numerous hymns of the Rig-Veda passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute." It might be interesting to remark concerning some of the other gods and goddesses that Dyans (Heaven) and Prithivi (Earth) are considered the most ancient, hence the parents of the other deities. Ushas (Dawn), the daughter of the Sky, the sister of Night, and the wife of the Sun, was a fair goddess to whom is addressed the most beautiful of the Vedic hymns:

"Hail, ruddy Ushas, golden goddess, borne
Upon thy shining car, thou comest like
A lovely maiden by her mother decked,
Disclosing coyly all thy hidden grace
To our admiring eyes. . . .
Through years and years thou hast lived on, and yet
Thou'rt ever young. Thou art the breath and life
Of all that breathe and live, awaking, day by day,
Myriads of prostrate sleepers as from death,
Causing the birds to flutter in their nests,
And rousing men to ply with busy feet
Their daily duties and appointed tasks,
Toiling for wealth, or pleasure, or renown."

Let us now turn from the Vedic deities to those described in the sacred books of later times. We have seen that in early times there were numerous deities regarded as omniscient and omnipotent who ruled on earth, in air, and sky. In course of time one supreme, all-pervading deity, Brahma, was considered the essence and source of all the rest, and that all visible form emanated from him. In the Vedas such a being was almost unknown. As Monier Williams says: "Only a few hymns of the Vedas appear to contain the simple conception of one divine, self-existent, omnipresent being; and even in these the

idea of one god present in all nature is somewhat nebulous and undefined." It is in the Puránas that the Hindu finds his monotheistic belief. The Vishnu Purána defines Brahma as "abstract pure spirit;" the name is derived from the root *Brih*, "to expand," and, as Wilkins says, denotes "the universally expanding essence, or universally diffused substance of the universe." The Vishnu Purána contains the following hymn of praise to Brahma:

> Glory to Brahma, who alike in the destruction and renovation of the world is called the great and mysterious cause of the intellectual principle; who is without limit in time and space, and exempt from diminution and decay. He is the invisible, imperishable Brahma, varying in form, invariable in substance; the chief principle; self-engendered; who is said to illuminate the caverns of the heart; who is indivisible, radiant, undecaying, multiform. To that supreme Brahma be forever adoration.

Of this supreme god Brahma there are three manifestations, forming what is called the Hindu Triad. Brahmá appears as the god of creation, Vishnu as the god of preservation, and Shiva as the god of destruction. Be it remembered that Brahmá, Vishnu, and Shiva are only Brahma manifesting himself in a threefold manner, and that their functions are constantly interchangeable, as one of the great Indian poets (Kalidása) has said:

> "In these three Persons the one God was shown—
> Each first in place, each last—not one alone:
> Of Shiva, Vishnu, Brahmá, each may be
> First, second, third, among the blessed three."

Manu's account of Brahmá's creation is as follows: "Brahma desiring, seeking to produce various creatures from his own body, first created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. This (seed) became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahmá, the progenitor of all worlds. That lord having continued a year in the egg, divided it into two parts by his mere thought." Other accounts state that he issued from a lotus that sprung from the navel of Vishnu. Brahma, being born, by meditation, commenced the work of creation, his first act being the rescuing of the world, which he found sunk beneath the waters, by assuming the form of a boar and raising it upon his tusks. He is represented as a four-

headed red man, dressed in white clothing and riding upon a goose, and carrying a staff in one hand and a dish for gathering alms in the other. Brahmá is not now largely worshiped in India, there being in the whole land but one temple dedicated to him. Vishnu, the second person of the Hindu Triad, is said to have been produced from the left side of Brahma, and his appearance is thus described:

A black man with four arms; in one hand he holds a club, in another a shell, in a third a discus with which he slew his enemies, and in the fourth a lotus. He rides upon the bird Garuda, and is dressed in yellow robes.

In the Varahar Purána, the work for the accomplishment of which Vishnu was manifested is stated as follows:

The supreme god Náráyana (Brahmá), having conceived the thought of creating the universe, considered also that it was necessary that it should be protected after it was created; "but as it is impossible for an incorporeal being to exert action, let me produce from my own essence a corporeal being, by means of whom I may protect the world." Having thus reflected, the pre-existing Náráyana created from his own substance an ungenerated and divine form, on whom he bestowed these blessings: "Be thou the framer of all things, O Vishnu! Be thou always the protector of the three worlds, and the adored of all men. Be thou omniscient and almighty; and do thou at all times accomplish the wishes of Brahmá and the gods." The supreme spirit then assumed his essential nature. Vishnu, as he meditated on the purpose for which he had been produced, sunk into a mysterious slumber; and as in his sleep he imagined the production of various things a lotus sprang from his navel. In the center of this lotus Brahmá appeared; and Vishnu, beholding the production of his body, was delighted.

There is no god worshiped in India so universally as Vishnu, and in his praise we find the largest literature.

But it is in his various incarnations that he is the best known. There are ten of these, nine of which have already taken place, and one is yet to come. Strange to say, these various incarnations were not undertaken voluntarily, but were the result of the curse of the angry sage, Bhrigu, who condemned him to ten mortal births. Four of these were in the shape of lower animals, namely, Varáhar (Boar), Matsya (Fish), Kurma (Tortoise), and Nrisingha (Man-lion). Then there were the Vamána (Dwarf), Parasuráma (Rama, with ax), Ráma Chandra, Krishna, and

Buddha incarnations, and lastly will be born, at Sambhal, in the Morádábód district, the Kalki or "sinless" incarnation. The two leading incarnations are Krishna and Ráma Chandra. Krishna is the "black or dark one," and is the impersonation of one of Vishnu's black hairs, which he cast down to earth when asked to become incarnate. In the eyes of Hindus, Ráma Chandra's character is revealed in the lines addressed to him by the saint Visvamitra on the banks of the Sarju:

> "None in the world with thee shall vie,
> O sinless one, in apt reply,
> In knowledge, fortune, wit, and tact,
> Wisdom to plan, and skill to act."

It may be said of the incarnations generally, that they came more as gods of terror and destruction than for purposes of benevolence and blessing. Vishnu took the form of a fish, not only to preserve Manu, the progenitor of the human race, from a deluge, but to destroy the demon Hayagriva, who had stolen the Vedas from Brahmá when asleep. When the gods were in danger of losing their authority over the demons, Vishnu appeared as a tortoise in a sea of milk which was to be churned for ambrosia, and the demons seeking to drink were forthwith scorched. To slay Hiranyakasipu, Vishnu descended in the form of a creature, Nrisingha, half-man and half-lion. The Parasuráma incarnation took place to destroy the Kshattriya, or warrior caste. Ráma Chandra's great work was the slaying of Rávan, of Ceylon. Krishna came to destroy Kansa. Vishnu became incarnate, under the name of Buddha, for the purpose of destroying the enemies of the gods.

It is a noteworthy fact that the Hindus look forward to the coming of a tenth and last—the "sinless"—incarnation at the expiration of this "Evil Age" (Kali Yuga), who shall be born of a virgin in a humble town (Sambhal), and he shall inaugurate the "Age of Purity" (Kritá Yuga), and establish righteousness upon the earth, and destroy all out castes. He is represented as a white man on a white horse, with a drawn sword. How often has the missionary in the crowded bazar, before a mass of upturned faces, used this illustration to proclaim the Gospel that the "Sinless Incarnation" has already been "born of a virgin" in Bethlehem of Judea, and that he alone can establish the "Age of Purity" in the hearts of his people!

Shiva, the third person of the Hindu trinity, is the god of destruction. He is really the latest development of Hinduism, and is the natural result of its religious system. His name does not appear in the Vedas, although, in order to establish his reputation, he is declared to be the Rudra of the Vedas. It must not be supposed that because this deity is called the god of destruction that he is so according to our definition of the term, for in the Hindu mind death is only change into a new form of life, hence the destroyer is the re-creator. His name, Shiva—"the bright or happy one"—is indicative of this thought. But, at the same time, this change of existence is through a horrible process which marks this phase of Hinduism as full of bloody scenes and dark, fierce passions. The home of Shiva was at Kailasa, in the Himalaya Mountains, and his favorite city, Benares, on the Ganges. "Shiva," says Monier Williams, "is represented in a human form, living in the Himalayas along with Parvati, sometimes in the act of trampling on or destroying demons, wearing round his neck a serpent and a necklace of skulls, and furnished with a whole apparatus of external emblems, such as a white bull, on which he rides, a trident, tiger's skin, elephant's skin, rattle, noose, etc. He has three eyes, one being in his forehead, in allusion either to the three Vedas, or time past, present, or future. He has a crescent on his forehead, the moon having been given him as his share of the products of the churning of the ocean." Though it is true that Shiva is represented in human form, the most common form under which he is worshiped is that of the Luiga, or male and female reproductive organs. The usual name given to Shiva is Mahádeva, the great god. He is represented as having a great fondness for the bull upon which he rode; hence an image of this animal, called Nandi, can be seen in front of many shrines sacred to him, and on the death of one of his followers a bull is turned loose, after the manner of the scapegoat of the Israelites.

It is worthy of notice that all the leading gods of the Hindus had their consorts, or female counterparts. Thus the wife of Indra was Indráni, called also Sachi; Brahma's wife was Sarasvati, the goddess of wisdom and science, the mother of the Vedas, and the inventor of the Devanágari letters; the wife of Vishnu was Lukhohmi, or Shri; Shiva's wife, the most noted

of all, was known by various names, among which were Umá, Parvati, and especially Durgá. Durgá was a blood-thirsty goddess, and the embodiment of all other goddesses. Monier Williams observes, "that, just as the male god Shiva gathered under his own personality the attributes and functions of all the principal gods, and became the "great god" (Mahádeva)—that is, the most lofty and severe god of the Hindu pantheon—so his female counterpart became "the one great goddess" (devi, mahádevi), who required more propitiation than any other goddess, and to a certain extent, all other female manifestations of the Tri-múrti, and absorbed all their functions." She has a twofold nature—an *Asita*, white or mild, and a *Sita*, black or fierce, nature. In her mild nature she is known as Umá, Gaurí, Lakhshurí, Sarasvatí, etc., and in her fierce as Durgá, Kálí, etc. As Kálí she is worshiped throughout India to-day. She gives her name to the capital of the empire. Thieves, murderers, and highway robbers worship at her shrine. She delights in blood, and it is said that the blood of a man will appease her for a thousand, and the blood of three men for a million of years.

The deities were also blessed with children. Ganesh, the grotesque, elephant-headed god of wisdom, was the elder son of Shiva and Parvati, and Kartikeya, the god of war, was the younger. Besides these, there were a number of inferior deities and semi-deities, which go to fill up the Hindu pantheon. Such are Hanúnián, the monkey-god, who rendered such valiant service to Ráma Chandra, and Ganga, the deified Ganges, etc., while Jagaunáth, "the Lord of the World," is supposed to have been the local deity of some now unknown tribe whose worship was ingrafted into Hinduism, and finally was regarded as another manifestation of Vishnu.

India is surfeited with gods. Through monotheism, pantheism, dualism, and polytheism, the tendency is to the most degrading fetichism. The people are intensely religious, and they must have a religion which will stir their souls to the depths. This neither Vedantism, theosophy, nor Brahmaism can do. True spiritual emancipation and development can only take place when the True Incarnation, Jesus Christ, shall supersede Ráma Chandra, Krishna, and Mahádeva.

Art. IV.—CHRIST'S EDUCATION OF HIS BODY.

It is the purpose of this article to show that the Lord Jesus gave his human body a specific discipline for his work as our Redeemer. Of necessity, portions of the essay will be somewhat speculative, but it is hoped that the speculations will be within the bounds of Scripture license. The tendency of revelation is to create thinkers as well as to supply food for thought. Christ hinted many things which he never fully taught; so did the apostles, notably St. Paul, who was always in advance of the topic under consideration. Hints, therefore, have great uses.

The fact of this discipline must be assumed in order to explain his office as the Redeemer of mankind, for it cannot be doubted that Christ's body was an essential factor in the scheme of salvation. It had its sphere of activity and service. Within that sphere lay duties and tasks, burdens and sufferings, to which his body had to *grow*, not only in outward development, but likewise in an internal accommodation. Passing through infancy, childhood, youth, early manhood, and thence to mature manhood, the co-education of mental and physical life would go forward together, so that there could be no prematureness. This must be taken into account, for of all influences that disturb normal growth, the greatest is the undue concentration of vital force in one or another faculty of mind or function of body, by which the relativity of energies is interrupted. Symmetry is the law beneath all laws. And, hence, if Christ's consciousness as the Son of God had enlarged in an exclusive sense, we may suppose that the nervous functions expanded, in a like degree, to support, vivify, and express this consciousness. And again, if perception, memory, imagination, reflectiveness advanced, step by step, to their utmost earthly limits, the corresponding agency of the corporeal man would not, at any moment, fall behind in its progress. The law of nature is, that each period of existence shall afford a double basis for its successor, a *material* no less than a *mental* basis, and that these two shall harmonize more and more as years increase, until their sympathy, the one with the other, is as complete as human conditions allow. This law would pre-eminently appear in

Christ, who was quite as typical or representative in physical qualities and habits as in the intellectual and spiritual.

When it is said, "A body hast thou prepared me" (Heb. x, 5–7), or, as Macknight renders it, "Thou hast made me thy obedient servant," more is meant than a contrast with "burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin." It is added: "Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) *to do thy will, O God.*" Obedience is the prominent idea, and what scope and significance it has! Think of the nature and extent of this obedience; the conception set forth in its ideal, for the first time in the annals of humanity made not only visible but resplendently visible; the perfect obedience of a human body to a perfectly obedient human soul. You may go further. The human nature, constituted of soul and body, has its relations to the divine nature, and the two are always in entire accord, nor is there a break, nor even a jar, in the harmony of their co-activity in this one Person, distinctively Son of man, and as distinctively Son of God. Here is discipline in the highest and rarest form conceivable, since we have not merely the ideal union of the human soul and body, but that also in a divine union of two natures in a single personality. If, now, the Lord Jesus was to "magnify the law and make it honorable;" if he was to secure a new moral force for that law, and give it a new spiritual grandeur by uniting love with authority, and blending grace with sovereignty; and if this sublime task rested upon him from the carpenter shop in Nazareth to the struggle in the garden and the agony on the cross, we must remember that the training of the body had its place among the constituents of this obedience. Precisely here, the unity of his reverence for law in every form—law in matter, law in mind—makes its profoundest impression; and the glory of Christ as the subject of law, is vividly seen as the counterpart of Christ as the sovereign over law.

First, then, consider the connection of this discipline with the eighteen years of his seclusion at Nazareth after his visit to the temple. At first sight, it would seem that this privacy until he was thirty years old bore chiefly on his domestic character along with his intellectual and moral qualities. Yet there must have been a very marked effect on his physical (psychical?) nature in the insulating circumstances that surrounded

him. No one claimed to have taught him any thing, and all admitted that his life at Nazareth, from the outset to his public ministry, had been unique. Public training for public work he certainly had not. But that lonely Nazareth was to him a world of its own—lonely, indeed, since his supreme companionship was the infinite secret which lay in his heart. The consciousness of a divine work grew as he grew "in favor with God and man," never anticipating his years, and never other than perfect, in so far as childhood, youth, and early manhood allowed perfection. The influence of this anomalous isolation, growing out of his consciousness of the "Father's business," must have acted powerfully on his nervous system, since the sublime mystery which enveloped his own mind, and the stern demand it made on patience, self-possession, and habitual reticence, must have laid a burden on his nervous system that we are quite incompetent to imagine. If we may speak of the purity of pain, he must have undergone it through these long and tedious eighteen years. Powers asserting their presence and yet unused; capacities opening into wider realms; vistas rising beyond vistas; the sense of wonder purifying itself from vain curiosity, and all its lower and eager functions; this extreme waiting, and preparing, and holding himself in resolute abeyance, and in subjection to his Father's will—this verily was the initial process in "learning obedience" and becoming "perfect through sufferings." By means of such an experience, protracted beyond ordinary limits and intensified by exceptional conditions, he must have realized that peculiar suffering which we have ventured to designate as the "purity of pain." One may conceive of it as the product of thought in its loftiest activity. Healthy organs of body; life itself in the prime of natural strength and gladness; instincts fresh; and yet "suffering" by reason of the reflexes of sublimity in sentiment and emotion on the physical system. Now, this may be viewed as the most educative form of pain in respect to our corporeal organization, because it would instinctively tend to bring the functions of nerves and brain to the support of mind as non-related to the common modes of suffering. Where pain has its seat in the material structure, much of its moral benefit is lost by reason of resisting forces. But in the case of Christ, the law of self-denial and rigid self-government,

of profound silence, of isolated self-communion as the future unfolded its meanings, would be specialized in his own personality, and the result would be an undivided subserviency of the physical to the spiritual.

When a certain ideal has fully possessed the mind of a young man, nothing disputes its place or offers it any rivalry. Still, though engrossing the field of vision, it is distant, so that years must elapse before it can be realized. By day, it recurs in unchallenged mastery over his intellect; by night, it shapes his dreams; but he cannot speak of it, for its very delicacy forbids utterance. Only brooding is possible. Brood he must, since introspection alone offers a resource when communication is externally denied. He must abide in silence, till Time, the supreme worker, fulfills his task. The ideal has now been gained, but that is not all. Far greater than achieving the purposed end may be the value of the discipline in this protracted schooling to patience. And in this schooling is included much more than the mere intellect, the emotions, or the volition, since these are worth little or nothing till they assume their psychical forms in a corresponding development of nervous function. To be of any avail, the co-activity of the nerves must be habituated to their offices, and thus establish themselves in reciprocal association with the mental faculties. Now, this work of mutuality can only go on in calmness, the law of nature being, that in the ratio of tranquillized action is the attainment of permanence of habit in our constitution. There must be time as well as serenity. Eagerness, impulse, restless longing, are nervous conditions, no less than mental states; and, as the sense of time is organized in the nervous system, its demands have to be met. If this view be correct, the general idea may be formulated in some such language as this: *Restraint*, if wisely exercised to postpone the gratification of a present desire and the fulfillment of a more distant purpose, is *an education of the nervous system in subordination to the interests of mind.*

The argument proceeds on the idea that all education, and especially all higher education, is an equable development of soul and body so far as their existing relations permit this coordination. In brief, it is the education of human natures as formed by the union of mind and matter ordained of God

to come nearer together and work in closer harmony as we number our days and apply our hearts unto wisdom. The nerves are rebels against goodness whenever goodness imposes severe restrictions on their instincts; and, if this be rightly considered, we may see a deeper meaning in the words, "The *carnal* mind is enmity against God," and find new comfort in the fact that "he knoweth our frame, he remembereth that we are dust." And hence, when we think of Christ spending eighteen years in self-imposed solitude at Nazareth, we have natural law to warrant our belief that this discipline was physical as well as spiritual. "*Improved by tract of time*," says Milton; and the language has a deep philosophic import. Moderation, abstinence from premature satisfaction, the stimulation of desire coincidently with the delay of its pleasures, and the habituation of one's self to future and distant aims, are necessary steps in that providential culture, which proposes even now to regenerate, in part, the physical system as the redeemed ally of the soul. In part, we say, "for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body" is residuary. If, then, Christ was "made under the law" of Providence no less than "under law" in its specific sense, we may readily believe that he acquired the discipline of experience and practical skill, whereby he was enabled to adjust himself to those rapid alternations of circumstances that were so frequent and so extreme in his career. Vicissitudes are trials to nerves as well as to principles, and these (humanly speaking) were often hazardous in Christ's history. "Holy, harmless, undefiled," it is added that he was "separate from sinners," and again, that he was "made higher than the heavens." Heb. vii, 26. It does not appear how he needed the training of experience to add any thing to his *nature*, but it is plain enough how he needed this culture for his *character* and its formulated expression, in such various modes, before the world. Discipline is not predicable of abstract nature, but of nature historically manifested in character. Discipline never creates. It organizes capacity into ability. The soldier exists potentially in the man; military discipline takes hold of whatever in the man is suited to its purpose and fashions it into the soldier. It converts the raw material of capacity into the woven texture of ability.

Take a typical case of this physico-spiritual discipline in

Christ's career, namely, the temptation in the wilderness. Fresh from the baptismal waters of the Jordan, he was "led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil." No sooner had the Messianic inauguration occurred than he was subjected to a series of Messianic tests—not one, but three, and the three covering the ground of preliminary Messianic life, until he came to the final trial in Gethsemane and on the cross. Reverently we may call this his *divine novitiate.* Forty days he ate no food. Forty days he confronted nature in her most repulsive aspects, so that her ministrations of beauty and gladness to the senses, and, through them, her calm and soothing accesses to the soul, were altogether denied him. Forty days he was "with the wild beasts," their presence symbolizing entire separation from all human association; but, in addition, the entire lack of those sympathetic aids which Providence in material objects offers so secretly and tenderly to the tried and tempted spirit. An exile he is from the ways of men and the universe, a "*solitaire*" in a world never before or since occupied. Forty days his body was denied its usual gratifications, and "he was afterward a-hungered." The needs of the body come instantly upon him. "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread." The physical man was foremost in the scheme of Satanic temptation, as it was in the garden of Eden, and as it frequently is in our severest hours of probation. Jesus rests on his humanity: "man shall not live by bread alone;" and in that critical moment, as man he will win the victory. Although under excessive prostration, the body bore the shock; it did not falter, the instinctive pleading for food was held in firm check, the resistance was prompt, decided, complete. Observe now the stored-up discipline. The struggle came on soon after he left Nazareth; and hence the basis of this perfection in bodily control must have been acquired in those memorable eighteen years. No doubt, accessions to his Messianic power were made at the Jordan; and yet, consistently with this view, one may suppose that the protracted training at Nazareth, the simultaneous preparation of mind and body for his redeeming work, emerged in this notable form of actuality during the pendency of the temptation in the wilderness.

Probably we do not see every thing involved in our Lord's peculiar methods of self-development. That they were exceptionally self-methods, intense, profound, and exhaustive of possibilities, can scarcely be doubted. Only the results appear. Although this biography of eighteen years—the years when thought was dealing with its perplexities, and trust was maturing into a conscious assurance beyond the invasion of subtle doubt and timid apprehension—the years summed up by St. Luke in the words, "And Jesus increased in wisdom," etc., yet the biography is virtually written for us in this scene of the temptation and the sequel of the next three years. What is germane to the present argument is the fact, that Christ appears on the arena of public action as a man educated for his office as the anointed of God, and ready from the outset for the exigencies of that office, as the demands thereof grew upon him in their successional order. Here the issues of temptation leave us no room for doubt as to the fullness of the basic development, namely, the complete subordination of the body to the mind; its appetites and passions, its instincts, its automatic functions, brought into obedience to the higher and nobler nature, and sharing the sanctity and glory of that higher and nobler nature. Is it not an *ideal* body in the sense that it did not interfere, even in the slightest degree, with his will and purpose as the Christ of the Father? Physical habits help us by what they exclude and by what they include. Consider what they include. Naturally enough, this is the initial mode of their activity; and, accordingly, while it can hardly be said that Christ's enfeebled physical condition gave him support in the temptation, it certainly evinced itself in a negative or indirect way. Precisely here, the logic of physiological law is met. Support it could not give, for it was a worn-down body after a fast of forty days, with every attendant circumstance unfriendly, nay, adverse, to resiliency of action. Nevertheless, obstruction and counteraction this same body did avoid, and it laid placidly quiescent beneath the ascendency of his holy will. And precisely here, its accord with the Nazareth education manifests itself, since that, to all intents and purposes, was a passive discipline. So that he himself, until reaching thirty years of age, was the sphere of his own ministry, before he became the Anointed to the world. On himself, the might of

his arm and the grandeur of his wisdom were expended in fitting himself, body and spirit, for his infinite vocation. Body and spirit, I repeat, for this was his twofold preparation; the first pupil of the Great Teacher was himself. Just now we will lay the emphasis on *body*. For, if he was to "take our infirmities and bear our sicknesses," and if so much of his ministry was to be a ministry to the human body, could there be a more striking illustration of the congruity between his earlier and later life than this personal schooling of himself for thirty years, in order that by "learning obedience" and becoming "perfect through sufferings," he might be the Sent of God, the Minister of friendship, philanthropy, and grace, the divine Healer of bodies and souls?

Viewed in this light, the obscure mechanic, Jesus of Nazareth, stands before us in a most interesting light, as one long girding himself for the battle in behalf of humanity. Human history has no such table of contents; only, indeed, two chapters, one private, the other public. Likely enough, inventive art would have reversed the order, and the three years would have been the antecedent and the thirty the subsequent. And yet, looking for the Ideal Man, how naturally this arrangement secures our instant vindication! On grounds of physiology and psychology, the argument seems worthy of more consideration than it has received. Probably, we are more in the dark on *nerve-culture* than on any other branch of education; and if we are even now in this state of ignorance, how happens it that our science may find, at least, very suggestive hints as to Christ's unique mode of personal education, nineteen centuries ago, in an obscure province of Palestine? "*Good*" has come out of Nazareth, and much "*good*" in ways most unexpected. Here stands One against the background of the old centuries as they culminate at the advent; and not only so, here is One who by methods very unlooked for anticipates all our researches and has penetrated the *arcana* of nature, no less than the secrets of God's counsels, in behalf of the soul's immortal well-being. What a mystery lies open to our eyes! We are familiar with the fact that our higher education often fails because of the imperfectness of the lower education. The alphabet was wrongly taught and the error travels on to later life and vitiates the mind. Most of men's failures are mistakes fallen into

in their apprenticeships. But in the instance of the Nazarene, how plainly we discern the value of long experience and practice in self-management for the arming and fortifying of the mature man against the inroads of evil! This private Christ is verily sublime! The miracle of all his miracles is, that this hidden efflorescence, as much a secret in Nazareth as in Jerusalem, should have so ripened in three years that he could say, "It is finished."

Farther on in his career one can mark the positive side of this acquired wonderful union of mind and body in his office, as we have seen its negative aspect in the temptation. Acquired it was because attained by effort. One may trace the composed vigor of action, the immediateness of efficiency, the instantaneous command of the reserved forces of his nature, the sudden concentration of himself on a critical issue sprung unawares on him, and all these without a recorded interruption because of over-exertion or sickness. Weariness at the well of Sychar is mentioned, but he is not too weary to do a great work. Reaction from exalted moods is unknown. Did the Seventy return to him exultant after their first missionary tour? Sharing their joy when they declare that even the devils were subject unto them through his name, he responds, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," while the calm sublimity of his soul tells them not to "rejoice" in their power over the spirits, but rather that their "names are written in heaven." Luke x, 17–20. Immediately thereafter, he resumes his labors among the suffering, and, amid the jubilee of the hour, bends all his powers to the routine of humble duty; and when he descends from the Mount of Transfiguration, the splendor scarcely faded from his person, it is to cure a lunatic boy. Outward contrast was vivid in this marvelous transition from the summit of the Mount to its base, but the recent glory did not unfit him, in any degree, for his work. This steadiness of mood was a prominent characteristic of his mental habits. How was it possible except on a psychological basis? To account for it, we have to assume that his education was not merely self-acquired and uniformly maintained, but that it was perfect—as perfect physically as it was spiritually, allowing for the difference in the quality of the discipline—that of sensation revealing itself in the complementary law of cultured sensibility. The ocean heaves

violently after the storm has ceased from its bosom; material nature will not pass from season to season without commotion; men cannot have exalted states of mind and not sink back into disquietness and irritability; and especially public speakers know the languor, along with the temptation to sensuous indulgence, which follow a strain on the nerves. Many a strong man has fallen in such hours a victim to his nerves. Carmel faded out of Elijah when he fled from Jezebel, and the drama of Horeb was needed to restore the soul of heroism to the man. Peter forgot his great confession at Cesarea Philippi in a convulsive reaction. So it ever is; since there can be no extraordinary tension of mind without intensity of nervous excitation. The quickness and extent of the rebound measure the force of the spring. But here is the notable exception, and "what manner of man is this?"

If our modern physiology be interrogated as to the "manner of man" he was, it would surely answer, that while the automatic activity of the nerves performed its proper functions, the sympathetic nerves, and also the "pneumogastric" nerves, were not inattentive to their offices. Brain and heart were kept in normal relations, so that the unconscious or automatic energy and the emotional and voluntary forces were maintained, each in its respective sphere. At times the mental impressions of Christ were apparently very strong, while his public life exposed him to an almost unbroken scene of annoyance and vexation. But we have no intimation that, at any time during the ministry to the people, his physical state was injuriously affected by these worries, nor that the burden of thought was too heavy for him. Extreme cases of the power of passion to disturb the healthy action of the body, and convert the secretions into poisons—cases well understood by eminent physiologists—need not be cited in this argument. Short of this, however, imagine the completeness of Christ's physical discipline, when it was entirely adequate to preserve him serenely poised amid the petty strifes or the more malignant persecutions that allowed no external quietude. There were great turning-points in his career. There were emotional eras. The tests applied to his consciousness as the Son of God were manifold and prolonged, and, evidently, *he felt the body more and more, with its own instincts*, as he grew older. Yet, first and

last, along with his fidelity to the "Father's business"—the key-note sounded in the temple when twelve years of age, and vibrating on till we hear it in the majestic cadence, "I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do"—through every trial and temptation, the tenacious adhesiveness of the body to the Messianic work might give a very significant reading to John Hunter's famous words: "That there is not a natural action in the body, whether involuntary or voluntary, that may not be influenced by the peculiar state of the mind at the time." After all, it may be worth while to study the science in Donne's funeral elegy "On the Death of Mistress Drury:"

> "We understood
> Her by her sight; her pure and eloquent blood
> Spoke in her cheeks; and so distinctly wrought,
> That we might also say her body thought."

Let it, then, be definitely remembered that the body of Christ, Son of Mary, Son of God, was a Messianic body, and, accordingly, in studying his physical habits, we must keep this supreme fact in view. I proceed to say that quick recovery from fatigue—such recovery as leaves no lassitude behind it or residuary in nerves and muscles—may be taken as evidence of a well-disciplined body. No one can read Christ's history without noticing how careful he was to reserve the night for himself, and thereby reproduce his working stock of energy agreeably to the law of periodicity. "Sufficient unto the day" was the work thereof. He undertook no serial tasks; he adjourned no engagements, but finished his duties, one by one, as his career progressed. No haste or excitement was evinced, so that no needless expenditure of force took place, and hence, when the hours of rest came, he was prepared to enjoy their full quota of benefit. Every throb of his heart kept time with the chronometry of the universe; night was to him a semi-Sabbath; and in this he was thoughtful of others as well as of himself, for he had no large gatherings of people at night, and his custom was to perform most of his miracles in the day, the few exceptions of his "mighty works" having occurred for specific objects. No doubt official prudence had much to do with this usage, since his wily enemies might have turned a different method to his disadvantage. Next to the

Sabbath, and akin to it so far as providential law is analogous in the two institutions, he observed, as before intimated, the physical sanctity of the night—a point worthy of attention as illustrative of his uniform obedience to natural law. For here, as elsewhere, "made under the law," he "learned obedience," and turned natural forces into the channel of spiritual agencies.

The miracles of Christ impress a thoughtful mind not simply because they are departures from ordinary phenomena, but for the reason that they are extraordinary authentications of a profound reverence and sympathy in behalf of natural law. Miracle works not so much toward an impression of its own, and as foreign to uniformity of sequences, as it acts in the direction of law itself, existing in its ideal form in the mind of Christ. When occasion arises for him to perform a miracle, he makes no display and assumes nothing like the ostentation of superiority. Nor does he go out of his way to seek or make such occasions. They occur as other incidents of life, every-day affairs, not marked by any exclusive specialty of aspect. In every case he wears the look and manner of one whose love of law prompts him to suspend laws, and, accordingly, these marvels drop from his almighty hand as though he were solely intent on removing the curse that obscured the innate excellence of law by blurring the image of the divine beauty in its external manifestation. Nature was never more like herself, never so like her Maker, as when he restored her faded lineaments. And, in this same spirit of regard for law, he took care that the providential institution of the night, twin-sister of the Sabbath, should have due honor at his hands.

A noticeable thing is that the minimum of sleep appears to have satisfied him. No matter how wearied, he soon rallied; nor have we any reason to think that more nervous force was consumed in any one day than could be easily replaced the following night. Is not this an instance of that equilibrium which goes far beyond the limits of vigorous health, and exemplifies the highest form of the inter-relations between spirit and matter? If so, should we not properly estimate the class of facts now under examination? The theme is certainly next in importance to the moral and spiritual phenomena of Christ's life, and it occupies a significant position in the economy of

redemption. To set forth the capacity of the working human body involves considerations of vast moment. Viewing this subject in its true breadth of interest, one must admit that there is herein a most wise and beneficent exposition of natural theology, which virtually amounts to a revelation of the rarer uses of the body. The uses are economic enough to meet the demands of utility, and, coincidently therewith, the requirements of man's nobler being. It was worthy of the Son of man to do this work, for otherwise we know not how it could have been accomplished. Tell us if the supernatural could have rendered the human mind a more helpful service than by thus taking up the natural into holy companionship with itself, and showing us in the most resplendent of instances that in God we live and move and have our being!

Turn, now, to a memorable day in Christ's life, and we shall be prepared to see its sequel in a night quite as remarkable. From early morning he had been busy. A blind and dumb man, who had a devil, had been healed by him, and the three miracles in one were too much for the Pharisees. Hitherto he had been a wine-bibber, etc., but now he is branded as an ally and confederate of Satan, working miracles by Beelzebub, prince of devils. Then it was that he called the Pharisees "a generation of vipers;" and then, too, his mother and brethren, alarmed at the rupture between him and his most malignant persecutors, hastened to him that they might induce his withdrawal from imminent danger. But his work goes calmly on. A new method of teaching by parable is initiated; parable follows parable, an afternoon of short sermons for a long futurity. Landing from the boat in which he had taught the multitude on the shore, he went into a house and continued his instructions to the disciples. Evening came on, and he said, "Let us pass over unto the other side;" and they set sail for the opposite shore with its lonely hills. A storm soon descended on the lake; he had fallen asleep, but the quiet within him was not disturbed. Higher rose the waves; deeper yawned the hollows of the sea. The oarsmen labored at their unavailing task, while the waters, gathering new strength, were fast prevailing over the little bark. Jesus still slept. Peril was at its utmost, and the disciples cried to him: "Master, carest thou not that we perish?" His sleep was very strange to them—unnatural—even

showing insensibility to their safety. And he arose and spoke quietness to the waters and to the tumult in the hearts of his companions. Do we wonder at the miracle? Ay; but what of that other wonder? Fatigued he must have been in an extraordinary degree, and yet, instead of disquiet and feverishness, the repose is healthy. Despite of the exhaustion, the consternation among the disciples, and the raging tempest, the brain sleeps, the inmost heart sleeps, and the tranquillity is more like an infant's, hushed to rest in its mother's arms, than a man's sleep under circumstances of imminent danger.

Now, this perfect naturalness in the experience of the night indicates Christ's control of his nervous system. The inference is logical that he had complete mastery over his thoughts, and could dismiss them at will from the presence of consciousness. We have known persons who educated themselves to *command* sleep under any ordinary circumstances, but no such case could be taken as analogous to Christ's slumber in the storm. No day of his career had been so fraught with stupendous issues. Galilee had been won over to Judea in hostility to him, and his prospects of ministerial success were suddenly eclipsed. Yet the turmoil is hushed; nature takes up the strife, but nature avails nothing against the refreshment of the night; his sleep is that of God's Christ, and like his waking hours, it is embosomed in the Infinite. Naturally, indeed, the witnesses cried out: "What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?" But to us, the "*manner of man*," seen from our stand-point, is this, namely, a man "made under the law," "made like unto his brethren," and furthermore, *making* himself an ideal example of conformity at all times and under all circumstances, whether regular or contingent, to "man's place in the universe." Various lessons are taught in the Epistle to the Hebrews, invaluable lessons, such as condense law and Gospel in our best compendium of theology, old and new, historic and didactic, and yet it must not be overlooked that this same epistle lays special emphasis on the facts that he "learned obedience," and was made "perfect through sufferings." Read this epistle along with the gospels, mark the details, trace item by item, and see how Christ "learned" to obey, and how he was made "perfect through sufferings."

Again, it is noteworthy that he is never mentioned in the New Testament as dreaming. Scripture abounds with notices of dreams, many of them communications from the invisible world to men, but in Christ's case no such instance is given. Dr. Delitzsch says: "If the spirit of man, according to its original intention, rested in God, all the sleep of man, without needing supernatural operations of God's grace and power, would be a union with God; and the fullness of the spirit, like to God and united with God, would be reflected in the soul all the more intensively, that it would be the less developed by being retracted from the last forms of life to the first. Of such a kind was the sleep of Jesus. For of him, the sinless Son of man, we read indeed that he slept, but not that he dreamt." *

It is easy to miss the true meaning of facts like these, or, forsooth, to see in them no import whatever. If, as Humboldt says, "The apprehension of unity and harmony is the most important result of the study of nature," surely an inquiry into this unity and harmony as they are exhibited in Christ is of no secondary importance. Physical facts may be observed and generalized into laws for reasons merely physical, and in this case the mind is virtually subordinated to the body. The outward universe, and its relations to the soul through the mediation of the senses, may thus become dominant, and whatever sphere is allotted to the soul it is simply a province in the huge empire of matter. Methods of thought go deeper into our being than thoughts themselves; they are more distinctly personal, and, like the circulating system of the blood, convey the materials of life to every functional activity of the mind. A man is a part of nature and the image of nature, because he is the offspring and image of God; and in this preconceived aspect he must be seen before physical law can be rightly understood. This is plain enough in our Lord's teachings. Does he come to the material world to find parables? Obviously he brings an antecedent method of mind to the leaven, the mustard-seed, the vine and its fruitage, so that the moral, and not the physical, is for him the truth in the fact. Similarly in his miracles, an order appears which could not have been accidental, and must have sought spiritual good as its final purpose. His first miracle was at a wedding, his last public one at a

* "Biblical Physiology," second English edition.

grave: imagine the order reversed, and the incongruity with the end in view would annul the moral impression. Between these extreme points—one the most joyous scene in life, the other the saddest—he brought his almighty power to bear, in the main, on the restoration of the human body to its lost uses; and did he not glorify the original law of creation by removing, in every such case, the evils of the curse darkening the world? "This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory;" and again, "Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God?" * In both instances, though so unlike, the supreme end is the glory of God, and accordingly, if certain laws are set aside, the ideal beneficence of law itself is signally displayed. Precisely so in Christ's management of his own body. The glory of the Father's wisdom and love, as embodied in law, could not remain a vivid idea when lost to character and conduct, and hence the need to express it in acts calculated to arouse human attention. All law was included in his plan as the Son of God, and if we scrutinize his obedience to law in the discipline of his body, the absence of the miraculous will appear quite as illustrative of the divine glory as the miracles themselves.

The distinctness of attitude in this sphere of Christ's originality is very marked. It is in broad contrast with the ideas and habits of his age. To say nothing of the prevailing sensualism, the sensuousness of the times was altogether adverse to spirituality. The art of Greece had been chiefly engaged in the idealization of the human form as the perfection of beauty, and to such an extent was this glorification of the sensuous carried, that the spiritual had been utterly destroyed. Sculpture, painting, poetry, music, shrunk from the spiritual as fatal to the function of art. On the other hand, while the Hebrews were not an artistic race, the dominant sect of the Pharisees had so completely perverted the idea of Judaism as to make it consist in "bodily exercise." In this, as in all else, the "word of God" was made "of none effect" through their "tradition." Here, then, Grecian art and degenerate Judaism had joined hands to obliterate the true conception of the body, and put carnal sensuousness and superstition in its stead. Christ

* John's gospel, chapters ii and xi.

was confronted at every step by these evils. To be a Divine Teacher was not enough. A Divine Exemplar was needed, one who could vivify truth by putting it in the shape of fact. Behind the carnality of Greek art and Pharisaic traditions, lay the old truth of sensuousness as a divine truth and prominently set forth in the probation of man in Eden; and it was reserved for Christ to teach and exemplify this sensuousness by giving to the world the Christian doctrine of the human body. Observe now the method which he adopted. Here is the parabolical mode of instruction; it is sensuous in the simplest and most direct kind of imaginative action. Here are the miracles wrought, in most cases, on the bodies of sufferers, and sensuousness in every instance is restored to its legitimate functions. Above all, here in his own person and habits, this Christian doctrine of the human body, resting on the recovered and spiritualized conception of sensuousness, is luminously set before our eyes. Asiatic and yet in western Asia with its contrasts to eastern Asia; Jew and yet provincial in distinction from metropolitan; peasant and mechanic in separation from the professional classes, he presents at first the more local and race-marks of sensuous life. But, as he advances through the three years' ministry, *he grows away* more and more from his birthplace, domestic connections, and circumstantial aspects of his position, while vindicating his self-chosen title as Son of man. And at every step, as he "grows away" from the past and individualizes himself in a broader circle of sympathies, natural laws are seen in closer relations with higher laws. "Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." Psa. lxxxv, 10. But was this all the harmonization requisite in the scheme of redemption? Nay; sensuousness and spirituality in the humanity of the Son of Mary had to be reconciled, and this was to be "learned" by "obedience," and made "perfect through sufferings." Instance his meekness. It had modal variability while retaining its absolute quality. Now we all know how very dependent this virtue of meekness is on physical conditions, and we know, too, its manifoldness in Christ. Its perfection in him is, therefore, a physiological fact as well as a moral sentiment.

Physical law has its own domain, and should not be confounded with moral law. Analogy detects likeness in the two

forms of law; but resemblance is not sameness, and to maintain the value of analogy in science and religion we must keep each in its own sphere. Yet, we see in Christ that physiological facts were co-related with spiritual facts; the two classes of facts were in constant interaction; and in this sense we may accept Milton's words: "And corporeal to incorporeal turn." Christ's own body was to him an epitome of the Providence over the universe. Its laws were reverenced, its symmetry of activities devoutly sustained, its unity and beauty never impaired. "In himself was all his state;" and that high dignity of manhood, evidential of another nature above the human, was not lowered once in all the vicissitudes of his fortunes. Popular in Galilee, unpopular in Judea, he was the same Christ. Remonstrance on the part of his mother and brethren against his course produced no irritation. Patience had her perfect work. The repose of strength, that hardest of all achievements because of bodily hinderances, was habitual. On no occasion was he overtaken by surprise, nor could the adroitness or the stealthy arts of his enemies prevail against him. For every change in circumstances, for sudden assaults, for the devices of sophistry, for ambuscades to entrap his ministry, he was always prepared, never off his guard, never less than himself, never other than himself.

A demoniac disturbs his congregation at Capernaum, and the torturing spirit is dismissed to another world. Shameless men drag a wretched woman before him in the temple, and they cower and retreat from his avenging presence. A mob threatens his life; silently he vanishes from its midst and foils its rage. Now, we all know how frequently, with the most disciplined men, the attention relaxes, the memory fails, the judgment errs, not so much from mental defects either as to original capacity or acquired culture, but simply because some nerve-cell, or some other part of the animal economy, is out of order. These things seem to us unaccountable freaks and caprices, and yet, no doubt, the laws of our physical nature have been violated unconsciously in all such mishaps. A little too much blood in the brain, a little excess of heat, too rapid breathing, a fit of indigestion, and the wisest of men, at the moment, verge on imbecility. But nothing of this sort appears in Christ, for he had educated even human infirmity.

Evidently, then, *he educated his temperament* and made it a

portion of his character. The body "prepared" for him does not explain all the facts, so that while we admit what was done *for him*, we must also recognize what was done *by him* in the processes of self-culture. This is the more noticeable since he was Benefactor, Healer, Teacher, Preacher, Organizer, each of these an inlet to multitudinous impressions, and each an outlet to its own specialized power. A physician grows into his particular class of habits; and so with teacher and preacher; and, furthermore, a set of habits friendly to one profession is often adverse to the interests of another profession. Do we ever witness any break in the continuity of Christ's life when he moves from one department of exertion to some other? And how remarkable must have been his physical training, when he combined his numerous offices in the one Messianic office; discharged their apparently incongruous functions not only in ideal unanimity but with ideal equanimity; executed their diversified tasks every day and every hour of the day, and compressed their vast achievements within the space of three years!

Nor is it less obvious to one who studies the fourfold biography of the Lord Jesus in the gospels, that he was free from all excess in the care of his body, and never allowed it a disproportionate share of prudential attention. He never strikes us as working up to the measure of his ability. Observe him after that busy Sabbath at Capernaum (Mark i, 21–39): "And in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed." One of the most laborious Sabbaths in his ministry, crowded with experiences strangely dissimilar—a few hours of rest sufficient to reinstate his bodily waste of strength—and then, rising up a great while before day to commune with his Father: is not this a marvelous spectacle even in the gospel of wonders? We rise from no other personal annals with such an intense conviction of surplusage in the matter of power; and, what is quite as noteworthy, the evenness in the distribution of this power, so that the exact *quantum* of force goes to each faculty and function, characterizes his entire history. Would it not be well for us, then, to study more assiduously, and in the light of recent science, what I may venture to call the "physiological basis of Christ's character and ministry?"

From the foregoing illustrations of Christ's physical disci-

pline, one may see more clearly the bearing of certain facts on his Messianic history. If he loved the open air and its joyous freedom of life; if he had his later home near the Sea of Tiberias, where the climate was "well nigh a perpetual spring," and the land "flowed with milk and honey;" if he confined the most of his ministry to a small territory beautifully diversified by hill and plain, and, within this narrow area, varied almost daily the scene of his labors; if he observed the law of concentration as to time and place and people; if he steadily narrowed down the issues between himself and his countrymen to the single issue of his divine and eternal Sonship; and if, furthermore, he ended his career just when he reached the fullness of physical development and before the exhaustion of toil and trial had set in; it cannot be doubted that these were constitutive elements in a plan involving an extraordinary co-ordination of intellectual, moral, social, physical life in his Messianic work. Had we been told beforehand that body possessed such a latent capacity for alliance and sympathy with mind, so that

> "Sensations sweet,
> Felt in the blood and felt along the heart,"

not only stood related to moral sensibility but cultivated and enhanced its action in the holiest of possible activities, it would have taxed our power of belief. But in Christ the wonder is historically verified, and, as such, has an immense practical value, since every principle of goodness and every sentiment that ennobles the struggles of our nature to reach a higher plane of being, not only has its strength re-enforced but its victory over animalism of every sort assured.

Toward the close of Christ's ministry we see the extent to which he carried this physical discipline in preparing him to meet the sorrow and gloom of his last hours. During the journey through Perea, in his visit to Bethany and the raising of Lazarus from the grave, afterward in the return to Perea, then in the entry into Jerusalem, and the incidents following, we behold him manifesting an unusual degree of sensibility. Tears fall from his eyes, the heart is overfull, and his voice breaks with grief. Men are more hostile than ever to him and his mission. They press him with vexatious questions; snares are spread every-where to entangle him; he has been outlawed;

and from all quarters trials and temptations rush upon him; and, meantime, his emotional nature is wrought on intensely. Physiological science teaches us that volitional attention exhausts the mind rapidly, and it teaches further that depressing emotions impair the secretions. Throughout his ministry, Christ has shown how he could withstand the constant demand on his will; and now, in his last days, what are the aspects of the emotional Christ? Probably the most convincing proof of his physical discipline may be found in the phenomena of emotion in this severe conflict. Emotional life in poet, artist, orator, tends to weaken the capacity for endurance. Emotional life in the physician requires that the feelings be sheathed and the nerves drilled to the lancet and the knife. Emotional life in the philanthropist seems to weaken sympathy for individuals, and, in some cases, men eminent for devotion to humanity on a grand scale of effort have been lacking in domestic feeling. But in the existence of Christ sympathy needed no self-defense. Familiarity with suffering did not deaden sensibility. The dyer's hand was not subdued to what it worked in. Hence the conclusion that his emotional life was not specific to any department of his work, but generic to his humanity as such; and, accordingly, that it was the man—not the worker, the healer, the philanthropist—who was the typical disciplinarian of the body, and raised it, as never before nor since, into copartnership with the soul. Viewed in this light, the earthly body of Christ is not merely in training to undergo the sufferings in the Garden and on the Cross. True, every thing points most prophetically to an ultimate present result, to a divine climax in which all this experience shall justify itself in the order of providence. At the same time it has a further bearing. It indicates a vital connection with a prospective scheme of corporeal development, and is the foretokening of Christ's "spiritual body;" the same body and yet a very different body, its identity consisting in the fact that it has been wrought into the texture of his Messianic character and glory.

Materialism, in one shape or another, is now the battle-ground between faith and science. Not a few scientific thinkers are far more anxious to demonstrate our resemblance to the ape than our likeness to the Son of Mary, and of all the logical abuses of the day the utter perversion of analogy is intellectu-

ally the most harmful and spiritually the most debasing. If the doctrine of the human body, as taught by Christ and elaborated by St. Paul, were to enter into our civilization as a controlling and sanctifying influence, what a stride toward the millennium we should make by this victory over animalism! The doctrine lies imbedded in the words, "That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual." 1 Cor. xv, 46. Even the fallen human body, the ground cursed, thorns and thistles in its way, death awaiting it—even this body brought more out of Eden than it left behind, for it, too, brought out the promise of Christ. The "afterward" has already come in part, and it is only waiting God's time to come in full. If, indeed, we must go forward to the forty days between the Lord's resurrection and ascension to behold the nature and glory of his "spiritual body," yet, nevertheless, we have a most helpful and precious lesson in the fact that the body of his humiliation was spiritualized so far as to become a perfect coadjutor with his spirit in the Messianic work. Is it not the most practical of lessons to us, and especially valuable in these days? Soul is cultivated and ennobled here and now, to be a future soul; why not body? If the one is in Christ's school, why not the other? The future is nascent in the present, and, assuredly, we shall be protected against this threatened epidemic of materialism if we believe and feel that the resurrection body is partly idealized to the conceptive imagination in our existing corporeal structure—a tabernacle foreshadowing a temple.

Art. V. — RECENT CHECKS TO MODERN UNBELIEF.*

Part I.—Scientific.

One would naturally expect that Science in the hands of fallible men would sometimes make mistakes, and, as a rule, continue changing its position as knowledge grows from more to more. While the physical universe with which it has to do is a fixed quantity, the Science which interprets the universe must, in

* "Some Recent Checks and Reverses Sustained by Modern Unbelief." By Rev. Alexander Mair, D.D. "The Monthly Interpreter" (Edinburgh), Feb., 1885.

the hands of finite men, forever remain a variable quantity. Never until Science and the universe correspond to each other like the two sides of an algebraic equation will the point be reached at which Science will be beyond the necessity for retreat or change. This seems reasonable, and, indeed, self-evident. But there are many men belonging to the school of modern unbelief who do not see that the same thing ought to be admitted as likely to hold good in the sphere of theology. Its field, the Bible and the universe viewed as a revelation of God, is also a fixed quantity. But man the theologian, like man the scientist, is finite and fallible. It therefore follows that Theology, like Science, might be expected to make mistakes, and thus need to change its position—now to withdraw and now to advance—until it has become a more correct expression of objective truth. Surely it must be obvious to every reasonable mind that it can be no discredit to Theology to do so, if it is no discredit to Science.

Yet nothing is more common on the part of some unbelievers in our common Christianity than indulgence in sarcasm or derision at the expense of Theology because of its many so-called retreats before the advance of Science. We may find these retreats at times forming a favorite and telling theme with writers by no means of the baser sort, especially when they wish to produce a powerful rhetorical effect. As a specimen, we may give the following from Dr. Draper:

> The contest respecting the figure of the earth, and the location of heaven and hell, ended adversely to the ecclesiastic. He affirmed that the earth is an extended plane, and that the sky is a firmament, the floor of heaven, through which again and again persons have been seen to ascend, though its globular form is demonstrated beyond any possibility of contradiction by astronomical facts, and by the voyage of Magellan's ship. He then maintained that the earth is the central body of the universe, all others being in subordination to it, and it the grand object of God's regard. Forced from this position, he next affirmed that it is motionless, the sun and the stars actually revolving, as they apparently do, around it. The invention of the telescope proved that here again he was in error. Then he maintained that all the motions of the solar system are regulated by providential intervention; the "Principia" of Newton demonstrated that they are due to irresistible law.*

* Draper, "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science," p. 360.

And so on, through some more sentences of a similar kind. We find Professor Huxley at times launching out in the same strain, as in the following passage, which the reader will likely recognize:

> Extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules; and history records that whenever science and orthodoxy have been fairly opposed, the latter has been forced to retire from the lists, bleeding and crushed, if not annihilated; scotched, if not slain.*

Here, it will be observed, the agony is piled up with telling effect, all to the glory of the scientific man, and to the utter discomfiture of the poor "ecclesiastic" and the "orthodox," as if they were the only sinners in the case.

But one may well wonder why it never occurs to shrewd men that, in regard to such points as those mentioned above, it was not so much Theology that was wrong and ought to blush as the Science of the day. These points are matters lying quite outside of the proper field of Theology, and within that of Science. It does not belong to Theology to determine them, and it cannot determine them. It no more belongs to Theology to determine them than it belongs to physical science to determine questions in pure theology, or to mathematics to determine questions in psychology. Theology simply took up the common language of men in reference to such matters, the language of the Science of the age, just because it was Theology and not Science. Accordingly, if theologians have had occasion to retreat from such positions as those referred to, whose blame is it? Certainly, to a large extent, the blame of Science; that defective contemporary Science which the sacred writers or the theologians of the past accepted. It is false Science and not Theology, certainly false Science as much as Theology, that we have to blame for those wrong views in regard to the figure and position of the earth, the nature of the firmament, the motion of the sun and stars, and the like. In regard to these matters, it is Science rather than Theology that has had to beat an ignominious retreat, and has reason to blush because it had not done its work better. It is, indeed, almost a kind of impertinence for Science to blame Theology solely for these mistakes, just as it would be an impertinence in the theologian to blame

* "Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews," p. 305.

Science because it had not discovered the nature of the Trinity. The fact is, Theology in its proper sphere has had to retreat and change during the last fifteen hundred years much less than Science. The Theology of the age of Augustine is more closely allied to that of the present day than the Science of that age is to the Science of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, such pointed tirades as those with which we sometimes meet ought to be leveled against Science rather than against Theology. The guns are pointed in the wrong direction; for the original errors are clearly errors of Science rather than of Theology.

One would almost suppose, at times, that it was only ignorant Christians and theologians who had been so narrow and blinded as to oppose the discoveries of Science in the past. No doubt many of them were narrow and blinded enough to do so. But what about the citizens of the scientific commonwealth themselves? Were they always ready to hail every new discovery in Science, and defend it against the blinded theologian or the narrow Christian? On the contrary, some of the most decided opposition came from the scientific ranks themselves. The Copernican theory of the solar system met with the determined opposition of the astronomers of the age. Leibnitz and other distinguished contemporaries rejected and derided the theory of gravitation when propounded by Newton. When Harvey announced the discovery of the circulation of the blood, "all the physicians were against his opinion;" and very much the same thing happened to Jenner when he introduced vaccination. When Young propounded the undulatory theory of light, he "was hooted at as absurd by the popular scientific writers of the day." Christlieb reminds us that the French Academy "in former times rejected (1) the use of quinine, (2) vaccination, (3) lightning conductors, (4) the existence of meteorolites, (5) the steam engine."* And did not Goethe deny and ridicule Newton's theory of colors? And is it only theologians who refuse to accept the Darwinian hypothesis of evolution? Without doubt many theologians have been foolish enough to reject genuine scientific discoveries, but citizens of the commonwealth of Science have been, to say the least, just as foolish. Is there not an old proverb that says, "People who live in glass houses should not throw stones?"

* "Modern Doubt and Christian Belief," p. 324, note (Clark).

Let no one suppose that we imagine theologians to have always acted wisely in the past in regard to the discoveries of Science. On the contrary, in much of their conduct we praise them not. There has been, and there still is, in a lessening degree, a hard and narrow school who live in an hysterical dread of Science, and who, if they do not hate it, look upon it with ill-disguised suspicion. The mode of procedure adopted by this school, there is reason to believe, tells most injuriously against the Bible and religion, and gives no small impulse to skepticism. Instead of opening their eyes and looking out for the reasonable and true, the sound and safe position, they lay it down as a principle to make no surrender until they are compelled. They meet every new advance of Science with unworthy disbelief and opposition, instead of that hearty recognition which the love of truth and a firm faith in God should inspire. They take up false positions, one after another, only to be compelled to abandon them one after another. And the consequence of all this is only too certain. In the mind of on-lookers Christianity becomes associated with defeat and all that is untenable, until their faith in it is sadly shaken and disintegrated. There is too much reason to fear that the course of action just referred to awakens more skeptical doubts, and makes more skeptics, than all the Science in the world.

Our more immediate object, however, in the present article, is to draw attention to some important points at which the unbelief of the age has received a substantial check, or has even been worsted and compelled to retreat. There are such points both in the sphere of Science and in that of historical criticism. We shall find that, at certain important points, Science calls a halt at present, greatly to the annoyance of blatant infidelity. We shall also find that, at not a few important points, historical criticism has not only administered to unbelief a substantial check, but has even succeeded in turning the tide, and still succeeds in keeping it decidedly flowing back.

When we take the case even of Herbert Spencer, who is spoken of by his sympathizers as "the apostle of the understanding," and "our great philosopher," we find in his latest utterances that a great deal more is admitted than perhaps some unbelievers like to see. We do not say that he has changed his religious ground, but only that he has stated anew,

explicitly and succinctly, what all must feel to be logically implied in his position. The Unknowable, which takes the place of God in his philosophy, is an object about which Mr. Spencer really knows a great deal, and which contains many of the attributes of Deity. This Unknowable—he prints this and similar words with an initial capital—he knows and declares to be Energy, Infinite, Eternal, the Ultimate Reality, the Ultimate Cause. It transcends phenomena, and "belief in its existence has, among our beliefs, the highest validity of any," and "an indestructible consciousness of it is the very basis of our intelligence." "Duty requires us neither to affirm nor deny personality" in regard to it. The "choice is not between personality and something lower than personality," but "between personality and something higher;" for the "Ultimate Power is no more representable in terms of human consciousness than human consciousness is representable in terms of a plant's functions." In other words, the Ultimate Power is not personal in the human sense, because it is as much higher than human personality as such personality is higher than vegetable life. Furthermore, it is in some sense true that by this "Infinite and Eternal Energy all things are created and sustained," and it "stands toward our general conception of things in substantially the same relation as does the Creative Power asserted by Theology." In short, the Unknowable is the Ultimate Reality, higher than human personality, Infinite, Eternal, and Unchangeable in being, power, and activity, the First Cause, the Creator and Preserver of all things. When we further learn that there is in man a "religious consciousness" which "must continue to exist," we come extremely near possessing all those elements which form a logical basis for religion.*

Passing on, however, to our more special object, we proceed to mention two or three important points at which modern unbelief has received a substantial check at the hands of Science.

When the development hypothesis obtained such an amount of proof as to make it plausible, it was immediately taken up, and the trumpet was sounded to proclaim that creation could now be explained without a personal God—indeed, that there was no such thing as creation in any form. Not only did unbelievers accept it as the explanation of the descent of one species

* See the "Nineteenth Century" for July, 1884, on "Retrospective Religion."

from another after life had been originated, as Darwin held and taught, but, more Darwinian than Darwin, they held that it accounted for the very origin of life itself. Life, said they, is no new thing, but merely one of the forms of physical force, like motion, or heat, or light, or electricity. And just as physical force can pass freely into the form of motion, or heat, or electricity, so it can pass into the form of life. In short, life originated out of mere matter and physical force in the course of natural development by spontaneous generation, or what is called abiogenesis.

But what is the real teaching of Science at present in regard to this matter? Certainly it is decidedly against the supposition that life springs into being out of dead matter and force by any process of *spontaneous generation*. All the facts of Science, as distinguished from its fancies, clearly point to the conclusion that life springs only from life. If we ask what scientists of the highest authority, whom no one can reasonably imagine to be biased by orthodox Christianity, have to say in regard to the matter, we shall find that their testimony is firm and clear. Professor Huxley must be regarded as an unexceptionable witness in the case, and here is his testimony:

> Not only is the kind of evidence adduced in favor of abiogenesis logically insufficient to furnish proof of its occurrence, but it may be stated as a well-based induction, that the more careful the investigator, and the more complete his mastery over the endless practical difficulties which surround experimentation on this subject, the more certain are his experiments to give a negative result.

Again he says:

> The fact is, that at the present moment there is not a shadow of trustworthy direct evidence that abiogenesis does take place, or has taken place within the historic period during which the existence of life on the globe is recorded.*

The name of Professor Tyndall stands, like that of Professor Huxley, in the front rank of trustworthy and successful scientific investigators, and he is no less explicit. It is true that when he is indulging in the "scientific use of the imagination," and "crosses the boundary of experimental evidence," he discovers in matter "the promise and potency of all terrestrial life." But when he confines himself to truth scientifically

* "Encyclopedia Britannica," vol. iii, p. 689; article on "Biology."

ascertained, he gives his testimony round and clear in favor of biogenesis as against abiogenesis, and no one has earned more worthily than he the right to speak with authority on this subject. He says:

In reply to your question [whether there exists the least evidence to prove that any form of life can be developed out of matter], true men of science will frankly admit their inability to point to any satisfactory experimental proof that life can be developed, save from demonstrable antecedent life.*

In another place he says:

I here affirm, that no shred of trustworthy experimental testimony exists to prove that life in our day has ever appeared independently of antecedent life.†

And once more, he declares "that every attempt made in our day to generate life, independently of antecedent life, has utterly broken down." ‡

We now pass from our own country [Britain] to the Continent. As the representative of the highest science of France, we cite the testimony of Pasteur, whose name in regard to this department appropriately follows that of Tyndall. After long and minute experimentation in reference to spontaneous generation, he gives this as his assured conclusion:

There is no case known at the present day in which we can affirm that microscopic creatures have come into existence without germs, without parents like themselves. Those who pretend that they do have been the dupes of illusions, of experiments badly performed, vitiated by mistakes which they have not been able to perceive, or which they have not known how to avoid. §

From France we pass to Germany. Professor Virchow of Berlin is a name worthy to be mentioned along with the preceding. He is not only an authority of the first class, but one who may also be safely regarded as free from all theological bias. His declaration is most explicit:

This *generatio æquivoca* [by which he means spontaneous generation], which has been so often contested and so often contradicted, is, nevertheless, always meeting us afresh. To be sure,

* "Fragments of Science," vol. ii, p. 194, "Belfast Address."

† "Nineteenth Century," March, 1878, p. 507.

‡ "Fragments of Science," Preface to the sixth edition, p. vi.

§ "Revue des Cours scientifiques," 23 Avril, 1864, p. 265; article "Des Générations spontanées."

we know not a single positive fact to prove that a *generatio æquivoca* has ever been made, that inorganic masses—such as the firm of Carbon & Co.—have ever spontaneously developed themselves into organic masses. No one has ever seen a *generatio æquivoca* effected; and whoever supposes that it has occurred is contradicted by the naturalist, and not merely by the theologian. . . . We must acknowledge that it has not yet been proved.*

Our space does not permit us to adduce more testimonies. Nor is it necessary; for the preceding are quite sufficient to show the exact state of the case in the estimation of scientific men of the very highest rank, who are at the same time quite free from all theological bias. The chasm between the inorganic and the organic, the lifeless and the living, is not yet bridged over. But what follows from this according to Strauss? He says:

So long as we regard the contrast between the inorganic and the organic—lifeless and living nature—as an absolute one—so long as we hold fast to the conception of a special vital power—it is *impossible to get over the chasm without miracle.*†

Another most important point at which the hypothesis of merely natural evolution has received a check is in regard to the *time* requisite for the necessities of the case. It demands countless millions of years for its operation. But, according to our highest physicists, such countless millions of years cannot possibly be allowed. Professor Tait of Edinburgh, speaking in regard to this point, says:

The subject [how long the earth has been habitable for plants and animals] has been taken up very carefully within the last few years by Sir William Thomson. . . . He divides his argument upon it into three heads. The first is an argument from the internal heat of the earth; the second is from the tidal retardation of the earth's rotation; and the third is from the sun's temperature. . . . Each of these arguments is quite independent of the

* "The Freedom of Science in the Modern State," pp. 36, *ff.*, second edition.

† "Der alte und der neue Glaube," p. 174. In the original Strauss uses the past tense in the above quotation. Why? Because at the time he wrote, *Bathybius* was the popular catchword—*Bathybius* which Professors Huxley and Häckel regarded as offering a possible explanation of life. Desperate men will catch at straws, and so Strauss grasped at *Bathybius;* and thinking that the physical theory of life was now demonstrated, he wrote in the past tense. But we now know that the explanation of the origin of life by *Bathybius* is, to use a word which Strauss has made famous, a *myth.* Hence we feel warranted in translating in the present tense.

other two, and is—for all tend to something about the same—to the effect that ten millions of years is about the utmost that can be allowed, from the physical point of view, for all the changes that have taken place on the earth's surface since vegetable life of the lowest form was capable of existing here. . . . I dare say many of you are acquainted with the speculations of Lyell and others, especially of Darwin, who tell us that even for a comparatively brief portion of recent geological history three hundred millions of years will not suffice! . . . Physical considerations from various independent points of view render it utterly impossible that more than ten or fifteen millions of years can be granted.*

Here we have the results at which Sir William Thomson has arrived, and in which both he and Professor Tait, two of our foremost mathematical physicists, concur. It is true that Dr. Croll questions the exact trustworthiness of some of Sir William's calculations, but he himself says:

The general conclusion to which we are therefore led from physical considerations regarding the age of the sun's heat is, that the entire geological history of our globe must be comprised within less than one hundred millions of years.†

Darwin felt and acknowledged this "formidable objection," and apparently has no solution to offer except the supposition of "violent changes, causing a more rapid rate of development." ‡

We might also draw attention with effect to the fact that *infertility between distinct species* still stands as a difficult barrier in the way of the hypothesis of mere natural evolution. Even after all the influence and care of man in producing different varieties, some of them very unlike the originals, he has never yet succeeded in producing from any of the higher species a new species which can stand the test of continued infertility in the attempt at inter-breeding with the original. Mr. Darwin does not profess that this has ever been attained in regard to any of the higher species; and Professor Huxley frankly says:

It is our clear conviction that, as the evidence stands, it is not absolutely proven that a group of animals, having all the characters exhibited by species in nature, has ever been originated by selection, whether artificial or natural. . . . There is no positive evidence, at present, that any group of animals has, by variation and selective breeding, given rise to another group which was even in the least degree infertile with the first.

* "Recent Advances in Physical Science," pp. 165, *ff.*

† "Climate and Time," p. 355. ‡ "Origin of Species," p. 286, sixth edition.

And he speaks of this as the "'little rift within the lute," which is not to be disguised or overlooked." *

We pass on, however, to another point, closely connected with the above, at which modern unbelief has met with a decided check at the hands of Science. We refer to the *origin of man.* It was fondly hoped by many, believed by not a few, and even loudly proclaimed by some, that man was merely a natural and chance development out of the ape, or some other lower animal. There are not a few who hold that this is the true origin of man, and that to speak of him as being in any true sense created by God, or in the image of God, is a delusion. There is no divine or immortal spirit in him; he is merely an animal of the higher and luckier kind, only of the earth, earthy. Of course they have not found out the "missing link" bridging over the chasm between man and the ape; but they have always been ready to proclaim, on each new discovery of a human skull, that here was the necessary link, the immediate progenitor of man. "Every body who found a skull in a cave, or a bone in the fissure of a rock, thought he had got a bit of him." Professor Häckel has actually gone so far as to fill up the yawning gap out of his imagination, and even to give the imaginary creature a name, and the name is *Alalus!*

There are two capital facts from which this view of the descent of man has received a check. One is the fact of the vast distance between the brain of man and that of the nearest apes. It is acknowledged that natural evolution proceeds only by infinitesimal variations. Mr. Darwin himself says: "Natural selection can never take a great and sudden leap, but must advance by short and sure, though slow, steps." † Now, speaking in a general way, the brain-mass of man is about three times that of the highest anthropoid ape. To quote from Mr. A. R. Wallace:

> The collections of Dr. J. B. Davis and Dr. Morton give the following as the average internal capacity of the cranium in the chief races: Teutonic family, 94 cubic inches; Esquimaux, 91 cubic inches; Negroes, 85 cubic inches; Australians and Tasmanians, 82 cubic inches; Bushmen, 77 cubic inches. . . . The adult male orang-outang is quite as bulky as a small-sized man, while the gorilla is considerably above the average size of man,

* "Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews," p. 323.

† "Origin of Species," p. 156.

as estimated by bulk and weight; yet the former has a brain of only 28 cubic inches; the latter, one of 30, or, in the largest specimens yet known, of 34½ cubic inches. We have seen that the average cranial capacity of the lowest savages is probably not less than *five sixths* of that of the highest civilized races, while the brain of the anthropoid apes scarcely amounts to *one third* that of man, in both cases taking the average; or the proportions may be more clearly represented by the following figures: anthropid apes, 10; savages, 26; civilized man, 32.*

Where, then, is the possibility of this great chasm being leaped over by that law of natural selection which "can never take a leap?" It is brought to a direct halt by the impassable chasm, as the mountain-climber at times finds his course over the glacier suddenly arrested by some tremendous crevasse.

But when the climber comes upon an impassable chasm he can occasionally find a way over it by walking far enough along the side. May it not be the same here? Scientific men answer as yet with an emphatic No; and this is the second capital fact to which we referred. On the one side we have the human race, and on the other side the anthropoid apes, and between them a chasm deep and wide, which no mere evolution can leap over. But when we travel along the human side of this chasm, away into the dim ages of the past, we nowhere find a bridge, scarcely even an approach of the two opposite sides. The chasm remains substantially the same, equally deep and wide, and equally mysterious and impassable all the way along. In other words, when we travel back to the remotest ages, we find that man was then possessed of the same brain-mass as at present, and there is no real indication of approximation to the ape. Between the two there still remains the same great gulf fixed. On this point Mr. Wallace is also very explicit:

The few remains yet known of pre-historic man do not indicate any material diminution in the size of the brain-case. A Swiss skull of the stone age, found in the lake dwelling of Meilen, corresponded exactly to that of a Swiss youth of the present day. The celebrated Neanderthal skull had a larger circumference than the average; and its capacity, indicating actual mass of brain, is estimated to have been not less than seventy-five cubic inches, or nearly the average of existing Australian crania. The Engis skull, perhaps the oldest known, and which, according to Sir John

* "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection," p. 338, second edition.

Lubbock, "there seems no doubt was really contemporary with the mammoth and the cave-bear," is yet, according to Professor Huxley, "a fair average skull, which might have belonged to a philosopher, or might have contained the thoughtless brains of a savage." Of the cave men of Les Eyzies, who were undoubtedly contemporary with the reindeer in the south of France, Professor Paul Broca says: "The great capacity of the brain, the development of the frontal region, the fine elliptical form of the anterior part of the profile of the skull, are incontestable characteristics of superiority, such as we are accustomed to meet with in civilized races." *

Professor Virchow is no less explicit. He says:

When we study the fossil man of the quaternary period, who must, of course, have stood comparatively near to our primitive ancestors in the order of descent, or rather ascent, we find always a *man*, just such men as are now. . . . The old troglodytes, pile-villagers, and bog-people prove to be quite a respectable society. They have heads so large that many a living person would only be too happy to possess such. . . . Nay, if we gather together the whole sum of the fossil men hitherto known, and put them parallel with those of the present time, we can decidedly pronounce that there are among living men a much larger number of individuals who show a relatively inferior type than there are among the fossils known up to this time. . . Every addition to the amount of objects which we have attained as materials for discussion has removed us farther from the hypothesis propounded.†

We may add the following from Professor Du Bois-Reymond, also of Berlin University:

At a certain period of the development of life on the globe, an epoch of which we do not know the date, there arose a thing new and hitherto unheard of, a thing incomprehensible as the essence of matter and force. The thread of our intelligence of nature, which mounts up to that infinitely distant time, is broken, and we find ourselves face to face with an impassable abyss. That new and incomprehensible phenomenon is thought. ‡

The outcome of all this obviously is, that, so far as matters go at present, natural evolution is brought to a complete halt at the edge of the impassable gulf which stretches along between man and the ape all the way throughout the ages.

We close this department of our subject with briefly mentioning one other point where Science administers a check to

* Wallace, "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection," pp. 336, *f.*

† "The Freedom of Science in the Modern State," p. 63.

‡ "La Revue scientifique," 10 Octobre, 1874, p. 341.

the grosser infidelity. We refer to the *materialistic explanation of consciousness and thought.* It may be granted that thought and feeling are accompanied with molecular action in the brain, but we cannot write the two things over against each other as equivalents. The highest scientific authorities are quite clear and emphatic that the two things are utterly incommensurable, and that there is no conceivable translation from the one into the other. In other words, the purely materialistic explanation of thought is as utterly unthinkable as ever. "The passage," says Professor Tyndall, "from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness is inconceivable as a result of mechanics." Even were our minds and senses vastly "expanded, strengthened, and illuminated, the chasm between the two classes of phenomena would still remain intellectually impassable." "In reality [the molecular groupings and motions] explain nothing. The utmost [the materialist] can affirm is the association of two classes of phenomena, of whose real bond of union he is in absolute ignorance. The problem of the connection of body and soul is as insoluble, in its modern form, as it was in the pre-scientific ages."*

Du Bois-Reymond is equally plain. We might refer to the quotation given in the preceding paragraph; but we may be allowed to add the following:

> What conceivable connection subsists between definite movements of definite atoms in my brain on the one hand, and on the other hand such primordial, indefinable, undeniable facts as these: "I feel pain or pleasure; I experience a sweet taste, or smell a rose, or hear an organ, or see something red?" . . . It is absolutely and forever inconceivable that a number of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, and oxygen atoms should be otherwise than indifferent as to their own position and motion, past, present, or future. It is utterly inconceivable how consciousness should result from their joint action.†

Elsewhere he says, most emphatically, "that not only in the present state of our knowledge is thought not explicable by means of its material conditions, but from the nature of things it will never be."‡

* "Fragments of Science," vol. ii, pp. 87, *f.*

† Quoted in Tyndall's "Fragments of Science," vol. ii, pp. 228, *f.*

‡ "La Revue scientifique," 10 Octobre, 1874, p. 341.

ART. VI.—THE DANGER OF APOSTASY.

Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοὺς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας γευσαμένους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου καὶ μετόχους γενηθέντας πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ καλὸν γευσαμένους θεοῦ ῥῆμα δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, καὶ παραπεσόντας, πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν, ἀνασταυροῦντας ἑαυτοῖς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραδειγματίζοντας. Γῆ γὰρ ἡ πιοῦσα τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐρχόμενον πολλάκις ὑετόν, καὶ τίκτουσα βοτάνην εὔθετον ἐκείνοις δι' οὓς καὶ γεωργεῖται, μεταλαμβάνει εὐλογίας ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐκφέρουσα δὲ ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀδόκιμος καὶ κατάρας ἐγγύς, ἧς τὸ τέλος εἰς καῦσιν.—Hebrews vi, 4–8.

For as touching those who were once enlightened and tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the age to come, and *then* fell away, it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame. For the land which hath drunk the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them for whose sake it is also tilled, receiveth blessing from God: but if it beareth thorns and thistles, it is rejected and nigh unto a curse; whose end is to be burned.—*Revised Version.*

Ἑκουσίως γὰρ ἁμαρτανόντων ἡμῶν μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας, οὐκέτι περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπολείπεται θυσία, φοβερὰ δέ τις ἐκδοχὴ κρίσεως καὶ πυρὸς ζῆλος ἐσθίειν μέλλοντος τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. ἀθετήσας τις νόμον Μωυσέως χωρὶς οἰκτιρμῶν ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν μάρτυσιν ἀποθνήσκει· πόσῳ δοκεῖτε χείρονος ἀξιωθήσεται τιμωρίας ὁ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καταπατήσας, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης κοινὸν ἡγησάμενος ἐν ᾧ ἡγιάσθη, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐνυβρίσας. οἴδαμεν γὰρ τὸν εἰπόντα. Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω· καὶ πάλιν Κρινεῖ Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. Φοβερὸν τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας θεοῦ ζῶντος. Hebrews x, 26–31.

For if we sin willfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more a sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful expectation of judgment, and a fierceness of fire which shall devour the adversaries. A man that hath set at naught Moses's law dieth without compassion on *the word of* two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, think ye, shall he be judged worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace? For we know him that said, Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense. And again, The Lord shall judge his people. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.—*Revised Version.*

THE two passages given above, the latter being simply a duplicate of the former, with only slight variations, are at once important and difficult. They have been the subject of an untold amount of learned discussion, criticism, and word-twisting, and about them have been fought some of the severest battles recorded in the annals of theological and biblical polemics; and the end is not yet. Our limits forbid us to attempt even an outline of the history of these conflicts, and we must be content with only brief references, and concise presentations of some of the many interpretations that have been offered of the

words and forms of expression found in the above quoted passages, and with the statement of the conclusions to which they seem to lead.

To the unsophisticated reader these passages, at their first reading, would suggest the thought that their author saw a very great danger, against which he desired to warn those whom he addressed; that this danger was *real*, and not simply apparent, and that its visitation would be of the most fearful character; and also, that the realization of these deprecated evils was contingent and capable of being avoided. As a lesson of Christian instruction and admonition, it seems, at first sight, to assume that those to whom the warnings were addressed had attained to the conditions and relations first indicated, which they are earnestly exhorted to maintain; and in all this there is a natural implication that there is a fearful possibility of failure, and that the consequences of coming short would be a complete and final loss of the contemplated blessings, assured to them that continue to the end.

Probably the difficulties that have appeared to some minds in these passages would not have seemed especially formidable but for their bearing upon certain points of dogmatic theology; and were those dogmas entirely out of the way, the interpretation of the language of the epistle would be quite obvious. It is no doubt allowable to concede something to the "analogy of the faith" in the interpretation of Scripture; not, however, to conform the obvious sense of the word to creeds and doctrines of men's invention, but simply to harmonize the teachings of the various portions of the word of God with themselves. Every true critic or exegete, seeking only to know what is the real sense of the written word, is aware of the blinding and perverting influence of dogmatic prepossessions, and these are especially troublesome when any favorite dogma, which is also an essential element of a theological system, becomes an effective factor in some problem of interpretation. Among the valuable results of the rational (not rationalistic) methods of modern criticism is the assertion and acceptance of the maxim that dogma is always subordinate to Scripture, and therefore the plainest and most obvious sense of the language of the Bible should always be preferred, and, indeed, never given up except as required by the still clearer teachings of

other portions of the inspired word. Scripture may be interpreted by Scripture, but never by dogmas.

The application of this rule to the case in hand would no doubt very greatly mitigate its difficulties, and possibly it would make plain and easily intelligible all of its seeming obscurities and contradictions. But this can be done only at the expense of the symmetry of some of the famous creeds of Christendom.

The doctrine known and designated as "the perseverance of the saints" declares that a person who has been truly regenerated cannot, by any possibility, fail of eternal salvation; that "they whom God hath accepted in his Beloved, effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace, but shall certainly persevere therein to the end, and be eternally saved."—*Westminster Confession.* The man in whom that dogma has become intrenched, coming to the interpretation of the passages at the head of this paper, finds himself at once confronted with statements and implications that he cannot accept. He is therefore forced into a process of "hedging," and of exegetical maneuverings, if possible, to make the words and sentences here used mean something different from their first and most obvious sense. Probably no other portion of Scripture has ever given so much occasion to this kind of learned legerdemain. Evidently this doctrine of "perseverance" is a very great favorite, and is earnestly cherished by some who hold, rather loosely, some of the sterner doctrines of the more comprehensive system of which it is an integral part. It is very comfortable, when one has long been living without any recent assurance of the divine favor, to remember former experiences, and because of them to conclude that all will be well at last. It is said that Cromwell, when he saw that he was nearing his end, asked his chaplain, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, whether if a man had once been truly converted he could be finally lost, and having been assured that he certainly could not, he replied, "Then I am safe, for I know that I was once a child of God." Probably not many persons meet this case with such honest bluntness; but quite certainly not a few reason in the same way.

The doctrine of "perseverance"—that it is impossible for a converted person to fall away from Christ and be lost—is an

integral and inseparable part of the more extended system of absolute and unconditional predestination, which embodies the doctrine of the "divine decrees," the election of some to eternal life, and the absolutely certain dooming of all others to eternal death, and all because of God's good pleasure. The salvation of the elect being decreed, their effectual calling, regeneration, sanctification, and eternal glorification follow of course and necessarily, as the unfoldings of an eternal purpose. This system has the advantages of complete unity and of logical consistency of its parts, which are so closely compacted that the whole and all its parts must stand or fall together; but its first principles are not derived from the divine word, and its final outcome is too horrible to be accepted for a moment. The result reached by the sternest predestinarians is no doubt the only logical one after accepting the dogma of unconditional grace, and consequently of the indefectibility of the divine life in the soul. They are *monergists*, asserting that God alone performs in man the work of salvation, and that human agency is not admitted as a condition either to assure or defeat the purposes of almighty goodness; and that having begun the good work, he will never cease till it shall be completed in eternal salvation. Accordingly, it will not do to understand the strong expressions found in the passages before us as indicating any thing conditional in respect to personal salvation in Christ. And so in order to get rid of the plain meanings of these words and phrases has seemed to be the great business of many who have undertaken their exposition.

The manifest design of the Epistle to the Hebrews is to dissuade those to whom it is addressed from abandoning the profession of the Gospel, and going back again to Judaism. In doing this the writer examines the claims set forth by Christ, and by others for him, to be the promised and expected Messiah, the divinely ordained Priest of the better covenant, of which things the Levitical priesthood and the Sinaitic covenant were only shadows and prophetic symbols. And mingled with these arguments, and also coming after them, are the most earnest warnings and cogent entreaties, enforced by considerations of the fearful dangers that would be risked in the deprecated apostasy. Respecting the nature of the evils that must result from so doing, it is agreed by all that they would involve

the complete perdition of those who might experience them, for language could scarcely be rendered more direct and fearfully significant. The thought that is evidently present to the mind of the inspired writer is, such a form of apostasy from Christ as must involve its subject in complete and irretrievable spiritual ruin.

But who are the persons here spoken of as liable to this great danger, and what are their actual relations to Christ and the Gospel? Were they Christians, who had personally believed, and received in their own hearts the gifts of the Spirit, as seems to be implied in the language used? and if so, wherein consisted their danger? But because there are clear intimations in the words of the epistles that those addressed were in danger of utter perdition, the attempt is made with remarkable earnestness and persistence to show that they never had been truly converted. The desperateness of this attempt is, however, too obvious to escape attention, and the evidence that it is made under the stress of dogmatic necessity is manifest.

The persons in question had been "enlightened"—of course, by the Holy Spirit; had "tasted the heavenly gift," "the good word of God," and "the power of the world to come:" and yet it is by some gravely asserted that these terms describe some lower state than that of the feeblest and least advanced child of God. At this point Alford (who was not a Calvinist) remarks:

> All this is clearly contrary to the plainest sense of the terms here used. The writer even heaps up clause upon clause to show that no such shallow tasting is intended, and the whole contextual argument is against the view, for it is the very fact of those persons having virtually entered the spiritual life which makes it impossible to renew them afresh if they fall away. If they have never entered it, if they are unregenerate, what possible logic is it, or even common sense at all, to say that their shallow taste and partial apprehension makes it impossible to renew them?

And how could their coming to Christ, if they should come, be a "*renewing* again," if, indeed, they had never really and truly repented?

Professor Moses Stuart, whose commentary is much more exegetical than dogmatical, remarks at this place, that the words τοὺς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας, *those who were once enlightened*, do not in themselves (or necessarily) imply *saving illumination*,

"but illumination or instruction simply as to the principles of the Christian religion." No doubt the nature and extent of the experience indicated by the word in question (enlightened) must be ascertained from the implications of the accompanying words and phrases. Three forms of expression are here used, either as identical each with the others, or else as cumulatives, but all predicated of the same persons or characters; and respecting the second of these, *γευσαμένους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου, have tasted of the heavenly gift*, Stuart expressly declares, "It does not mean merely *to sup*, or simply *to apply for once to the palate*, so as just to perceive the taste of a thing, but it means *the full enjoyment, perception*, or *experience* of a thing." To *taste* death is to *experience* death (Matt. xvi, 28; John viii, 52); and to *taste* that the Lord is gracious (1 Peter ii, 3) is to experience his saving power. Peter at Joppa, praying upon the house-top at noon-time, *became very hungry*, *ἐγένετο δὲ πρόσπεινος*, and *desired to eat*, literally, *to taste*, *γεύσασθαι;* and certainly a "very hungry" man would desire something more than simply to touch his tongue to the coveted food. Dr. Moll (in Lange's "Bibel-werk") remarks of the phrase, *once enlightened*, that "the context, and the use of the word (chap. x, 32), show that the word here denotes spiritual enlightenment, reflected through the preaching of the Gospel (Eph. iii, 9);" and respecting the sense of *γευσαμένους*, he follows Tholuck and "the more recent [evangelical] interpreters" in declaring "against every special interpretation," and points to 2 Cor. ix, 15 (*q. v.*), where salvation in Christ is called "'the unspeakable gift' of grace." And he lays stress on the emphatic placing of *γευσαμένους* at the beginning of the clause. The construction making the word signify a "practical experience, by actual personal appropriation and enjoyment," he further remarks, was "perhaps dictated by the idea of an enjoyment out of the fullness of the heavenly riches of grace." It is evident, therefore, if words and phrases are to be construed according to their usual significance, and the manifest design of the discourse in which they are used, that the several participles here found are intended to designate a state of real spiritual regeneration; and since such persons are warned to guard against apostatizing, the possibility that they may do so seems to be conceded and assured.

The exact sense of the terms here employed to describe the spiritual condition of the persons whose cases are brought under notice must be considered. And here it should be observed, that by the misleadings of theological predilections, or from some other cause, the authors of the accepted version of the Bible failed at this point to bring out the precise sense of the original. These veral terms—*φωτισθέντας, enlightened; γευσαμένους, tasted; μετόχους γενηθέντας, made partakers; γευσαμένους, tasted; παραπεσόντας, fell away*—are all alike past participles, each implying something actually done or happened, but which also continues in its results and consequences to the present, and extends forward indefinitely. They indicate, therefore, not simply historical facts, but likewise continuous conditions, which are also perpetuated forces with still incompleted outcomes. The persons spoken of, whether real or supposed, come into the case as those who have been "enlightened," have "tasted," have "been made partakers," and have "fallen away." The tense of these participles indicates what, having actually taken place, as actions or happenings, in some past time, have also brought their subjects into other and continuous conditions and relations, and each of the things mentioned is equally real—accomplished and yet abiding—the last named being no more contingent than any one of the others—the *falling away* standing precisely as all the rest, as something not problematical and future, but as real and already effected. The "if" (chap. vi, 6) in our English Version, by which the *falling away* is made to appear as not actual but contingent, is entirely without authority, and it clearly perverts the passage from its obvious sense.

Upon this palpable mistranslation English-speaking Calvinists have attempted, apparently much to their own satisfaction, to turn aside the force of the argument derived from this passage against the cherished dogma of "final perseverance." Even so respectable a writer as the late Professor Cowles, of Oberlin (see his Commentary *in loco*), although he had confessed that nothing corresponding to the particle "if" is found in the original, builds all his argument against the actual "falling away" of any real Christian upon the hypothetical character of this warning. Respecting the spiritual character and condition of the persons under notice, he grants, as many

of his Calvinistic associates do not, that "the descriptive points put here, when construed fairly, seem to me to describe a case of real conversion." He further concedes, in respect to the sense of the falling away, that "beyond question this word for falling away signifies a fatal moral fall—a real apostasy from truth and from God." And how, it will then be asked, after these two essential points have been conceded, are we to avoid the conclusion that such persons are precisely the ones of whom all the fearful menaces that follow are predicated? Here it is:

> It cannot escape the notice of the careful reader, that as bearing upon the direct question, WILL *all true saints be finally saved?* the affirmative testimony is positive, explicit, and unqualified [not so, for all is *conditioned* on continued fidelity], while the negative testimony is hypothetical, inferential to this effect: *If* they do not watch, and pray, and trust, they will not be saved. *If* they fall away they are lost. But this is not the same as to say that any of them *will* fall away and so will be lost.*

Such a statement, coming from such a source, is an inexplicable enigma; nor can we conceive how any one, who was neither dishonest nor demented—and surely no one will suspect its author of either—could so palpably misconstrue obvious truth. And this strange scheme our author elaborates by saying, that in effectuating the salvation of free moral agents the influence of fear is a moral necessity, and therefore it is secured by hypothetical threatenings of results and consequences which the Spirit that inspired them knew, and which they who have found out God's "secret will" have come to know, can never be realized. If a human ruler should use such devices would not men speak of him as insincere, untruthful, Jesuitical?

Professor Stuart, though as an hereditary Calvinist he never could quite consent to part with this last and most cherished of the family jewels, was still both too well learned and too candid to allow himself to be deluded with such sophistry, and is manifestly impatient of it. After considering these and other warnings addressed by God to his people, with the threat of eternal damnation as the sure result of disobedience, he proceeds to say:

> Is this penalty *really* threatened; or is it only a *pretense* of threatening, something spoken merely *in terrorem?* Can we

* Commentary on Hebrews, p. 160.

hesitate as to the answer which must be given to this question? But if we admit the penalty to be really threatened, then the implication is, that Christians are addressed as exposed to incur the penalty of the divine law by sinning. In our text, they are surely addressed as exposed to fall into a state in which there is no hope of a renewal by repentance. Whatever may be true, in the divine purposes, as to the final salvation of all those who are once truly regenerated, yet nothing can be plainer than that the sacred writers have every-where addressed saints in the same manner as they would address those whom they considered as constantly exposed to fall away and to perish forever. It cannot be denied, that all the warnings and awful comminations (directed against cases of defection) are addressed to Christians in the New Testament which could be addressed to them supposing them to be liable, every hour, to sin beyond the hope of being renewed to repentance. Whatever *theory* may be adopted in explanation of this subject, as a matter of *fact* there can be no doubt that Christians are to be solemnly and earnestly warned against the danger of apostasy and consequent final perdition. What else is the object of the whole Epistle to the Hebrews, except a warning against apostasy?

The spectacle of such minds—and these are only samples of a great multitude—struggling in the sloughs and quicksands of an evanishing creed, is neither agreeable nor assuring as to the superiority of reason over prepossessions. To meet the arguments drawn from the warnings and threatenings of God respecting men's liability to and the fearful consequences of apostasy, by saying, "They *may* fall, but they *will* not," and by pleading the compatibility of the *possibility of ruin* with the *certainty of salvation*, is a kind and degree of sophistry that a rational mind would never tolerate except through the perverting influence of a long-cherished form of belief that lives on in spite of common sense. The question is not one that involves possible differences of opinion respecting either the power of God to save his people or his fidelity to his own promises, but of his purposes, and of the practical economy of his grace toward men. It might not become any one to deny God's power to save every creature that he has made, including "the angels that kept not their first estate;" but he has not assured us that he would do so, but quite the contrary. And if the angels abode not in the truth, and if man made in the image of God fell away from his high estate, may not a man who was conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity, though born again, fall

back into his former state? Christ is, as to his power and the merits of his death, able to save all men; but as man's Redeemer he is declared to be able to save all that will come to him, and no more. He is also able to keep his own to everlasting life, *provided* they remain faithful unto death. And to ordinarily intelligent minds the interposition of the condition practically shuts up the power-to-do within its limitation.

As an inseparable part of the conception of the freedom of the human will, in all the actually saving operations of divine grace, all who accept that belief must consent to the reality of man's probationary state until his career on earth is accomplished. As at the beginning his own willing acceptance of Christ and his grace was a condition essential to his becoming a child of God, so only by the steady maintenance of that choice can his relations to Christ and his own spiritual life be maintained. As he was first of all saved by faith, which in willing obedience laid hold on Christ—the human will co-operating with the divine—so must he abide in the same faith that he may also continue in Christ. If, indeed, man is an active agent, and not entirely a passive subject, in the working out of his salvation, then the failure of his required activity must also result in the loss of the soul's salvation. To this view of man's truly probationary state while in the world the many and solemn warnings in the Scriptures against backslidings and apostasies seem to respond; and, indeed, without conceding the reality of the deprecated danger, it would be very difficult to defend the appeals uttered against the suspicion of being intentionally false alarms. It is not, then, we say again, a question of God's power, but of man's free agency, and of God's method of dealing with men, with whom, each for himself, through all life's probation—unless converted men cease to be free agents—rests the fearful possibility of shipwreck and perdition. This is not a merely speculative and barren article of belief, but itself an inseparable part of the all-comprehensive doctrine of the freedom of the will under the active operations of the Gospel, into which the soul is lifted by the universally efficacious power of the Spirit, and in which man is appointed to work out his own salvation *with fear and trembling*. Because they are taught to see all men within the range of possible ruin, Christian ministers should be incessant in their warnings and admo-

nitions, and in watchful guardianship over the flock of Christ, to care for the erring, and with trembling solicitude to point out the danger of backsliding, "lest it should happen that the Church of Christ (which is his spouse), or any member thereof, should take any hurt or hinderance by reason of their (your) negligence."

If, then, we are constrained to believe, on the authority of God's word, to which both the intellect and the heart of man readily responds, that during our present state of probation it is fearfully possible that saved souls may fall away, and come again under condemnation, it becomes a matter of lively though painful interest to ascertain the character and conditions of their changed estate. And here, first of all, we are confronted with the statement that "it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance." Accepting this declaration in its full and unqualified sense, some sects of the early Church utterly refused to re-admit to their communion any who had once apostatized; but the "Catholics" were less severe in their judgment and discipline. To very many, in later times, the absolute exclusion of all who had openly denied Christ has seemed to be a harsh conclusion, and the attempt has been made, with only indifferent success, to mitigate the force of the word *ἀδύνατον*, *impossible*, so as to make it equivalent to *very difficult*. Here we will again adopt Alford's putting of the case:

> But it is entirely clear that the word cannot be made to bear any such interpretation; it means *impossible*, and nothing else. The writer is putting the case in a form the strongest possible. He speaks first of an advanced stage of spiritual life that has been attained to; then of a *deliberate apostasy*, an expressed enmity toward Him who had before been loved—a going over to the ranks of his bitter enemies and revilers, and an exposing him to shame in the sight of the world. Of such persons, such apostates from being saints, the writer simply says that it is *impossible* to bestow on them a fresh renewal to repentance. 'There remaineth *no more—οὐκέτι—not yet—no longer*—a sacrifice for sins' [other] than the one they had gone through and rejected—they are in a [perpetual] state of crucifying the Son of God; the putting him to shame is their enduring condition.

The *impossibility* inheres in the nature of the case.

All this, though very strongly stated, seems to be as indisputable as it is strong. Since the impossibility is of God's own

ordaining, it does not seem likely that he will of his own infinite mercy and almighty power reverse his own decrees, and in spite of the sinner's self save him from the curse that he has incurred. Both the promises and the threatenings of God are without repentance. If salvation shall come to any sinner hitherto impenitent or backsliding, it must be the procuring of the one and only sacrifice, the blood of the cross appropriated by faith; and, apart from its saving power, there is nothing to be hoped for, either from "God's infinite mercy," or the "strong working of his Spirit," "for there is no other name [or way] under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." But this impossibility does not apply to the efficacy of his grace, even in respect to apostate backsliders, if such may by any means turn, in humble penitence, to Him against whom they have so grievously offended; nor is any one authorized to declare that the offices of the Holy Spirit, operating to render effectual "the grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men," are absolutely denied to the farthest-gone backslider, though the ground of hope in such a case is very narrow.

The reason given for this hopeless "impossibility" (chapter x, 26) is because "there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin." Salvation is, in every case, in and through Christ's blood, and if that is rejected, that ends the matter. But the translation of *ἀνασταυροῦντας ἑαυτοῖς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God*, is neither a happy nor a correct one. The participle in that sentence, *ἀνασταυροῦντας*, which is the principal word, carries with it the idea of a perpetuated course of acting, and has the qualifying force of the temporal particle "while" instead of "seeing," for which there is no distinct word in the original. Dr. Whedon, after duly correcting the translations, very fittingly remarks:

> It is obvious on the face of an exact translation that the passage is describing *an existent class of cases*. The aorist or historic tenses [of the preceding participles] show what experiences these cases have passed through; the present tense [of the latter one—*crucifying again*] shows what they are now doing, and so persistently and flagrantly doing, that it is found [because of their persistency] impossible to renew them again unto repentance.

The commentators have seemed to be not a little perplexed by the language and imagery of the last part of the paragraph,

that is, the eighth verse, and especially the last clause—*ἧς τὸ τέλος εἰς καῦσιν*, "whose end is to be burned"—literally, *of which the end* (tendency) *is toward burning*. In verse 7 the fruitful ground is said to receive "blessing"—*εὐλογία, praise, commendation*—and applied to faithful Christians, as it was evidently designed, this simply reaffirms what is so often expressed in Scripture—that the well-doers shall be commended. In verse 8 we have the counterpart and opposite—the unfruitful ground, whose produce was only evil, is *κατάρας ἐγγύς, cursed nearly* —next door to cursed. It is well known that in all Bible lands ground that is not cultivated at first produces only noxious plants (thorns and thistles), and that it also becomes more and more sterile, the action of the sun during the dry season literally burning up the soil, and bringing the ground to hopeless barrenness. And so it must happen to those who shall reject Christ. "The backslider in heart shall be filled with his own ways," and the same ministrations of grace, by which the faithful are rendered more and more fruitful, to the disobedient become the occasions of increased spiritual barrenness. It is thus seen that the tendencies among which the backslider subsists are entirely away from every thing that is good, and therefore, to all natural appearances, renewed repentance and reclamation have to such become impossible. The early and the latter rains denude the soil, and the sunshine burns it to a more hopeless sterility. Only some *extraordinary* work of the Holy Spirit, some miracle of grace, can rescue such a soul.

The whole tone and spirit of the passages under notice indicate the almost absolute hopelessness of the case of those whose possible condition is here considered. Having sinned willfully —*Ἑκουσίως γὰρ ἁμαρτανόντων ἡμῶν, for we sinning willingly* (with voluntary consent)—the whole spiritual nature passes over to the evil, the reverse of the transition of the soul in its conversion to God by the renewing of the Holy Ghost. The thoroughness of the soul's transition in its spiritual resurrection, when old things pass away and all things become new, is indicated in the evident laboring of the language of Scripture in the attempts made to express it. It is coming out of darkness into the light—a new creation—life from the dead. To fall from such an altitude is much more than to return to the original state of carnality and want of spiritual life; it is to plunge

into corresponding depths of positive and intensified ungodliness, "and the last case of that man is worse than the first." The hopelessness of the backslider's case is, that the grace provided for man's salvation has been tried upon him, and rendered ineffectual by its deliberate rejection. There is only one way to be saved, and that has been deliberately cast away. To them the blessed truth of Christ's Gospel had become a subject of personal and experimental knowledge, and to such, therefore, unbelief was much more than the natural blindness of the carnal mind—it was a perverse choosing of darkness rather than light—a voluntary and consciously purposed transfer of the soul's allegiance to the adversary—the surrender of the swept and garnished house to the sevenfold defilement of the apostate state. The text does not declare absolutely that such a one is beyond the power of almighty grace; it simply says that while he continues to recrucify Christ, to tread under foot the Son of God, and to count the blood of the covenant *wherewith he was sanctified* an unholy thing, it is impossible that he shall be restored to repentance. But granting the *possibility*, in the alternative case, that God is able by means of the unknown, uncovenanted riches of his mercy to still reach the farthest-gone apostate, have we any assurance that he ever does or will so act? Perhaps he may, but apparently not often. The most fearful sight in our world is that of the apostate, without God and without hope—an Esau selling his birthright for a mess of pottage; a Cain going out from the presence of the Lord, not to return again; a Judas betraying his Master for a price, and afterward, stricken with remorse, hanging himself. Such persons go beforehand to judgment, and are virtually doomed to eternal perdition while they yet live.

The uncertainty that surrounds the writing of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the unknown condition of those to whom it was primarily addressed, make it impossible with certainty to interpret these passages by the facts that first elicited them. It is, however, not difficult to understand that the Hebrew Christians were often in circumstances in which the admonitions and exhortations here given would be especially appropriate.

The season that followed Paul's last visit to Jerusalem would probably supply all the conditions requisite to what is there

implied. Previous to that time the Church in that city had suffered comparatively little from persecuting violence, and very many had accepted Christ as the Messiah who still remained Jews, and expected to do so. But it now became evident that the new faith was clearly incompatible with the old, as it was authoritatively interpreted by the scribes and Pharisees; and to the believers were presented the alternatives to renounce their Christian profession or else submit to excommunication from the synagogue, with all that was implied in that sentence. That not a few chose the former alternative is only too probable; and in such a time of fiery trials, just such admonitions as are here given were called for, and especially opportune. And these things also apply with equal force and fullness in every case where believers are tempted, whether by fears or favors, to depart from Christ, either openly or only virtually. Seasons of persecution are usually seasons of apostasy, and a martyr age seldom fails to be a time of backslidings; and therefore the fearful picture of the doom of the apostate should never be entirely effaced from the spiritual consciousness. Nor are the temptations to this fearful form of sin confined to times of persecution. The tempter, who would have diverted the Son of God from his work of redeeming the race by offering him the "kingdoms of this world," has, since then, plied the same temptation with much greater success. Wealth, power, pleasure, honor, ease, are the rewards that he offers, sometimes for the open rejection of Christ, but often the name may still be retained, if only the essential spirit of Christ all be put aside. Not a few, it may be feared, have thus "sinned willfully," and so the light in them has become darkness, the end whereof is eternal death.

These two passages are generally accepted, no doubt correctly, as illustrating the doctrine of the sin against the Holy Ghost. Mark iii, 29–31. If there is a form of sin, or condition of sinning, that is irreversible and unpardonable, its relations must extend to the Holy Spirit and his offices and influences. The impossibility of renewing to repentance supposes the absence of those spiritual powers in man which can come to him only by the Spirit's ministries; and as these are in the first place universal, "bringing salvation to all men," their absence at some later stage would imply that sin against

the Holy Ghost had resulted in his withdrawal. This subject is treated somewhat at length, and with characteristic ability in the last chapter of Julius Müller's "Christian Doctrine of Sin," with which, in a condensed form, we will close this paper:

In considering the sin against the Holy Ghost we must ever remember that it presupposes a very full and thorough development of the moral consciousness, and we may add of the religious consciousness likewise; because the moral consciousness cannot be fully developed without recognizing the fundamental truths of religion. It presupposes this, indeed, as something experienced at an earlier period in the person's life; but it must have been there for some time, and it must influence the entire subsequent development, however deeply it may fall away again from it, making sins more heinous, wickedness more thorough, and unaccountably far greater than otherwise they would have been. . . . Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is not only the greatest, it is the most spiritual of sins. . . . It can attain this intensity only where the inner life has previously been in very close contact with moral goodness [holiness].

Respecting the relation of the passages under consideration to the doctrine he is discussing, that writer further remarks:

This enlightenment (Heb. vi. 4) cannot be distinguished from regeneration; and we can hardly doubt that the writer of that epistle had in his mind in this passage the same sin as that which Christ calls blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. His words, moreover, clearly show that he is referring to persons who had by regeneration become partakers of Christ's redemption. No expositor would ever have dreamed of taking these words to denote a merely superficial religious state had not his theological views obliged him.

As to the unpardonableness of this form of sin, he remarks concisely, and with a just discrimination, guarding it against the imputation of a special decree of wrath, and showing that here, as every-where else where it occurs, man is the author of his own perdition:

It is not that divine grace is absolutely refused to any one who in true penitence asks forgiveness of this sin, but he who commits it never fulfills the subjective conditions upon which forgiveness is possible, because the aggravation of sin to this ultimatum destroys in him all susceptibility of repentance. THE WAY OF RETURN TO GOD IS CLOSED AGAINST NO ONE WHO DOES NOT CLOSE IT AGAINST HIMSELF.

"It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."

Art. VII.—SOUTH-WESTERN CHINA AND PROSPECTIVE TRADE ROUTES.

[Second Paper].

The occurrences narrated near the end of our first paper (in the July number) are matters of much historical interest; and, in relation to our subject, deserve the space accorded to them, although, as in case of the Mekong exploration, they are not connected with any scheme for improved trade facilities now demanding attention. The interest, in a practical sense, which once attached to the Bhamo route* and its possibilities belongs only to the past. According to the testimony of nearly all the European travelers who have explored it (Baber, Margary, Gill, Colquhoun) there can be no expectation of its becoming, in a new era of Asiatic trade, a channel of prime importance for communication between China and the British possessions. The present road, or path, rather, traversed only by pack animals, or the peasantry afoot, with their loads, which is now in the worst possible condition, for "nothing is repaired in Yunnan," might, it is said, with a better selection of gradients, be much improved, but could never be made fit for wheel carriages. Mr. Baber treats the idea of constructing a railroad over this route, which has been before the imagination of some Englishmen, with the ridicule of irony. The deep abysses of the Salween, Mekong, and other rivers, with numerous high mountain ranges, seven of them between Bhamo and Tali-fu, varying from seven thousand to eight thousand feet in height, have to be crossed. No desirable route can run in this direction, and "the object should be," says the authority just cited, "to attain some town of importance south of Yung-chang (principal trade mart of western Yunnan) and Tali-fu, such as Shun-ning, from which both these cities could be reached by *ascending the valleys* instead of crossing all the mountain ranges." From the configuration of the country throughout Yunnan all tolerably easy roads must run north and south, a general fact which should enter into all calculations on the choice of a site for a grand route, whether by wagon road or railroad, into Yunnan from without. Mr. Baber further observes

* See map in July number.

that were the present Bhamo road improved all the way to Yunnan-fu, then the discovery will be made that all foreign goods can be brought in with ease and rapidity from Canton (by way of the Si-kiang), "and that Yunnan-fu is only four hundred miles from the China Sea." Reference is here made, of course, to the Song-koi route, as "the simple and evident approach to eastern Yunnan, loath as most Englishmen are to admit it." Baron Richtoven makes the same statement on this subject, and goes further in affirming that the eastern section is quite the best part of the province, and most promising for trade. It must be remembered that Richtoven, when treating of this part of the country, speaks only by information derived from M. Dupuis, whom he met at Shanghai in 1872, after the latter's tour of exploration on the Song-koi River, though he listened with a mind so fully informed as to be quite capable of framing a judgment on the facts reported, and might reasonably be regarded as an impartial observer. With a railroad ascending from the Song-koi basin to the Meng-tzu plain, and thence by an easy way open to the capital, nothing could compete with this route in his view. It would absorb the foreign trade of the province, though that of Sze-Chuen will always naturally find its outlet by the Yang-tse, and that of Kwang-Si by the Canton River. As to Yunnan, however, "all the advantages are on the side of the Song-koi River route, and all the disadvantages on that of the Bhamo (or Burmese) route, and also of any other that has been or may be devised to enter Yunnan from the west or south-west." * This will, of course, be taken in some quarters as simply a French view of the subject. Dr. Anderson is inclined to speak more favorably of the Bhamo route, so far as he knew it, than the travelers above mentioned, and thinks that the difficulties, even in the construction of a railway, would not be insuperable, though he regards the valley of the Shwaylee as offering the better way for such a road when it shall be demanded. But that day he thinks is yet distant. Simply to draw the trade from the Mekong, Song-koi, and Canton (Si-kiang) rivers would not be an object adequate to the undertaking. Such a road is needed,

* Reference is here made to Baron Richtoven's article in Markham's "Ocean Highways," January, 1874, on "Recent Attempts to Find a Direct Trade Route to South-western China."

in his view, only as it can connect with a great system of railways throughout China. European enterprise, however, is not likely to wait till the best can be attained; but, so far as permitted, will still make the attempt at the present point of contact in the south-west, should the venture be at all warranted and a suitable avenue be found, to penetrate the country with railroads, stimulate the development of this section, and establish for it an active foreign commerce.

The limits of this article forbid such enlargement upon the character and resources of Yunnan, the section of country especially in view, as any adequate statement of commercial prospects in this region demands, or as the immediate interest of the subject suggests. Baber says about this province: "If a Chinese of average intelligence and education be asked what he knows of Yunnan, he will reply that it is rich in gold and silver, copper, and precious stones; that it is a long way off; that traveling is very difficult throughout the province, as shown by the proverb *Ch'ih Yunnan-k'u* (Eat the bitterness of Yunnan); that it is a very unhealthy country; that the inhabitants speak a very intelligible language,* and that it is cool in summer." As already indicated, the trend of the great mountain ranges is from north to south, diminishing in height from seventeen to twelve thousand feet above sea-level in the north to eight and seven thousand in the south, and giving place to undulating tracts and plains which increase in extent and level character toward the Gulf of Siam, though the ridges themselves are more distinctly prolonged through the Indo-Chinese peninsula, like the fingers from the palm of the hand. There are subsidiary ranges running east and west, and fertile valleys within the hills; these valleys being generally inclosed on all sides except the south, where the usual slope of the country leaves them more or less open, a condition which adds to their fertility. The main body of the province forms a

* This statement probably arises from the fact that the powerful military chief, Wu-san-kwei, who received the province with title of king from the Tartar dynasty in the seventeenth century, compelled the people, on pain of death, to learn and use the language spoken by his best troops, which was substantially the mandarin colloquial of Peking. The use of the language has been transmitted from generation to generation, and is especially prevalent in the western section, so that a traveler from the imperial capital, after passing through a jargon of dialects, finds himself at home on the far-distant border.

plateau averaging from five to six thousand feet in elevation, which is a lower terrace of the great Thibetan table-land. Two huge chasms running southward make the beds of the river Salween, or Lu-kiang, which flows into the Burmese Gulf at Maulmain, and of the Mekong, or Kiou-lang-kiang (River of Nine Dragons), as it is called in the north. From the center and eastern sections flow the Song-koi and Si-kiang. The northern boundary is swept by the Yang-tse, or Chin-cha-kiang (Gold-sand River), its head water, in its wide semicircular bend southward from the mountains of Thibet. The northern section consists, in general, of the wild and lofty mountains above referred to, with a sparse population, who live on maize, rice being a luxury, with tea and tobacco of poor quality, and with no commerce or industry. De Carné draws a sad picture of the extreme desolation observed most of the way from Yunnan-fu to the Yang-tse in the north-eastern section. "There is nothing to be seen but traces of misery and signs of barrenness." "Monotonous mountains, and nothing but mountains, without a vestige of green, and bare and red as though they had been cast out of the furnace below." Gill, on the other hand, descending from the mountains of Thibet, gives a very pleasing impression of the fertility and prosperity witnessed in the extreme north-west, furnishing some exception to the general representation just made of the northern part of the province.

The summary result of observations on the products and wants of the province is, that at present *material for clothing*, silk or cotton, either raw or manufactured, is the chief need. Food enough is raised to supply the demands of the population. Margary says: "If only an easy road lay ready between Yunnan-fu and Bhamo, a perfect flood of British goods would be swallowed up at once for the Kwei-Chou and Sze-Chuen markets. The merchants of the latter province would naturally prefer to buy at Yunnan and float their goods down the Yang-tse, rather than incur the risk and expense of the difficult ascent from Hankow up the I-chang gorge.* Native cloth is so dear in Kwei-Chou and Yunnan that the people cannot afford to buy it, and their ragged appearance is due not so much to poverty as to the price of cloth being beyond their means.

* An opinion which may count against Richtoven's, quoted on page 744.

There would be an immense sale if only Manchester goods could be cheaply conveyed. There is great eagerness to learn the price of any foreign productions." As to exports, the only products, besides minerals, which promise to largely supply a foreign market, are *Puerh tea* and *opium*. The tea of Puerh, a district in the extreme south-west, has been of old renowned throughout China. It bears a very high price, through accumulation of duties, as it is transported to Peking and elsewhere, and is highly esteemed for its refreshing quality, which does not affect the nerves like other tea. When properly prepared it will undergo, as reported, seven infusions without loss of strength or delicious flavor. Opium is cultivated in Yunnan to a large and increasing extent, and is of a quality superior to that produced elsewhere in China. It is said to constitute one third of the productions of the province, and appears to thrive on every kind of soil, from the low sandy border of the Yang-tse to the rocky heights of the west. Gill represents the Yunnanese as proverbially addicted to the drug; and Colquhoun refers to the deplorable results produced by its use among the Chinese inhabitants (the aborigines being as yet more free from it), and especially the mandarins, who, whenever he met them, besought him for some remedy to cure the habit. If the importation of Indian opium into China were stopped, that of Yunnan would take its place as a great staple in the market.

We have already referred to the mineral products of the south-eastern section of the province. Minerals constitute the distinguishing wealth of Yunnan; and if all that some have anticipated as to the resources of the mines were true, this country might properly be an object of most zealous interest for European enterprise. We take more precisely the testimony on this subject. Baron Richtoven says: "Although iron ore occurs in almost every province, and Kwei-Chou is perhaps the richest country in the world in quicksilver, there is, with these two exceptions, a great scarcity of metals every-where in China outside of Yunnan." Copper, he says, is the chief product: it is carried into Sze-Chuen, into the Annamese territory, and the Shan States; while in prosperous times large quantities have been been sent to Peking. The principal supplies have come from Hwui-li-chau, in the northern part of the metalliferous belt. "The low price at which it is produced makes it

to appear that the ores are of superior quality and readily accessible." Garnier says there are forty mines of copper in Yunnan, the greater number being in the south. In 1850, the copper tax paid at Peking amounted to 6,000,000 kilograms, the price of 60 kilos. (or 100 lbs.) of copper being 55 francs. The copper mines are worked by capital from the government, (100,000,000 taels, that is, silver ounces, being advanced in 1850). The government reserves a right to purchase a quantity at a fixed price. Silver has not paid over 40,000 kilos. annual tax. The principal mines of it are Lo-ma and Mien-ho-hoa-ti, north of Tong-tchouen, Ngan-nan, on the Yang-tse, and Hoay-long, west of Lo-kiang. Gold is found in much less quantity. It is produced at Makang, near Ngan-nan, in the south near Talan, and at Ma-kon, in the frontier territory between Li-gnan and Tonquin. Very few gold ornaments are to be seen among the people. Gold leaf is prepared at Tali for the Bhamo market. Garnier knew of but one tin mine, that at Ko-kiou, east of Li-gnan (probably the same as the Kuo-chia described by Rocher). This mine is renowned, and has supplied China with tin from time immemorial. The more numerous lead and zinc mines are found especially in the north near Tong-tchouen and Ping-y-hien, furnishing the government annually 200,000 to 400,000 kilos. of zinc and 100,000 kilos. of lead. The fourteen mines of iron, chiefly in the lake region, are lightly taxed and yield little to the government. De Carné refers chiefly to the mines of copper, silver, zinc, tin, and lead, some of great extent (one employing in peaceful times 1,200 men simply to drain off the water), in the extreme north, and to the iron-beds near Talan and elsewhere on the road followed by the expedition toward the capital. Garnier conceived a high, not to say extravagant, idea of the wealth of the province in metals as an exportable product. He declared that under the conditions of "more liberal laws, better means of working the mines, and free access to a European market, Yunnan would be the most important contributor of metals in the world's commerce." Colquhoun, who did not stand in that favorable relation with the government which the French visitors enjoyed, could ascertain but little about the mines. The mines are mostly under government surveillance, and the officials were very reticent. "All we were able to elicit was, that a number

of mines shown on Garnier's map are now closed." He judged that the others were not very remunerative as now worked. A disturbed state of the country generally puts the mines in the hands of the aborigines who inhabit the hill districts, and the Chinese who work them can only make them productive under the peaceful supremacy of a stable government. The problem of the future is therefore largely political: the question is, whether the Chinese government will be able, under any conditions of improved trade routes, to maintain an effective authority, or whether, in the course of events, any European power will exercise predominant and regulative control in this territory. It is a question, also, whether in existing political relations, which are most likely to continue, the Chinese can be persuaded to adopt the efficient methods and appliances in mining known to European nations. In a spirit of paternal solicitude, commendable in some sense, but consonant with the traditional immobility of the Celestial system, the imperial government has sought rather to restrain than promote the zeal of the inhabitants in the working of metals lest their attention should be too much diverted from the labors of agriculture. With new governmental enterprise, if it is possible to inspire it, a prolonged state of tranquillity, recovery of the population to till the fields and work the mines, Yunnan would manifestly offer a ready market for many requisites of town and village life, agricultural implements, and especially mining tools and machinery, in addition to textile fabrics, from distant parts.

The several classes of population in Yunnan—the Chinese, Shans, and other aborigines of the very numerous subdued and wild tribes,* and the Mohammedans, who continue to flourish since the quelling of the rebellion in 1874, though they probably suffered the most severely in the conflict which is thought to have destroyed half the population of the province —all offer most interesting features for ethnological study; but we must omit further reference to them. We must also pass by any descriptive account of important cities, as Yunnan-sen, Tali-fu,† and others, as likewise observations upon the

* A Chinese authority gives a list of eighty-two aboriginal tribes identical with, or allied to these, in the neighboring provinces on the east.

† The China Inland missionaries established themselves in Tali-fu in 1881, and in Yunnan-sen in 1882. The affix *sen*, here used in the latter name, signifies

country life of the people, their manners and customs, the state of religion, the political relations of the province, and character of the officials. Much information on these topics is contained, besides the other works cited, in Colquhoun's "Across Chrysê."* We can do little more, in recalling these volumes now, than indicate, in part, the course of the author's journey, and the one conclusion of recognized value which he urgently presents as to the best location for a commercial route. The work consists mostly of a narrative written up from day to day in the course of the journey; is rather loosely put together, and suffers much from want of revision and condensation; but the facts detailed are interesting and important, and this account is the only European source of information for much of the route traversed.

Mr. Colquhoun, who had been connected with an English government mission to Zimmé (Kiang-mai, or Cheung-mai),† in reference to rights and privileges of British-Burmese foresters, and had become much interested in the possibilities of developing British trade with south-west China, undertook this journey, accompanied by a friend, at private expense, from Canton up the Si-kiang, or West-river, through the province of Kwang-Si and the southern section of Yunnan, designing to reach Maulmain or Rangoon through the Burmese Shan States. The journey was begun in February, 1882. A *ho-tau*, or river-boat, was chartered with the necessary equipment, embracing arms for defense against the river pirates, for which purpose also a government gun-boat, frequently changed at successive points, acted as escort. Passports and serviceable letters to magistrates on the way enabled him to travel *en mandarin*. Besides the instruments necessary for scientific observations, from which charts and maps were constructed, a pho-

"capital city." Yunnan is also a *fu* city, or one of the first class. The affixes *t'ing*, *chau*, and *hsien*, when used, denote respectively cities of the second, third, and fourth classes.

* See page 563. We specially refer the reader for a very full and interesting account of the Shans and Kakhyens of the western hills to the reports of Dr. Anderson, noted in the July number (page 569).

† There is great confusion of names in maps and accounts of these countries, arising from the various terms used by different nationalities and the different ways of spelling to represent the sound. A table given in Colquhoun's book noticed on page 755 well illustrates this variation as to the names of tribes.

tographic apparatus was taken, which, though the display of it excited unpleasant curiosity and hostility in some places, was, for the most part, freely used, and has furnished most of the illustrations which abound in the book. Not much has been known about the province of Kwang-Tung west of Canton, and still less about Kwang-Si. In the latter province, though Colquhoun's personal observation scarcely extended beyond the river, poverty seemed to prevail among the people: "the country being mountainous, bare, and barren, with but a small area fit for cultivation;" the best part south of the river. A small estimate is put, by our author, upon the number of the population. Kwang-Si was the original seat of the Taiping rebellion, and has an evil reputation. It is here deemed "the most dangerous of all the Chinese provinces" for a traveler. "Missionaries" seemed to be an object of odium. At some places the travelers thought it not prudent to land, though some instances of hospitality and pleasant intercourse with the people are recorded. With all the poverty, however, school-houses were seen in every place, some, at least, well constructed, and temples are numerous. By the government officials the travelers were courteously received, but these evidently stand in fear of the populace. As an effect of the Taiping and Yunnan rebellions trade had much diminished on the river, that of Yunnan going to the Yang-tse, but is now reviving. Wuchau is the most thriving place commercially. Navigation is difficult at many points, and for the proper development of trade improvement of the river channel is necessary; but there is no hope of real prosperity till a stronger government is established. On the south bank points were observed which are the termini of fairly easy trade routes with Pak-hoi and other places on the Tonquin gulf. In Yunnan, the Si-kiang and Song-koi drain about the same territory. A railroad successfully established in the region of the latter would, of course, determine the direction of trade in its favor.

Pésê, a border town, situated on rising ground in a fork near the head of the Si-kiang (or of the southern branch, which in this tour is properly regarded as the main stream), is the most thriving place above Wuchau. The houses are well built. A stronger and better type of people had been observed as soon as this region was entered. The prefect received the

travelers graciously, spoke well of the Catholic missionaries,* and made his guests (for they were entertained at the yâmen) a present of two sedan chairs for the overland journey in Yunnan. The *Chen-t'ai*, or brigadier-general, Li-hsin-kü, commander of the garrison, who had rendered renowned service in suppressing the Mohammedan rebellion, also treated them with frankness and courtesy, and gave them letters to his friends in different towns. Colquhoun found the officials generally, in the course of his journey, lacking in candor, and either densely ignorant or very chary of information about the country. Entering Yunnan, nine days' road-travel brought him to Kwangnan, on the plateau, where "cold, piercing blasts" greeted the party, now at the end of March. Thence they passed southward to Kai-hua, on the Tsin-ho, or Clear River of the French, branch of the Song-koi, a city with broad, paved streets, "the most interesting place yet seen," full of the aborigines of various races. The book abounds in notices of these tribes and illustrations of their costumes; though it lacks a thorough and connected ethnological account of them. At Meng-tzu, *entrepôt* for the Manhao trade, on a plain of 3,882 feet altitude, it was learned that the Song-koi above Manhao is so difficult of navigation, and has so bad a reputation for miasma, that the travelers leave their canoes and carry up their packs on mules and horses to Meng-tzu and Yuen-kiang. In the latter place, and in Li-gnan, Colquhoun saw far less prosperity and promise for the future than the French reported. At Talan, a walled city of solid European-like structure, surrounded by an amphitheater of hills richly terraced with rice-fields, a very marked hospitality was shown, which, indeed, in greater or less degree, had greeted the travelers throughout their journey in Yunnan; and here, "wandering through the crowded streets, we every-where met with courtesy, yet no European had been seen here since the French expedition." On the road "we met a string of over two hundred oxen, besides a number of horses and mules, laden with teas from Puerh and cotton from Laos. Huge caravans carrying these articles were daily seen after this on our way to

* Accounts lately come to hand of the slaughter of some of these missionaries and their converts in Yunnan, as a consequence of the French hostilities, are received with sympathy and profound regret.

Ssumao." The descent from Talan to the Lysien River brought into view an iron suspension bridge of two hundred and sixty-four feet span. Such bridges, some of far greater extent, are numerous over the gorges of western Yunnan, and are remarkable specimens of engineering. Baber gives an interesting account of the method of their construction. At Mohê is a large salt mine; the place is said by Garnier to be the depot of an extensive trade in this article, which holds a very important place in the commerce of Yunnan, as the frequent occurrence of caravans on the road transporting it indicates. Puerh was reached by crossing a range two thousand feet in height, from the summit of which is seen an extensive panorama of bare hills, cultivated valleys, and plains. Puerh is a large walled town, of one main street with branch streets. In the small shops a few European goods are found: as "English needles, threads, buttons, some piece goods, colored checks, and matches." Both this place and Ssumao, the last official station of China on the southern border, have suffered much from war and the plague. Gradually trade is reviving here, as elsewhere in Yunnan.

At Ssumao Mr. Colquhoun was subjected to a serious disappointment—which seemed to thwart the whole object of his journey. It had been his intention to pass down from this point either by the Mekong, or through Kiang-Hung directly by Zimmé to Maulmain. This country has been almost wholly unknown to Europeans, though traversed over long-established routes by native traders. It seemed a matter of prime importance to explore it, and acquire more definite knowledge as to the possibility or advantage of laying a railway in this direction, a scheme already mooted. But the interpreter of the party refused to go farther, alleging his fear of malaria and the disturbed state of the country. No passports had been sought from the court of Mandalay, as it was known that that government would be hostile to the proposed journey. An interpreter was needed to approach the tsobwas, or chiefs, now independent of Burmah, and as none could be obtained some change of route was necessitated. Mr. Colquhoun turned northward, by a way never before explored, up the Papien valley, to Tali, and thence to Bhamo, for the most part over the accustomed road. This northward journey was by no means unprofitable. Though some appalling scenes of desolation were here witnessed—effects

of civil war and the plague, which has of late years unusually afflicted the population—such as were apparent elsewhere in Yunnan, the journey, on the whole, revealed a condition of things which contributed to justify our author's opinion of the superior productiveness and promise of western Yunnan. "The number of pai-fangs," he writes, "wei-kans, and temples was remarkable, and taken along with the bridges, protection walls, and other public works, argues a considerable degree of present affluence. The country certainly has a most prosperous appearance. The hill-sides in many places are cultivated nearly to the top." Hamlets and isolated farm-steadings were seen with unusual frequency, and in some parts "an immense number of villages" are reported, all indicating "a great population." The houses, moreover, are very substantially built, and all things wore an aspect of plenty, while "nowhere was that miserable, starved look which we had seen in some places." A village is thus described: "A country paved causeway led us through unpeopled streets, on either side of which were fine, almost magnificent, buildings, substantial and handsomely decorated. They were nearly all of brick-work or rubble-stone foundations. The outside was plastered and then painted over; frescoes and bass-reliefs were plentiful; the ridgings and finish of the roof being very handsome." The superior specimens of architecture, showing solidity and finish, seen in this section and elsewhere in the province, are generally referred, if not universally, to the Mohammedan influence.

This, then, is Mr. Colquhoun's conclusion and proposal, which—if his view shall be substantiated in the whole as by subsequent exploration it seems to have been already in great part—furnishes the grand key to the problem we have been considering, as to how south-western China can best be entered on the side of the British possessions for a large, or considerable, development of trade. "The real agricultural wealth of Yunnan," he says, "lies in the *central and south-western* portion, which can best be tapped by a railway from British Burmah, passing through Zimmé and Kiang-Hung to Ssumao. The Shan countries to the south are as wealthy in minerals as Yunnan itself, and there is now [in the once Burmese Shan States] no suzerain power to prevent their being worked." It has been known that the Shans are particularly fond of trade, and much given

to traveling for this object. The impression of the fertility of the country and of its considerable undeveloped resources in minerals has been confirmed by recent journeys of exploration.

Having already transgressed the limits assigned to this article, we can do no more here than call attention to Mr. Colquhoun's latest work, "Amongst the Shans," * which gives account of his observations during the mission to Zimmé, and much valuable matter besides on the Shan country and prospects of railroad development. The learned Introduction by Professor Lacouperie is an instructive, though condensed, treatment of its leading subject, and an account of various racial affinities, according to the latest theories, which has received high commendation. The recent collection of papers from the American Presbyterian missionaries in Siam is also an interesting and fresh contribution to our knowledge of the country.† The course of the railroad proposed by Mr. Colquhoun would be devoid of the immense engineering difficulties of another suggested line from Mandalay eastward to Kiang-Hung, and apparently much easier of construction than that projected in 1858 from Rangoon to the same point across a hilly region and several deep valleys of the Salween and other streams, besides opening an intervening section of fertile country which would add abundantly to the resources of the road. It would start from the existing Rangoon and Thoungoo Railroad, some distance above Pegu; strike eastward and south-eastward to near Dongwoon, where it would be joined by a road of sixty miles from Martaban (opposite Maulmain), and thence, after crossing the Salween in the easy level south of the mountain ranges, pass north-eastward over the Baw plateau, which could probably be crossed at some point below the altitude taken (3,337 feet), and constitutes the only serious difficulty of the kind in the proposed route, on to Zimmé. This town is the first objective point. It is the capital of the most populous (perhaps 600,000 inhabitants) of the Siamese provinces, which occupies a semi-independent relation. It stands

* "Amongst the Shans." By Archibald Ross Colquhoun, F.R.G.S. With upward of 50 whole page Illustrations, and an Historical Sketch of the Shans, by Holt S. Hallett, F.R.G.S. Preceded by an Introduction on the Cradle of the Shan Race, by Terrien de Lacouperie, Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology, University College, London. London: Field & Tuer. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1885.

† "Siam and Laos, as seen by our American Missionaries." 12mo. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1885.

at an elevation of 800 feet on the Meping River, branch of the Menam, with walls once strong but decayed, being the commercial center of all the Shan region north and east, with very active trade, receiving yearly a caravan from Yunnan, mostly Tali traders, who come for cotton. It is inhabited by Yun Shans, in general a tall, handsome people, more hardy than the Burmese or Siamese. Ever since the journey in these parts of Captain M'Leod in 1836–37, the India government has given some attention to the trade route in this quarter. The American Baptists and Presbyterians have for several years sustained missions in Zimmé. From this town it is an easy road to Kiang-Sen, also an important trade center near the limit of the Siamese Shan territory and on the Mékong, up the west side of which the line would pass to Kiang-Hung, in the independent Shan territory—a total roadway distance of about 700 miles from Rangoon, and perhaps 150 less from Martaban. Such a road would naturally take the entire traffic of the northern section of Shan States tributary to Siam, of the independent I-bang, a great tea district on the east, and of Luang Prabang. The major portion of this line would be in the territory of Siam, and of course involve the co-operation of that power. But it is said that not only the Siamese, but the Shan chiefs and traders and the Chinese, are all eager to see an improvement of the "Golden Road," as the trade route by Zimmé is called. As a part of the project the proposition is urged upon Siam, and favorably received, to construct a railroad from Rangoon up the Menam, forming a junction with the line above traced some distance south of Zimmé. This would be a great advantage to Siam, politically as well as otherwise,* and would furnish a valuable commercial connection for British Burmah with Bangkok and the valley north of it. Mr. Colquhoun's proposed road, crossing the Mekong above Kiang-Hung, would reach Ssumao, its terminus in China. In other quarters the natural suggestion has been made that this line might then, while sending a branch up the Papien valley, go straight on, by a fair amount of engineering, to Yuen-kiang, where it would

* See the testimony on this subject of a recent traveler in "Temples and Elephants. The Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through Upper Siam and Lao." By Carl Bock. 8vo. London: Sampson, Low, & Co. 1884. The book has some reprehensible allusions to missionaries and their work.

be in position to draw on the commerce of central and eastern Yunnan, and, connecting with the Song-koi system, furnish a ready transportation for all goods in transit between the eastern and western ports—thus affording a grand aid to British commerce in cutting off the long sea passage. But for all this, British capital will have China to reckon with, and perhaps France. The treaty which, according to report, France has formed with native Burmah already carries her influence, so far as such a treaty may have any force, and professed right of partial military occupation (for the "protection" of certain ruby mines), up to the east bank of the Salween, and over the very territory of Kiang-Hung which the projected line proposes to cross. But a long-established and positive British influence, commercial and political, already exists in the country.

Mr. Colquhoun's explorations and suggestions have attracted much attention in influential quarters in England. Funds have been raised, through commercial organizations, to provide for a thorough exploration and survey of the proposed line from the direction of British Burmah, and such a survey on the portion beginning at Maulmain and extending as far as Zimmé has been completed under the direction of Mr. Holt S. Hallett, who, after passing down the Menam to Bangkok, arrived at Calcutta early in February of the present year, with the design of soon making his full report at London to the Chamber of Commerce. He affirms, in general, that a great part of the country is fertile and thickly peopled. He estimates the cost of the British portion of this line at £930,000, and believes that if it were once begun the Siamese government would readily undertake the connecting line in Siam. He considers that the traffic would be enormous. The relations between Siam and England are cordial, and it would seem an important policy for the latter to maintain the integrity and power of Siam as against any other European influence, if she would not see wrested from her grasp the most feasible, if not the only practicable, route for enlarged commercial intercourse between her possessions and south-western China.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE REVISED OLD TESTAMENT.

THIS long-expected, long-delayed production is at length an accomplished fact, and its first impression on the public mind is, in part, reported. The keen-edged curiosity that greeted the Revised New Testament, four years earlier, had become somewhat blunted by the lapse of time and the wide perusal of the earlier work, and by its general discussion. And yet this later issue has by no means fallen still-born from the press; for although the general public has not been very greatly moved by its coming, and its sales have scarcely equaled a tithe of those reached by its predecessor in the same length of time, a numerically much smaller body of readers, who look deeper and think more broadly and decide less hastily, have been examining and considering the matter in hand; and these are now beginning to be heard from.

A general and somewhat hasty estimate of the case would probably bring out the conclusion that the completed work, as now submitted to the public, though somewhat disappointing, is yet not altogether unsatisfactory. That it makes, on the whole, some valuable contributions to general biblical learning, and somewhat improves upon the old Version, must be conceded, and, therefore, it is valuable, especially to readers of simply average learning. To that extent the Revisers have responded to the legitimate expectations of English-speaking Christendom. Fewer changes are made, in proportion to the amount of matter, than in the Revised New Testament; partly because fewer were required, but much more because of the relatively greater cautiousness of the "Old Testament Company," and perhaps, also, to some extent, from deference to the outcry raised against the unwarranted freedom at some points used by the "New Testament Company." Perhaps it will be discovered that the whole subject of Old Testament learning is not yet ripe for final treatment. Dissatisfaction with their work was no doubt not to be avoided, since the demands of some were incompatible with those of others. The Scylla of the Conservatists overlapped the Charybdis of the Progressionists, and no place was left for the *media tutissima via*—the always ready but seldom satisfactory expedient of a certain class of would-be practical minds. In the New Testament Company the progressive spirit was largely effective, and hence the occasions for the alarm created by their work among those who blindly worship the past, and who care less for simple truth than for prescriptive authority, and with whom antiquity is the proof of divinity. But quite another spirit seems to have animated the Old Testament Company, and perhaps their completed work, carried on through fourteen

years of painstaking, may suggest to some minds the fable of the Mountain and the Mouse. And yet it would be hasty, and indeed incorrect, to say that the completed work is not worth all that it has cost, however far it may come short of the just and reasonable requirement of the case.

The general principles laid down for the guidance of the Revisers at the beginning were very generally approved as judicious and necessary, and also as sufficiently flexible for all practical uses. But written rules, however wisely constructed, cannot determine in advance how very many practical questions must be solved. The accepted qualification, "as far as possible," refers almost every question to the judgment and discretion of those charged with the execution of the work. The business was further embarrassed by the want of a clearly ascertained and defined purpose for which the revision had been undertaken. The Authorized Version was so hedged about by reason of its confessed sacredness that to touch it was made to appear almost an act of sacrilege; and though its inviolability was qualified by the condition "consistently with faithfulness," a fearful *Procul, O procul!* seemed to be constantly sounded out in respect to it. That qualifying clause, indeed, intimates that there exists another and more authoritative standard than the Authorized Version, whose claims are paramount, but it does not designate it. It would seem natural to presume that the original Hebrew is intended, and that the sense of the text must be determined by the accepted laws of literary criticism; but a careful study of the New Version will show that that was the case only to a limited extent. The Revisers were informed that they were not expected to make "a new translation," but only to revise that now in use, which, they are reminded, "for more than two centuries and a half had held the position of an English classic," clearly intimating that its antiquity ought to secure for it a qualified inviolability; and this suggestion it is evident the Revisers have not disregarded. The language of the English Bible for the twentieth century—such is the decree—must be that of Shakespeare and Bacon, not that of Pitt and Burke or of Thomas Arnold and Robert Hall, since only the former was sufficiently sanctified by age to become the vehicle of the mind of the Spirit to English-speaking Christians. The makers of the Authorized Version employed the language of their own times, but those who undertook the work of revisal were enjoined to use that of more than two centuries and a half ago.

Now, if there is one obligation of paramount authority binding upon those whose office it is, under God, to deliver the divine oracles to the people—it is that they shall give them the written word in its literal significance, as nearly as it can be done by human language; and also in a form that shall be most readily understood, not only by scholars and specialists, but also by the "common people." It is for that purpose that translations of the Scriptures are made; and any pretended rendering that fails to do precisely that thing is, as far as it purposely so fails, a fraud. Nor need it be reiterated that the language of Shakespeare is not now the vernacular of English-speaking Christendom. The business of the Revisers certainly was to give to the Christians who now speak the

English tongue a restatement of the sense of Holy Scripture in their own language, and in the form and style most easy to be understood, and, as far as possible, in harmony with their own modes of thinking and speaking: just as Luther did for the common people of Germany when he made his translation for their use.

But, quite otherwise, our Revisers bring us back the Bible of 1611, with only incidental changes and a few verbal emendations. That version, when first issued, was conformed to the speech of its age, nor did they who made it acknowledge their obligation to go back to the times of Wiclif and Chaucer for a linguistic vehicle in which to convey the divine oracles to the people of a later age. In the present case, however, any changes that are confessed to be necessary to avoid manifest errors of sense may indeed be made, but the amended rendering must be carefully conformed to the language of the Authorized Version, "or to *earlier* (not later, however much better) English Versions." It seems to be assumed that certain forms of speaking and thinking which have become obsolete among those who use the English language are to be chosen as the better adapted to convey to them the import of the "words whereby they may be saved." There is, indeed, a venerableness in long-used forms of religious expression which should not be needlessly sacrificed, but no amount of rhythmical beauty can compensate for the loss of truthfulness. If, then, the New Testament Revisers were too free in changing the forms of words employed, their collaborators have erred much more egregiously in the opposite direction, since they have often preferred the sonorousness of the Old Version to the prosaic reality of the original. And if forms oft-repeated become venerable by use, so by the same process they lose their natural definiteness of signification, and may, indeed, become meaningless; and a change of words, even without any corresponding change of sense, will often act upon the mind of the reader as a revelation.

But with all the defectiveness of some of their methods the Revisers have effected not a few valuable changes; and had the English Company been more ready to listen to their American collaborators, they would have done still more. A notable case of dissent between the two companies is seen in respect to the use of the name of the God of Israel—JEHOVAH, more exactly, JAHVEH. In the Authorized Version that name is rendered (not translated) the LORD, and it is usually printed in small capitals, to distinguish it from all others who may be properly designated by the word that naturally signifies only a ruler or chief. But the word JEHOVAH not only has no direct reference to lordship, but is also not capable of being translated. The use of the word "Lord" as its equivalent is, therefore, not only incorrect, but also both belittling and misleading. The attempt to rescue it by having it printed in capitals is but little better than puerile; and while it recognizes the insufficiency of the substituted term, it wholly fails to remedy the defect by a device that is without significance, and which is detected only by the eye, while to all who only hear the Bible read—and the language of Scripture is largely learned by the hearing—the peculiarity of the printing cannot be known; and of the

millions who read the English Bible certainly only a very small proportion make any note of the fact that sometimes the word "lord" is printed in capitals, and at others in small letters. Again, as thus rendered, the ineffable name of the God of Israel becomes a common instead of a proper name, and he whom it designates is, in thought, removed from his unique *solitariness* into the category of *rulers*, in which he is one of many, although pre-eminent. The name JEHOVAH was announced to signify that He whom it designated stands alone, and is essentially unlike all created things, of which condition it is effectually deprived by classing it among others. The American Company, for these reasons, desired to retain the original word, but their superiors decreed otherwise.

In like manner the American Company desired to retain unchanged the Hebrew word *Sheol* wherever it occurs in the text, and which is in the Authorized Version changed almost indifferently to "the grave," "the pit," or "hell." The objection to the substitution of these terms is not only that they are unauthorized and incorrect, but especially that they pervert the manifest sense of the original, and obscure important doctrinal teachings. Our English Version of the Old Testament is justly said to teach the doctrine of immortality only obscurely and by inferences—some say not at all: but give the word *Sheol* its proper significance—the spirit-world, man's estate after death—and it broadly asserts the doctrine of the future life as often as it occurs in its proper sense, though not in a material body. Jacob did not speak of going into "the grave" to find Joseph, as both the Old and the New Versions make him do, though the latter makes the margins contradict the text. But while in the prose of the Old Testament the mistranslation of the Authorized Version is perpetuated, in the poetical parts the word is retained in its proper form; for which correctness in part we will be duly grateful, though the inconsistency is quite inexplicable.

But some real corrections of manifest errors and some doubtful obscurities have been rectified or elucidated. The word translated "destruction" (Job xxvi, 6, Prov. xv, 2, xxviii, 20) is changed to Abaddon—an evident improvement, though the word (borrowed from Rev. ix, 11) is wholly out of place in all these cases, for there it is clearly the name of a person, while in these passages it indicates a place or condition—the lower hell—or, according to Professor Tayler Lewis, "the world below sheol," so affording another glance into Old Testament eschatology. A good service has been rendered in respect to the "groves" so often named in connection with the idolatry of the Israelites. That word and its idea disappear, and we have instead "Asherah," *plural* "Asherim," in which change the Revisers will be sustained and thanked by all competent scholars. The word signified the image or statue of Astarte, the Syrian Venus, which was set up wherever the shrines of the Syrian idolatry were established. In a few cases the Revisers have fairly broken away from the Authorized Version, and have given us instead some new, not to say strange, renderings. The "tabernacle of the congregation" disappears, but in its stead stands "the tent

of meeting." Neither translation is quite correct; but the old one had the advantage as to dignity and sonorousness. So, too, the "meat-offerings" are taken away, and "*meal*-offerings" substituted. Literally translated, it would be a "*food*-offering;" and in the old times they had the broader meaning for the word "meat," for which we have only the poor alternatives *food* and *victuals*, unless we revive the good and significant word "bread," which might have been here advantageously employed by the Revisers.

Certain expressions indicative of matters relating to the sexes, which were unobjectionable in Shakespeare's time, and which occur in the English Bible, have ceased to be allowable, not only in ordinary conversation, but even in public discourse. Some portions of the Old Testament are flagrantly unfit to be read aloud, either in public or private; and as the sense they imply can be expressed in less offensive language, it was clearly the duty of the Revisers to make the required substitutions. This has been done in one notable case (see 1 Kings xiv, 10, etc.) by expressing the sense intended, but wholly suppressing the imagery. But when the Americans proposed to get rid of the offensive epithet used to designate an unchaste woman, with its compounds and derivatives, and to use in its stead a milder word, English conservatism interposed its veto; and, accordingly, the whole category of Jezebels must still be designated by a monosyllabic term.

A decidedly good work is done in recognizing and making plain, as is not done by the Authorized Version in any case in the Old Testament, and very inadequately in the New, the difference of meanings expressed in different instances by the words "people" and "nation," with their plurals. The word "people" is commonly used to signify "Israel," God's chosen race; but in some cases the plural form is employed to include others also. In the sixty-seventh Psalm occurs the expression, "Let the people [singular] praise thee;" but the original word has the plural form, and it is evidently intended to be equivalent to the "all nations" with which it is coupled, and so the Revisers have rendered it. So the word "nations" (Heb. *gogim*) is relieved of much of the ambiguity in which it is involved in the Authorized Version. In the earlier books of the Bible it usually indicates the Canaanites, but later it referred also to other foreigners with whom the Israelites came in contact; but at length it came to have a religious significance, which is partially indicated by the word "heathen." The sense of the original word, as it occurs in different places, can be determined only by a careful consideration of the manifest design of the writing in each case, and to this the Revisers appear to have given special attention, with satisfactory results.

Every reader of the English Bible is aware that it contains a large share of words and phrases and forms of construction that have passed wholly out of use among good writers or speakers. Some of these are simply archaisms—obsolete words and phrases; others, once sufficiently significant, have become almost wholly meaningless; while others express meanings for which they were not intended. The American Company wished

to replace these by the equivalents of their former meanings in the speech of the present age, but not so thought their English superiors. Accordingly, we are still to read "astonied" when we mean *astonished;* we must still have "chapiters" instead of *capitals* on our architectural columns; when in need we are not to be *helped*, but "holpen;" and that which we ascertain we are not to *know*, but we must *wot* of it. The artisan must not be said to *refine* his metals, but, though not a magistrate nor armed with any judicial authority, he must "fine" them. The absurdity and maudlin folly of all this is so obvious that the reader may be trusted to find out the proper epithets by which to characterize it. That all English-speaking Christendom is thus to be tethered to the linguistic standards of three hundred years ago is not supposable; and if English Churchmen and closet scholars have failed to learn the living language of their contemporaries they are not the men to reproduce the word of God in the "English tongue," which means very much more than the peculiar dialect of the Established Church.

As a whole, we say again, the New Version has many real excellences, while its faults, both positive and negative, are also many and grave—quite too much so to allow the expectation that it can ever be accepted as a finality. It fails to correct a great many obvious and confessed errors; its utterances are often, and it would seem purposely, ambiguous and indefinite, where clearness is both desirable and attainable; and the dialect into which the Version is made is not the speech of the people of either country, neither of the learned nor the unlearned.

The enterprise inaugurated with a great flourish of trumpets by the "Convocation of Canterbury" fifteen years ago, and ostensibly designed to provide an Amended Version of the English Bible, has had its course, and the result is certainly something less than a complete success. The work is submitted; and probably nobody will conclude that this Canterbury revision will ever become the standard English Bible to the millions that will speak that language during the coming centuries. The New Testament revision has been severely criticised, partly for good reason, and partly otherwise; but it is faithful to the original, and its makers dared to use their mother-tongue, agreeable to the usages of their own generation.

But the failure to produce a satisfactory Version is not the whole of this revision business. Among its certain and permanent and widely effective results must be recognized the very extensive unsettling of the public mind, and of the confidence of the moderately intelligent part of the technically not scholarly of the people, in the Bible of their childhood. This result was, perhaps, inevitable, and was sure to come without the help of that movement; and therefore our Christian leaders and teachers should have been ready to respond to the demands of the occasion. As matters now stand, the Christian people of the two greatest Protestant nations of the world, both of one blood and one speech, no longer possess an accepted Version of the Holy Scriptures; and, while scholars need not be at any loss respecting the teachings of their sacred books, they nevertheless have

taught the people to believe that their old Version of the Bible is sadly faulty, and now it comes out that the attempt to produce a more satisfactory one has broken down in its efforts. It has long been confessed that our age is a transition period in biblical criticism and interpretation: and now it may be apprehended that the instability of opinion which has hitherto been chiefly confined to the schools will spread among the common people. All this may possibly be for the better rather than the worse. The truth will be set in a clearer and steadier light by the investigation that will become necessary, and in due time we shall certainly have a People's Bible—the words of the prophets and the apostles clearly interpreted, presenting the truth as it is in Jesus in language as plain and intelligible as the prattlings of childhood. In any event we may be assured that the word of the Lord remains sure.

PROFESSOR WINCHELL ON "ANTHROPOMORPHISM."

EDITOR OF METHODIST REVIEW: The most important article of the REVIEW for July is pre-eminently Dr. Winchell's "Anthropomorphism." The discussion there given is at once masterly and scholarly, and it also supplies a *desideratum*. It is the best thing on the subject I remember to have seen, and it appears to me at once unanswerable and complete. The reading of it has also suggested certain interrogatories to which, I trust, either you or the learned doctor will see your way to respond.

1. Is it not to be regretted that in this essay, which leaves so little to be desired, the writer did not, while affirming that it is not anthropomorphism to predicate *will*, *thought*, or *affection* of God, since these attributes, so far from being characteristically human, may be assumed to be, in part, those features of the Divine Mind in the image of which man was originally constituted, also affirm that it is not anthropomorphism to predicate *conscience* of God—that is, to insist that the instincts of justice and benevolence which pervade the human breast, and which when duly enlightened never fail to assert themselves, do fairly interpret the divine idea of right and justice? If the ideas of morality and of moral obligation, especially as they exist in a properly Christianized mind, be not universal—absolutely the same in all worlds, and eternally and hence absolutely trustworthy—how can a divine government proper, or a future and universal judgment, ever be possible?

I have had a great deal of sympathy with [the sentiment of] the late John Stuart Mill, when, in opposition to the agnosticism of Mansell, he, as will be remembered, somewhat indignantly declared, "Convince me that the highest human morality does not, as far as it goes, actually sanction and correctly interpret the moral attributes of God, however infinite—and, while I shall bear my fate as best I may, there is one thing I will not do, and this because I cannot—I will not worship this God; and if told that I must go to hell in consequence of my obduracy, then to hell I will go."

2. When Dr. Winchell states (p. 529) that "no religion ever existed which interposed a vacuum of being all the way from the Infinite to man," I am moved to ask, "How much did the typical Puritan's faith come short of doing just that

thing? What helpful intermediary did that faith recognize?" And yet what religion, however many its ritualistic crutches, has ever yielded loftier specimens of Christian manhood than that same utterly unritualistic Puritanism? And this suggests just here another question, as important practically as it is psychologically interesting. However instinctive it may be to do so, is it wise, is it safe, or in any case necessary, to resort to these materialistic aids to faith, and to sensuous symbolisms, as adjuncts to devotion? It is customary to say, that in the religious childhood of the race an elaborate ceremonial was introduced among the Israelites in order to educate them up to the apprehension of better religious ideas. But it is to be observed, that whatever the wisdom (or unwisdom) of this method of religious nurture, hardly had it been introduced before the people were warned against its abuse; hardly was it in full operation ere they were threatened with the severest penalties for having yielded to the temptation thereby afforded to lapse into formalism and spiritual death. It is to be observed further, in this connection, that at the present day, however debased the people to whom missionaries are sent, whether Fijian, Patagonian, or Hottentot, there seems to be no necessity to resort to any sort of sensuous symbolism in order either to inculcate religious truth or to enkindle devotion.

3. I especially enjoyed that part of the learned professor's essay in which he most conclusively shows that, inasmuch as all idolatry and polytheism spring from that natural, instinctive human craving for outward, sensible manifestations of the spiritual and unseen which is the counterpart of all symbolism, these cannot be condemned as essentially wrong, any more than the use of a candle or a crucifix. [But does this excuse the idolatry, or does it condemn the use of a candle or a crucifix?] Upon this I queried, why, then, have polytheism and idolatry always been condemned as essentially wicked? If, as another has well said, "Idolatry is but the religious instinct gone astray," why, instead of denouncing it root and branch, is it not wiser to imitate Paul's example, saying, "Whom ye *ignorantly* worship, Him declare I unto you." You do well to *worship;* we come to show unto you a "more *excellent way*"—to help you to a truer conception of our common Father, and a more direct and satisfactory way of approach to him.

4. Once more. If, as Dr. Winchell maintains—and I confess his position seems to me well taken, that is, from the stand-point of scientific historical criticism—if the ancient Hebrew histories abound in very crude anthropomorphic representations of the Deity—representing the latter often as actuated by purely human motives and selfishly human passions; if, in other words, we admit, in substance, that the Holy Ghost could not sufficiently possess and control the holy men employed to write these ancient histories so as to preserve them from the use of such imagery, or descriptive terms, as to involve inadequate and misleading representations of Jehovah, what becomes of our popular theory of Inspiration? How are we to know positively what is authentic Scripture?

We read, that Jehovah himself declares, "I am a *jealous* God." Now, did Jehovah actually indite that word "jealous?" If so, did he really mean it? If he did not indite it, how are we to know that he indited any other part of the decalogue? We have a "Thus saith the Lord" for certain nameless barbarities perpetrated by the Israelites on their enemies. If, as I would be very glad to be able to do, we can explain these away, as Dr. Winchell intimates, by relegating these unfortunate statements to the crude, anthropomorphic conceptions concerning the Deity entertained by the writers of these histories, how yet shall we know when positively to credit other statements similarly authenticated? Will

not the whole record, by this process, become, especially in the popular estimation, either wholly invalidated or rendered of doubtful authority? What must the preacher or Bible-class teacher, with these "advanced views" in his mind, do when these hard questions arise, and cavils are suggested concerning such confessed difficulties in the Old Testament history? R. H. H.

June 27, 1885.

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

When we gave Dr. Winchell's paper a place in our pages, which was done both on account of the importance of its subject and the ability of its treatment, we expected that it would suggest not a few questions which it failed to answer; and we felt, also, that some of its positions needed to be further guarded, in order to save them from probable misapprehensions. And now we are not at all surprised at the receipt of such a letter as that given above, which, however, seems to need explanations and delimitations scarcely less than the article to which it refers. The study of the subject of the anthropomorphisms of the Bible, and of our religious conceptions, is forced upon us by the trend of the public mind and by the thinking of the age, and, no doubt, by means of it some important truths will be made to appear in new and unusual aspects. These things do not look to the men of the present day just as they did to their predecessors; and among these manifest changes some of the aspects (not the substance) of religious truth and doctrine have been subjected to the common experience. Modifications of very wide extent and far-reaching influences are certainly taking place in respect to the forms and externals of Christian doctrines. They cannot be resisted; and though perilous in the process of the transition, they will probably prove beneficial in the final outcome; and while we could not withstand them, if we would, we have no wish to do so. Evidently, however, it is the duty of the leaders of the Christian thought of the age to act as guides and guardians in this transition, instead of giving it over to the misdirection of the unspiritual and perversely skeptical.

The tendency to materialistic and sensuous conceptions of spiritual truths is universal among men. It very largely dominates the ideas and the methods of the whole race of "scientists;" so much so, that to ignore and practically deny all proper spirituality has become the rule with them. In the religious world, outside of Christendom, naturalism is the theology of the learned and fetichism of the unlearned, and the Christian world is but very partially delivered from the same influence. The languages of men, which are but their thinkings put into permanent forms, are essentially materialistic and sensuous; and the very terms by which alone we can seek to express our most thoroughly spiritual conceptions are originally of sensuous origins. When, therefore, God would reveal his truth to the human consciousness, it was necessary that he should present himself in anthropomorphic forms; and universally things spiritual must be presented in materialistic images. And yet this state of the case, though unavoidable, is not without its evil tendencies by reason of its limitations, to

avoid which evils in their ruinous extremes is the business of the spiritual instructor and guide.

In condescension to man's want of spiritual capabilities God has embodied the manifestation of his truth, and of his person also, in a materialistic imagery; his revelations and his religious ordinances are all formally anthropomorphic. But lest this should obscure the pure spirituality of the Divine Person and his worship, earnest and emphatic warnings are uttered against their natural tendency. Outward and material sacrifices were instituted, but their essential worthlessness, except as symbols of something better, was declared at the same time. A temple was built as "a dwelling-place for the God of Jacob;" but in the solemn forms of its consecration there was heard the significant confession, "Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee." The second commandment was expressly designed to set bounds to this tendency to hide the idea of godhead of a sensuous setting, and all through the centuries of the Israelitish Church God was perpetually warning his people against the sin of degrading their conceptions of His Person under outward and tangible forms. During his whole ministry Christ earnestly antagonized this tendency by denouncing the hollowness and want of spirituality of the popular religion of his day, and by requiring in opposition to it a purely spiritual worship, because its great Object is Spirit. The conflict which appears in our Lord's dealings with the men of his own time has been continued through all the ages of the Church's history, and doubtless it is destined to continue to the end, so long as the flesh shall continue to war against the Spirit—the *carnal* against the *spiritual*.

Some of the side-questions suggested by Professor Winchell's discussions are referred to in the letter of our correspondent given above, and to some of these we now propose to devote a few thoughts, taking them up somewhat in the order in which they are presented.

The regret of our correspondent at the silence of the essay respecting the essential and unchangeable nature of ethical righteousness, and its immanence in the divine character, would be eminently pertinent had that thought been anywhere brought into question. In proportion as the essential spirituality of the Divine Person is brought into view his holiness also is declared, and that not as an accidental or variable quality, but as of his essential Being; and because God so reveals himself in holiness, and the human consciousness apprehends and approves what is thus detected, God never, as the embodiment of essential righteousness, can be without a witness in every heart. And this revelation of the ethical side of the divine nature brings with it also the awful authority of the divine majesty. But all this lies quite outside of the form of anthropomorphism, to the discussion of which the essay is devoted.

Quite unlike our correspondent, we have no "sympathy with," but a *great horror at*, such thoughts and utterances as that introduced from John Stuart Mill; not, however, because we at all tolerate the sentiments against which it so fiercely protests. The conviction hypothetically referred to is not supposable; and that there should be any disharmony

between "the highest human morality," which is always a reflection of the divine holiness and its glorious Author, is an absurdity, not only of the intellect, but not less so of the heart. For any man, even hypothetically, to place himself in opposition to God, and to appeal from the divine judgments to eternal justice, which must have been first in thought separated from God, and to set up in opposition to him a fancied righteousness with which to defy the thunders of almighty vengeance, is itself simply *impious.* It may be well to solemnly protest against the *quasi*-blasphemy of the creeds which change the countenance of the Father of all mercies into the gorgon face of something worse than a Moloch; but not even in thought is it lawful to contemplate our God as such a one. In not a few cases this proud appeal from some supposititious act or declaration of God is simply the expression of an egoistical self-worship that claims for itself infallibility of moral judgment and the unvarying rectitude of the moral intuitions of the individual. This was Job's folly and offense—less offensively expressed, indeed, than in the case here cited—before, in the sight of manifested Godhead, he came to abhor himself in dust and ashes.

"The typical Puritan faith" very clearly recognized and strongly clung to the one great "Mediary" that fills all the infinite void between God and man; and in that article of its creed lay its wonderful power to produce such lofty "specimens of Christian manhood." With all its repulsive severity and its one-sided conception of God's character and dispensations, British and American Calvinism, by vigorously taking hold on Christ and declaring him to be the sole and sufficient Mediator between God and man, developed a sturdier form of the Christian life than can be done by any system that denudes the Godhead of his majesty, and degrades Christ from the character of a divine sacrifice for sin to simply a kindly friend and older brother. The development of so sturdy a form of Christianity as that of the Puritans, with its minimum of anthropomorphism, is proof of the inutility of any large amount of that element in Christian culture. And yet the failure of Puritanism resulted from the relative supremacy of the outward and formal, in both its faith and its practice. Materialistic "aids to faith," beyond the simplest forms, usually operate as clogs and hinderances, like Saul's armor on the limbs of the young shepherd of Bethlehem.

No doubt, as Prof. Winchell argues, all idolatry and polytheism springs from the heart's cravings after something to worship. But these most sacred characteristics of the soul expose it the most surely to deep and fearful degradations. What were the natural results of idolatry—which is simply the changing of "the glory of the incorruptible God" into the likeness of an image of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things"—we are very clearly and forcibly shown in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. There is, no doubt, the struggling of the religious instincts of the soul back of all really religious idolatry, but the objects toward which they go out impart their own evil to the worship itself. At the very best, such a service can only feed the soul upon vanity, and among its almost absolutely necessary conditions it min-

isters to sin. It lacks any power to raise the soul Godward; and in the absence of the ethical conception worship inevitably tends to positive and gross impurity. Paul indeed recognized both a natural theism and the impulse to worship as manifested in the polytheism of the Athenians, and these he sought to turn to account in favor of the Gospel. It was his single experiment on that line; and its unsuccess seems to indicate its unsuitableness. Because the soul in man is naturally sensuous, and instinctively seeks its pleasure in gratifying the lusts of the flesh, the feebler religious instincts are easily overcome and subordinated to the lower psychological impulses. Religion, in order to become effective in raising the soul into spiritual life, must be, as far as may be, separated from all outward forms; and the history of the Church proves that in proportion as Christianity has become materialistic in its conceptions, and formal and ritualistic in its expression, it has usually become powerless to save men's souls.

The anthropomorphisms that characterize the Old Testament, and which are not wholly absent from the New, are simply the necessary accommodations of spiritual ideas to men's gross conceptions, and the embodying of the supersensuous in a materialistic imagery. Because men knew only the language of sense, it was necessary to convey to them spiritual truths in that language, and yet to intimate the higher spirituality as fast as the requisite susceptibility to apprehend it should be developed. But this has nothing to do with the ethical considerations involved in such transactions as the conquest and slaughter of the Canaanites; for the questions suggested by these and similar matters lie entirely outside of all anthropomorphic conceptions or expressions. They may suggest important and perplexing inquiries, but in quite another line of thought than those of methods of expression. Nor is it necessary to resort to the plea of an anthropomorphic imagery to explain what we are taught respecting the dispositions and exercises of the mind of God. His devotion to ethical righteousness becomes, without change or passion on his part, "anger" toward transgression, "jealousy" for the protection of the right, and "vengeance"—the exercise of vindicatory authority—toward the guilty. Relatively, because of his absolute changelessness, there is change in God's relations and dispositions toward his creatures when they change in respect to him; and in this he manifests his essentially non-anthropomorphic nature, because he is God and not man.

While conceding that there are many and formidable questions that beset the subject of the inspiration of the Scriptures, we fail to find the assumed difficulty at the point suggested by the above letter. The sacred history deals with facts, and as *facts* it vouches for their correctness; but it is sublimely indifferent to the quibblings of conceited smatterers who require that every recorded transaction shall be adjusted to their narrow conceptions of what ought to be. God does not submit the details of his conduct to man's judgment, nor stop at every stage to justify his administration. It is for men, with unquestioning submission, to obey what God commands, and to learn from the divine judgments, no

less than from the divine word, what are the demands of concrete and administrative righteousness; entirely subordinating their own intuitions, and correcting them by the lessons that he himself teaches: and they who will read that history in such a spirit will not be much troubled about its inspiration or authenticity.

But there are certain suggestions growing out of this subject of "anthropomorphism" in relation to the Christian faith of which our correspondent says nothing, and to which the essay refers only slightly. Though the JEHOVAH of the Old Testament was an essentially spiritual manifestation, yet the prevalent Hebrew conception of the Godhead was clearly and often grossly anthropomorphic; and to the Israelitish people their God was, in kind, only Moses amplified and exalted in each case according to the subjective capacities of the individual. So the revelation of the Godhead in Christ was still more broadly a spiritual manifestation, of which some of his disciples attained to relatively pure and elevated conceptions, which are faithfully and adequately sketched in the gospels and the apostolical writings. But ecclesiastical Christianity, as to both its forms and its doctrinal ideas, very early took on a gross anthropomorphic embodiment, which practically obscured the spiritual in the outward and literal. The Reformation was the result of the strugglings of the entombed spirit of Christianity, striving to get free; but even the leaders of that movement stopped at half-way. But because they asserted and maintained the right of individual free thinking, the Reformers rendered all needed advances possible, and bequeathed to after generations the heritage of that freedom with its attendant responsibilities. The Protestantism of three hundred years ago was a living germ instinct with wonderful possibilities, and sure to become developed in after times; and evidently the time of its unfolding has come. Its unspiritual appendages of mechanical inspiration and the literalistic interpretation of Scripture; its *ex opere operato* sacramentarianisms; its formally chartered ecclesiasticism, with a personal succession of ministrants; its expectation of an outward advent and millennium, and a scenic resurrection and day of judgment, and its entire materialistic eschatology, are evidently parts of its outward shell, which must find their place among the *exuviæ* of which essential Christianity, as delivered by the Master and received by his apostles, is freeing itself. But let nobody be alarmed at these changes, nor yet in haste for their completion. The grain of mustard-seed does not complete its possibilities all at once; and "the kingdom of heaven," of which it is the divinely indicated illustration, must also be a development. Ours may be the season of its efflorescence, following its long hibernation, and its slowly advancing early growth; and so it must also have its period of enlargement for the perfecting and maturing of its fruit, for which unreckoned cycles may be required. Of these "times and seasons" of the Church's earthly glory and conquest, the harvesting of its fruitage, we know only that they are in the purposes of divine goodness; their period, and what shall come after them, "the Father hath set within his own authority."

THE SECOND ADVENT AND THE MILLENNIUM.

Many persons, at some period of their life-time, become aware that they are assenting to opinions for which they can render no reasons. Another, and perhaps a much more numerous, class are really in the same condition, but they never awake to its reality. They assent to certain things because such are the accepted opinions of those among whom they live, and they do not trouble themselves to find out the grounds on which the prevailing belief rests. Within certain not very narrow limits this may be well. Only a small proportion of mankind can do their own thinking, and it is better to believe on second-hand authority than to doubt all that one can neither prove nor disprove. Both these considerations apply especially in respect to religious and theological opinions. We learn these in childhood, not by reasoning and through proofs addressed to our understanding, but by authority from our teachers and by virtue of the unconsciously accepted teachings of public opinion. And certainly it is best to abide in these things, unless they shall be found incompatible with reason or the paramount authority of the word of God. To unlearn one's errors is not uniformly an unmixed good; but for the thoughtful it often becomes impossible to retain such passively accepted convictions, except as they shall be supported by other and stronger evidence; and the mental crises that occur in this transition from negative to positive beliefs are oftentimes about equally painful and perilous.

Perhaps some who will read this paper have had something of this experience in respect to one or another article of their religious opinions, and have felt the infelicity of being unable to find any satisfactory proofs of certain cherished traditional beliefs, which also were the more troublesome because of the lack of any accepted criteria by which to discriminate between essential and merely incidental matters of faith. Among the things firmly imbedded in the traditional doctrinal notions of Protestant Christendom are some of the details of its eschatology, the proofs for which are not quite obvious; and when proofs are offered, they are often found to be vague and far-fetched, and commonly made up from proof-texts arbitrarily construed as such by a prescriptive but unreliable exegesis. The practice of reading into Scripture meanings that do not belong to it, or of seeming to get more out of it, in certain directions, than it contains, has become an authoritative usage which is often more effective than the rational import of the sacred text itself.

Our thoughts have just now been called to this general subject, and especially to certain details of it indicated by the heading of this paper, by reading an article in the "Presbyterian Review" for July, by Dr. A. W. Pilzer, of Washington City, entitled "The Return of Jesus, the Christ." It contains nothing that we have not heard or read before, brings forward no novel or startling propositions, and it may also be said to fairly set forth the traditional belief of a large section of modern Protestantism on the subject. In presenting his theme, the writer gives as his chief proof-text the eleventh verse of the first chapter of Acts:

"This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven;" and then he affirms, with a positiveness that scorns any possible questioning, "This message cannot mean either *death*, or *the outpouring of the Spirit*, or *the destruction of Jerusalem*, or *the triumph of the Gospel:* it means, and *can only mean*, the BODILY RETURN OF JESUS, who was crucified, who was buried in Joseph's tomb, who rose from the dead, who ascended into heaven." In agreement with this interpretation of this one passage we are told there are in the New Testament three hundred and twenty-five others that "implicitly or explicitly proclaim the same Blessed Hope" (the capitals are his).

We are not disposed to call in question either the mental acumen or the learning of the essayist, nor to affirm that he overstates the commonly accepted belief on the subject, though we are quite certain that very many, neither less able nor less learned than himself, would hesitate to declare the same things as their own settled conviction; and perhaps some of these will feel that it might have been better to avoid the provocation that may come of so broad and so bold an expression of opinion, to silently if not openly protest against it. And yet it may be well that the views of an extreme school of theologists and exegetes should be thus fully and clearly set forth, for there is reason to believe that the whole subject involved will have to be re-examined and re-stated before the public; and therefore it should be known what are the views of those that hold to its positive side.

It is well known that there are in the New Testament a great number of words and phrases which Adventists and Millenarians appropriate as teaching their views; and it must be granted, that if their interpretation of these is correct, there can be no doubt that the whole New Testament glows with these doctrines. It is also known that many able commentators and theologians accept these views, though often with very considerable modifications, which greatly mar the symmetry of the whole system. There is also a not inconsiderable and a steadily increasing body of dissentients; some openly discarding the entire theory, but most only doubting and asking to have their doubts removed. The proof-texts so confidently relied on to prove the traditional doctrine fail to satisfy them. They do not find that such words, in the Greek Testament, as παρουσια (*presence*) and ἐπιφανεια (*appearing* or *outshining*) invariably, nor indeed usually, refer to our Lord's Second Coming; but, instead, as soon as the bold assumptions of the Adventists are called in question, such a sense seems impossible. Such expressions as "the coming of the Lord," and "the day of the Lord Jesus Christ," and others of similar import, in not a few cases, cannot be rationally construed to refer to that event. And since the use of such expressions is somewhat indefinite, it is necessary, wherever any of them occur, to determine their meaning in each case by a reference to the context and their evident design, and in the use of the ordinary laws of critical interpretation; and under that kind of treatment their Advent-Millenarian interpretation usually effectually disappears.

It is claimed that the expectation of Christ's coming again was entertained and warmly cherished by the apostles and the early Church, which assumption we need not, in this place, either deny or concede; if, however, it is granted, then must all the legitimate implications of that fact be also accepted. If the New Testament writers used the expressions in question in the sense claimed by the Adventists, it is quite sure that they also expected that the designated events would occur very shortly—certainly within the ordinary life-time of those then living—and that then just as certainly they were mistaken. The use made of these expressions makes it necessary to presume that the indicated "coming," or "revelation," was to be to those addressed, and not to those of some indefinitely remote age, eighteen hundred or ten thousand years afterward. Paul prayed that the Christians of Thessalonica might be established in holiness, "at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ," that is, on the Adventist theory, some thousands of years in the future; and Peter exhorts his brethren to "gird up the loins" of their mind, and to "be watchful," in view of the grace they were to receive at the "revelation (ἐν ἀποκαλύψει) of Jesus Christ," which is here used as a present and perpetual motive to earnest and continuous fidelity, though they were not to see it.

If, then, these expressions of such chief apostles—and there are very many of the same kind—refer to the event indicated by the writer whose words we have quoted, they were certainly designed to influence the personal religious life of those addressed through the anticipation of something that we now know was not to occur in time to have any manifest effect upon them or their affairs. If the apostles expected Christ's Second Coming within their own generation, they were certainly in error, and their exhortations based upon that expectation were founded on a misconception; if, on the contrary, they had no definite expectation in respect to the time of that event, but only foresaw it in the indefinite future, but still used it as a stimulus to present expectant watchfulness, their truthfulness and moral honesty will need to be vindicated; and the burden of that service must rest on those who place those holy men in such an uncomfortable dilemma.

Our writer intimates, in the sentence cited near the beginning of this paper, that others have given a variety of interpretations to the proof-texts which he claims for his doctrine; and in our inability to accept without question his exclusive interpretation, we look to these for possible relief. Some of the commentaries make "the coming of the Lord" mean, for the individual, the day of his decease, which would save the accompanying exhortation from a great deal of irrelevancy. The prophet Joel spoke of "the great and terrible day of the Lord," and an apostle assured the infant Church that it referred to the events of the day of Pentecost. Some very respectable commentators understand the reference to the "coming of the Son of man," in the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, to have been fulfilled at the destruction of Jerusalem, and so it has seemed to us in our most careful study of it. And in all the ages of the Church the prayer taught by Christ has been offered for the coming of the kingdom

of God; and that prayer has been broadened and deepened by the promised presence of the Master among his disciples, always, even to the end of the Gospel age. The whole Church prays and waits for Christ's coming, *in the power of his Spirit*, to establish his kingdom in the heart of all who will receive him. This is the advent for which the expectant Church ever waits and prays.

The promise of "Christ's coming" given immediately after his ascension, if accepted in its physical literalness, must also govern and interpret all other promises of his coming again. That promise had already been made at the Last Supper (John xiv, 3, 18, 28); and yet later on in the same discourse a decidedly, not to say exclusively, spiritual interpretation was given to it. But we are reminded that the "coming" announced at the ascension was to be "*in like manner* as ye have seen him go into heaven," which it is claimed cannot possibly mean any thing else than that he shall appear visibly to men's outward vision—certainly to that of those on the same side of the world—in his material body. But must it not appear that an expression so very indefinite, and which may so readily be made to include more or less, is hardly alone sufficient to sustain a great Christian doctrine—to be commended to the faith of all who have hope in Christ's "appearing?" In another place we have written: "It will not do to make such a use of *ὁν τρόπον* as to require that the promised *coming again* of the Lord shall conform to all the merely accidental conditions of his ascension. It was clearly promised that his departure was not final, and [it was] in part at least, a reiteration of his own promise before given (John xiv, 3) that he would come again."

It is known to all who are at all acquainted with Church history, that from the earliest times to the present there has been with some the expectation of the coming of Christ in the near future—in his material body—to become a potentate and civil ruler among men; and it is equally well-known that this belief and expectation has uniformly been a cause of disturbance, and a hinderance to the progress of the Gospel. It was an element of the Montanism of the early Church, and the distinctive Chiliasm that marked its way of ruin through the ages. In modern times it was seen in the "Fifth-monarchy men" of Cromwell's time. A terrible fanatical outbreak of it among some very good people took place under the ministry of Rev. Edward Irving in London in our own day; while in America, under the name of Millerism, it overran the land and spread disaster and spiritual blight through the Churches. Its career and influences every-where clearly demonstrate that the expectation of a physical return of Christ to the earth, as it is based on a misconception of the essential nature of Christ's kingdom, has uniformly operated disastrously in proportion to its definiteness and intensity. With the truly spiritually-minded Christian it suffices that he is permitted to labor in faith as the Master has appointed, assured that if faithful till death he will receive a crown of life; and in this hope he finds all needed incentives to endure to the end, to fight the good fight of faith, and dying go to his recompense.

The Millennium, as a literalistic and materialistic conception, is insep-

arable from that of the materialistic Second Advent. In one of the most obscure and enigmatical parts of that most unintelligible of all the books of the New Testament—the Apocalypse—which scarcely any two commentators agree in expounding, it is related how an angel laid hold on Satan and bound him for a *thousand years*, during which time the risen saints lived and reigned with Christ. This thousand years—whether reckoned by the circuit of the sun or by some other kind of cycle does not appear—is to be the Millennium, which men now speak of as once they did of the Greek Calends, and equally without any basis of rational evidence. The conception of a sensuous and materialistic reign of Christ on earth, as it has not originated in any thing found in the Bible, so it has seemed very difficult to torture any thing that is contained in the inspired volume so as to harmonize with that essentially heathen idea. Our study of this whole subject, which we have pursued all along as a learner willing to be taught, has altogether failed to bring even approximate conviction that there is any legitimate ground to expect any thing in the future of the Church answering at all to an outward and material Second Advent or Millennium. Neither the Old nor the New Testament tells us any thing about it.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF THE POPE is regarded among foreign jurists as a question of so much importance that a noted authority has just issued an extensive treatise on the subject. The author declines to grant the Pope the powers of a sovereign, mainly for the reason that he is in no condition to assert his rights as other sovereigns of Europe, namely, with musket and cannon. But this seems rather faulty reasoning, as it simply asserts the absence of the power, but not of the right. Apart from the fact that the Pope, when in full possession of the States of the Church, was in no condition to wage war with any European great power, one will hardly desire to maintain that the recent changes in his relations have made him the subject of any power. He therefore seems to hold the anomalous position of being neither subject nor sovereign.

But, on the other hand, he would seem to hold an international position from the fact that he possesses an exterritoriality and a sovereign position by virtue of the guaranty law of the Italian government, which is recognized by other nations in sending to him their representatives for diplomatic intercourse, who are directly or indirectly acknowledged as such. This is done by some other powers because the spiritual subjects of the Pope are found among their subjects, whom they would protect in their spiritual interests and rights. The Pontiff certainly, even now, possesses many international attributes; among these are exterritoriality, inviolability, irresponsibility, an independent jurisdiction, and his own military

organization, though a very small one. But all this, it is seen, does not protect him from what he regards as violence on the part of the Italian government, which now interprets and manages the guaranty law quite differently from the sense in which it was originally understood.

It were well if this fact could bring the Holy See to the conviction that it were better not to desire to make its kingdom one of this world, but to lay aside carnal weapons and depend wholly on those of the Spirit. For even in the flourishing periods of the papacy it gained its victories not by the power of the flesh, but by its spiritual weapons, which were mighty over the minds of men. Now, it were well for the Church to enter into no conflict with the modern State, but rather to be satisfied to be in the service of the King of kings. The world is too much inclined at present to contest the claim of the pope of being the representative of the apostle Peter, to say nothing of being the vicar of Christ on earth. With these weak places in the line of spiritual rule, it seems quite inconsistent to claim worldly sovereignty on the basis of the former rule in the States of the Church. The whole is rather a legal fiction, and one too weak to be expanded into a secular right at the present period. Many intelligent Catholics of the period are of the conviction that the former temporal possessions of the Church were just large enough to embarrass the pontiff in the execution of his spiritual power, but by no means strong enough to give him any assistance in temporal rule; and therefore, from the spiritual and ecclesiastical stand-point, temporal power is a loss rather than a gain.

STUDENTS' DUELS IN GERMAN UNIVERSITIES are now being discussed with much earnestness in the religious press of that country; and we are astonished to see that this is the case just now, largely from the fact that the Minister of Public Worship has spoken favorably of them on certain public occasions. The matter has also reached the Prussian Diet, in which a distinguished member of the Left declared that the class of students that engage in duels are loyal to their Fatherland, their duty, and their vocation.

Now to understand why such a thing is possible we must know, in the first place, that students' duels are generally frauds, with our understanding of the word. In the great majority of them there is no personal ill-will, and no intent to do any serious injury—and indeed no intent to receive any. Before they go into the conflict they bundle and pad themselves in such a manner that the foil cannot possibly touch any portion of the body but the face, and here the effort is merely to make a slash and leave a scar, which is considered a mark of honor instead of a brand. The students who become members of the "dueling corps," as they are called, are naturally those who have peculiar views of manly honor, and think this the best way of showing their courage in defense of their position. The body of students in Germany, is generally divided between the "corps" students, who fight from principle, and those who do not, for the same reason. As a general rule the former are a wild, lawless

set, who are quite ready to impose on other people in defending their own dignity. Many of them do little else than fight and drink and boast of the scars that disfigure their faces for life.

The important question just agitating the breasts of the thousands of young men now leaving the Gymnasia for the Universities is as to which party to make allegiance, and the belligerent spirit is now more rife than usual under the spur above named. To their shame be it said, that defenders of the duel are found even among theological students, and the question is even soberly discussed in pastoral conferences, because there also may be found men who in their university years distinguished themselves as skillful swordsmen.

It would seem, from the tone of the journals, that parents are generally opposed to it, and are doing their best to bring the practice into disrepute, as they spend many anxious hours in regard to their sons while exposed to possible dangers, or while suffering from wounds. The miserable nonsense is certainly a disgrace to German university life, and sometimes by accident ends in the death of some young man, when for a time there is a great outcry that soon subsides, and the abuse continues. It seems clear that the nonsensical fraud is demoralizing many of the noblest youth of Germany, and it is high time for the religious press to expose its folly. The custom is neither moral nor Christian, we need hardly say, and is antagonistic to the entire spirit of Christianity; and he who excuses or defends it departs from all spirit of the Gospel of Christ. And as for courage, it is quite clear that it costs more of this to reject than to indorse the practice.

THE LATE LENTEN SERMONS IN ROME seem to have caused considerable disgust, from their evidently worldly character. They treated of every other subject but Christ crucified. They have sunk to the character of an event in the religious world after the wild follies of the Carnival. The Romans now go to these occasions to hear orators rather than preachers; and for this purpose thousands were daily gathered in the cathedrals, as the ancient Romans went to the forum.

The Pope followed the usual custom of summoning to him the lenten preachers, and calling their attention to the importance of their sermons in the central city of Christendom. But, if these sermons are so significant, why not teach these prelates to exercise a little apostolic activity? It is particularly noticeable that the cardinals preach no more sermons: they seem to be too busy with political matters; or it is suggested that they consider this beneath their dignity. It might be well were the Pope himself to set the example of proclaiming the divine word instead of delivering allocutions about the degeneracy of the period and the injustice of the government.

Nearly all the lenten preachers of Rome belong to the religious orders; this year they came from the Capuchins, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits. A very small number of the preachers were active priests in charge of pulpits. It is considered a great honor to appear as a "lenten

preacher" in Rome; and the opportunity opens the channel to a career of greatness for which reason many of the monks strive for the honor through protection at court. And the pulpit itself has much to do with the honor attached to the duty. Certain churches draw the fashionable and intelligent crowd. This year a Jesuit father carried off the honor of filling the pulpit of St. Peter's, showing the influence this order possesses at the Vatican. As the pulpits are of various grades, so are the attendants and the fee. This latter is worth having, and is generally paid from the revenues of the respective churches, or sometimes by lay corporations or church collections.

The secular press of Rome pays a good deal of attention to these sermons, as they are popular or fashionable events; and this year their criticisms on the sermons were very acrid. According to the most of these, the efforts were little more than specimens of spiritual rhetoric; not dealing in any way with the great religious or social problems of the period. They were full of complaints or accusations about the degeneracy of the age toward the sacredness of the Church, and contained not the slightest whisperings of the divine voice which invites man to prayer and communion with God. The great moral duties to one's neighbor, and religious ones toward God, were not mentioned. It was but little if any better in other Italian cities. In Turin the preacher complained that the families of the upper classes no longer give their sons to the ecclesiastical profession. The most marked feature of the period was the absence in the Pastoral Letters of appeal for the restoration of the temporal power. Are the bishops tired of this struggle, or do they give it up? The Pope still clings to this phantom in his latest Allocution, and anew sends forth the watchword that there is to be no reconciliation as long as he is a prisoner in the Vatican, because if he leaves it he treads on foreign soil.

SABBATH OBSERVANCE IN THE GERMAN PARLIAMENT.—This very important matter has so greatly agitated the mind of the German people that a bill has just been introduced into the German Parliament to restrict labor, or at least hours of labor, on the Sabbath. The unfortunate feature of the case is the partisan division in support or objection. The bill was presented by the commission for the protection of working-men; and its restrictions are, that labor on the Sabbath shall not be obligatory except in a few very necessary instances, and the extent of these to be determined by the administrative authorities. It is enough to say that the Radicals of all shades supported the bill, as did the Catholic element in the House.

The Liberals, however, with Bismarck at the front, objected to the bill, and preferred to have the whole thing referred to a commission of inquiry to report more fully on the measure. This action looked much like an endeavor to kill it by Parliamentary circumlocution and delay. Bismarck surprised and astonished his friends by the position he assumed toward the proposition. He saw in the bill simply a framework for something much more perfect to come, and therefore favored a special commission for this purpose. Many industries could not dispense with work on the

Sabbath, and he did not believe that the working-men would wish to be restrained by law from working on the Sabbath, if they so desired. They would thereby lose quite a percentage of their wages, which most of them could not do without suffering. He believed it not desirable to enjoin by law how men should spend their Sabbath, especially if the loss of their pay would bring hunger into their families. And in conclusion he did not believe that the working-men demanded it or would be grateful for it.

To these marvelous sophistries from such a source, which seemed inspired with the anger experienced at the treatment of some of his own propositions for the aid and protection of the working classes, the following replies were made by various members, especially by those of the Center: Sunday is a divine provision, and the demand for rest on that day is laid down in the ten commandments, and cannot be controverted by Pharisaical interpretation. In England, and in the United States, the Sabbath is strictly observed, and the divine blessing seems to crown their industrial interests. The Chancellor argues solely from a material stand-point, and neglects the higher ethical and Christian view of the question. A Socialist deputy invited the Chancellor to visit the manufacturing regions, where he could see the pale and pinched faces of the laborers who day after day are obliged to breathe the bad air of the factories, when he would certainly be in favor of granting to these operatives the Sunday at least on which to rest and enjoy a little fresh air. To all this Bismarck replied: "I do not believe in the sincerity of these counsels. I believe that agitators are hurrying on this movement with a view to sow more of the seeds of discontent, and I am not in favor of premature action in a matter of so much importance." No determination was reached, and the question goes over till the next session.

PROTESTANTISM IN VIENNA receives very scant favors, notwithstanding the many fine phrases bestowed on it some years ago, during a period of liberal feeling. There is in that capital a Protestant theological faculty with a small school struggling for existence under great difficulty. The school has been held in a private establishment in very confined quarters, because, they say, there was no room in the University building to accommodate it. Now the old University is a dark, dank, tumble-down structure that has long outlived its usefulness, and measures were taken years ago to build a new edifice worthy of the second capital of the continent.

It was understood that in this building rooms would be reserved for the Protestant faculty, though this reservation was always couched in cabalistic terms. As the new edifice approached completion it was whispered that the Protestant faculty would not be allowed to darken its doors. And sure enough, on the day of the dedication, the leader of the faculty of the Catholic school of theology besought the emperor that his body might not be annoyed or straitened in the new edifice. These words were not without their effects, and there is still no room for the Protestant

teachers and their pupils. But it seems there is plenty of room for singing-clubs, reading-rooms, and benevolent associations, as well as for museums for Egyptian mummies and heathen gods. According to the Catholic theological rector of the University, these are more in place in the building than his Protestant enemies, and that officer threatens, in case any move is made to receive the unwelcome school, that he will besiege the emperor with a new deputation that will overwhelm him. The latest information reports that the four faculties have also voted against their admission, even the Liberals turning against the Protestant school. The result is, that it does not enter the new building, notwithstanding all the promises, but in reality is relegated to worse quarters in a government building than it has occupied for the last thirty years. So much, therefore, for Austrian liberalism and justice to the Protestant subjects of the realm.

THE RECENT ANNIVERSARIES in Paris of the various Protestant religious and benevolent associations seemed to be in nowise affected by the serious agitation in political circles. There was a great deal of genuine Christian activity, notwithstanding the withdrawal of government support in large measure for their financial needs. They still kept up their contributions to their normal standard for home and foreign missions, and various charities, besides raising by voluntary gifts enough to replace the bursaries of the theological seminaries, showing that when the final blow comes in the matter of government subsidy they will be prepared to meet it. The Reformed Church is well and wisely learning the valuable lesson of self-support. In the meanwhile, they are discussing their religious needs with new vigor; and are more inclined than ever to turn to the consideration of deep and important spiritual matters. There was one very brilliant discussion of a purely theological character, on the question of conditional immortality, adversely reported on by a committee.

THE WELL-KNOWN PASTORS of the Reformed Church of France, Sabatier and Puaux, have been examining French Algeria on the shore opposite to France, with a view to study its religious needs, and perhaps to introduce there a mission work. They find the very active Archbishop Lavigerie straining every nerve, in order to establish his religion among Mohammedans and Jews, but they notice more mosques and synagogues than evidences of the growth of the Catholic Church in that region. This is no fault of the distinguished prelate who has just been raised to the rank of Cardinal for his devotion to the interests of the Church throughout Africa. He and his helpers find it hard to oppose the religion of the sword by the religion of love; the Mohammedans do not like their French oppressors, and have but little faith in their religion. The gentlemen above named think the only solution of the question is, to colonize Algeria largely with Frenchmen, so as to crowd the others to the wall. In the Catholic churches they saw crowds of Spanish, Italians, and Maltese, but no white burnoos of the native tribes.

THE GERMANS have long been terribly annoyed by the tramp nuisance, which the authorities have in no wise remedied. At last the religious element of the country has taken this and the other matters of popular charities in its hand, headed by a noted philanthropist known to them as Pastor Bodelschwing. He has founded a "working colony," where all idlers are to work out their troubles and replenish their hungry stomachs. This colonization of tramps has been very successful, and is likely to be imitated by other sections of the country. The men that are taken up as idle ragamuffins and vagabonds are generally discharged as clean and spry-looking working-men, and most of them have been convinced that the easiest way of making a living is by the sweat of the brow. The success of the experiment is encouraging the people to contribute means for the continuance of the work, as being the wisest and most economical way of getting relief from the marauding idlers who had become the terror of the rural districts.

A GREAT PAPAL REVIVAL is announced in the southern Tyrol, which was set on foot during the lenten sermons. The Tyrol, it is well known, clings more closely to ultramontanism than any other land in Christendom. This extended to many parts of northern Italy, especially to the old city of Bologna, whose Cathedral is one of the largest of Italy. The Italian-speaking Tyrolese exert a large influence over their confreres in Italy, and their sympathies generally beat in unison. Therefore we learn that the churches were frequently so full that it was necessary to call in the armed police to close the doors for fear of panic and accident. The final sermon on Easter Monday seemed by common consent to be adopted as a period for grand demonstrations in favor of the most conservative clergy. The masses that could not obtain admittance to some of the churches greeted the preacher on his appearance at the door, kissing the hem of his garment, and insisting on taking the horses from his carriage and drawing him to his home in some quite distant convent, accompanied by a shouting multitude who insisted on a blessing before departing.

LUTHER CELEBRATIONS.—Among the peculiar creations of the days of the Luther celebrations was a delineation of the principal events of his life. This "Luther spectacle" was presented as a drama, and drew such crowds that there was a demand for its repetition last year, when the crowds grew larger and larger, and gave birth to the desire to have an annual presentation of it, as a means of enlightening the people as to the character and work of Luther. The university town of Jena has taken up this thought, and a few months ago a "Luther Dramatic Association" was formed to further this idea. Devrient, the author of the drama, has presented it to that city on condition that a new dramatic temple shall be constructed that will be in all respects adapted to the needs of the piece, and the association above named is now calling for aid in the enterprise, on all who feel that a panoramic life of Luther, presented to young and old for a certain period annually, will do much

toward extending and deepening the Protestant consciousness, and giving it a firmer root in the hearts of the people.

THE GREAT TEMPLE OF LUXOR in Egypt was three years ago completely surrounded with houses, cabins, and factories. Since that time, Maspero, director of the Egyptian museum in Cairo, with money collected by the "Times," of London, and the "Journal des Debats," in Paris, has virtually exhumed the noble monument, or will do so before he quits his work. He has engaged one hundred and fifty hired laborers, men, women, and children, and a goodly number of volunteers, who find their compensation in the saltpeter that is found in the ruins, and which acts as a profitable restorative to their exhausted lands. On the southern side the temple is fully cleared, and it now comes to light that this and a portion of the northern side were washed directly by the waters of the Nile. The lower wall, composed of heavy stones that served as a quay, bears the name of Amenophis III. Other new features are daily coming to light that give a far better comprehension of the style and design of the monument than has been hitherto had, and which will make it more than ever worthy of a visit from the curious and the learned.

THE CHRISTIAN MUSEUM OF THE BERLIN UNIVERSITY, thanks to its founder and tireless worker, Professor Piper, is now attaining such proportions as to claim the dignified title of Museum for the Study of Christian Archæology, and it is highly prized by the pupils of that study in the University. It will soon contain a wealth of art in this line that can be found nowhere else outside of Rome. There are casts of inscriptions, gems, sarcophagi, copies of valuable works in metal, and also copies of famous pictures and engravings, the best of the religious ones of modern times. In addition to these there is an excellent library, and a goodly number of originals in marble and ivory and silver, which are of great value for Christian art of the ancient periods. No one who comprehends their importance for the better study of Christian antiquity will grudge the time now required to pass through the enlarged apartments of the University where all these treasures are gathered. And the learned savant whose genius called all these together will find in them the most fitting monument to his memory.

THE BALTIC PROVINCES OF RUSSIA are largely settled by Germans, who went thither under the express agreement that they might freely exercise their Lutheran religion and use their German tongue. For years it has been rumored that Russia intended to withdraw this privilege, and this act has now been accomplished. A ukase, recently issued, orders that all district schools shall be reorganized and classified, and that the Russian tongue shall be obligatory. All schools controlled by cities, corporations, or private individuals may present their appeal to the government to continue the German, and the appeal will be considered by a commission. But history and geography must be taught in Russian, and the language itself must be taught, where it is not understood. And again, those who

desire the Lutheran religion must be taxed for its support, but those peasants who belong to the Greek Church need pay no tithes. This makes a great temptation for them to leave their Church, and in one diocese near Dorpat two hundred have gone over to the Greek Church to avoid the payment of Church dues.

THE SO-CALLED FREE SCHOOLS IN PARIS, supported by the Catholic Church in opposition to the secular schools of the State, have just made their annual report to the diocesan association. Since the public schools were secularized, two or three years ago, 16,000,000 francs have been collected in that city for the support of the free Catholic schools. The number of these schools has greatly increased within this period, and now there are nearly two hundred of them, with 70,000 pupils—about as many as are in the city schools. In the provinces the same work is being carried on, and in this latter period these have contributed 200,000,000 francs for that purpose. The clerical teachers are making some invidious comparisons; namely, that while the city is paying 10,000,000 francs for its teaching, the Catholic schools do the same amount of work for 3,500,000. The reason of this, however, is clear when we learn that the clerical schools are taught by members of the fraternities whose compensation is very small, and whose teaching capacity is of about the same grade. There is now no lack of good secular teachers; several thousand young women are enrolled and waiting for places.

THE SYSTEM OF DEACONESSES seems to be taking very deep roots in the Christian benevolent operations of Europe, and of Germany especially. The order has increased within three years about nine hundred, although some have died, and a goodly number have withdrawn for various reasons. The increase in workers and fields of labor has been about twenty per cent. within three years. The growth in numbers would be much more rapid were it not for the severity of the duties, which rapidly decreases the members, as they retire as invalids or for a period of rest and convalescence. Money seems to come to them quite freely for the continuance of their work, and therefore a good many new mother-houses have been established quite lately, although the demand always exceeds the supply. The latest call was from Constantinople and other cities near the Greek and Turkish borders. The oldest institution was founded at Kaiserswerth, on the Rhine, twenty-five years ago, and since that time the growth has been marvelous. Their present status is, in brief: Of mother-houses, 54; of sisters, 5,653; and of fields of labor, 1,742.

SWISS CHRISTIANS are now having certain trials with their public-school system with which we can fully sympathize. They find it absolutely necessary to yield to the demand to take religious teaching out of the popular schools. The movement is made by the Radicals, but a good many Conservatives yield with a heavy heart because in the present era of liberalism they see no possibility of obtaining either teachers or compromises by which all confessions would be satisfied. They have therefore

come to the conclusion that the only way is to leave religious teaching to the respective Churches. The Christian portion of the community yield the more willingly to this measure because their confidence in the civil schools has been shaken on account of the way in which teachers are now largely appointed; namely, by partial or partisan influences. Such teachers are, as a rule, in no way fitted to impart religious instruction, and the only way to secure this will be the establishment of the so-called "free schools," supported by the respective denominations.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

WILLIAM TAYLOR'S MISSION.—Letters from the mission party of Bishop William Taylor state that one of the missionaries, Charles L. Miller, of Baltimore, has died of the fever. He refused all medical aid, believing that his faith in God would avail for the preservation of his health. Bishop Taylor and others remonstrated with him and urged him to submit to treatment by a physician, but he refused. He was in delirium the last ten or twelve days before he died. When, some time before he became delirious, Dr. Johnson examined him and found his temperature 105, and told him he would die if he did not take medicine, he replied, "Well, then, I'll die, for I wont take any medicine." Several members of the party had been sick with the fever, but none seriously. The Bishop writes concerning Mr. Miller's peculiar views:

> We have none remaining among us here who advocate the extreme view of this subject. We all believe in holiness, and daily receive and trust Jesus and the Holy Sanctifier for its realization. We also believe in direct healing of the body by faith, when a reason exists in the mind of God for it in any case, and the divine will is manifested to the individual by the Holy Spirit—and we know of many indisputable facts demonstrating this thing—but do not believe that we are justified in refusing to trust in God in the use of well-tested remedies by means of medical skill. God has given to our party three good medical missionaries, who are of incalculable value to us. We thank God for them, and ask God's blessing on their skill, and receive it.

The Angola government has received the party very kindly, and has offered to give land for mission purposes in suitable places. In a letter written on the 13th of April the Bishop said the party would remain in their healthful quarters in St. Paul de Loando until the return of the governor from a visit to another province, which would be in about six weeks. The detention, he thought, was providential, because March and April were the two sickly months of the year, and it would be well to get through with the acclimatizing fever in a healthy place, and because none of the missionaries yet knew enough of the Portuguese language to travel or transact business. The Bishop continues:

> So the Lord has arranged that we shall all stay on this high hill, in the range of the daily sweep of the breezes from the sea, in a large commodious house and spacious ground; so that altogether the delay in our transit is a special provi-

dence of our gracious Father, for purposes of love and mercy. I think, moreover, that he will have the large families remain in these comfortable quarters until we can provide mission homes for them in their respective fields of labor. This is not out of line of our anticipation of how he might lead us. You know how in the beginning I said, "We cannot tell whether the Lord will lead us a thousand miles inland at once, or whether we shall plant a line of stations from the coast inward; the latter most probably." We did not anticipate so cordial a welcome and such liberal proposals on the part of the Angola government, and hence will probably plant more stations in this province than we expected; which will furnish a broader base for operations in the far interior, for we have no thought of changing our plan of planting our missions consecutively across the continent, D. V.

As to his plans for the future the Bishop writes:

The present force, however, will not man over eight stations, extending probably five hundred miles into the interior. Meantime we shall have an exploring party out, to open up new fields for new expeditions to come along next year; and having the way opened, they may not be subject to the delays which we, as pioneers, must expect to have. This delay affects our transit current expense account. I could not anticipate the interior cost of the transit of our missionaries. The cost to Loanda was about $160 per passenger, counting two children under twelve years as one passenger. For thirty-seven or thirty-eight passengers that made a large aggregate expense; and yet $160 is but a little over one half the cost of passage to Chili or to India. We pay here $50 per month for our house and premises, and nearly every thing we buy is at a very high price. Flour is $20 per barrel; the poorest quality of brown sugar nine cents per lb. Nearly one dollar a day for water delivered for our company; fifty or sixty cents per day for wood. Happily through the kindness of our friends, we have a supply of staple provisions that will last us a few weeks longer. Anticipating a quick march into the interior, we expected to pay our way in goods, and not in money. We have a good supply of the kinds of currency demanded in the interior, but it is not available in Angola at all, for every thing here has to be paid for in hard cash. Providentially our friend ——— gave me $1,000 for the purchase of mission property in Loanda, or if that should not be found to be practicable, then to use it for the comfort of the missionaries on arrival. It would require $8,000 to buy this fine property we occupy. It cost the owner $15,000, so we cannot buy, but we occupy it, and save valuable lives by doing so, through the forecast and generosity of dear Brother ———. I think we shall have material for the interior travels of the next expedition, who will pass directly into the interior, to compensate largely for the extra cash we shall require in settling our present force as indicated. I cannot say how much will be required, but will report every detail of expenditure in due time. We will securely store in Loanda the goods we may not require for the present expedition, in reserve for the next.

Dr. Summers had made a trip to the interior, some three hundred miles from the coast, and had selected four places as suitable for stations:

First, Pambos, four miles east of Dondo, the head of steamboat navigation on the Coanza River. Dondo has a population of about 5,000, but is a low, hot, sickly place. Pambos is high, healthy, and fertile, and from that point we can work Dondo as well. Second is N'Dumba, fifty-three miles east of Pambos—a large native town of caravan rendezvous, and having a fine country surrounding it. Third, Sangue, twenty-eight and a half miles distant from N'Dumba. Langue is in the midst of a charming country for scenery and productiveness, with a large native population. From that point we can work a large town called Pungo Andongo, but not a healthy place for residence, nor a productive place for agricultural resource. At or near every large center of work we want to open an industrial school farm, where we can teach the natives handiwork, besides a knowledge of letters. Fourth, Malange, eighty miles from Langue (pronounced Langa). Malange is an important town, and a great base of supplies for caravans for all parts of the interior. It is a fine agricultural country, and a good climate—which

is true of all the places named—high above the region of mosquitoes and miasma swamps.

We go about one hundred and seventy miles by steam to Dondo to reach the places named, then by foot to the several designations. At this end we expect to leave a working force in Loanda, and we are looking up a site for an industrial school farm on the Bengo River, which empties into the sea seven miles north of this.

Since writing the above Rev. Ross Taylor, son of the Bishop, has arrived in New York, and passed onward to California. He had with him his wife and four children—under six years old. He returned because he found that the climate would certainly prove fatal to his children, though his own health and that of Mrs. Taylor was good.

MISSION WORK AMONG THE DAKOTAS.—It has been fifty years since the first missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. T. S. Williamson, M.D., and J. D. Stevens, and Mr. A. G. Huggins, with their wives, were sent by the American Board to Fort Snelling to labor among the Dakotas. For many years the mission of the American Board was the only mission in all that region; but now three societies have agents at work among the tribe, which numbers about 40,000, and is, therefore, the largest tribe in this country. The three societies are, the Presbyterian Boards of Home and of Foreign Missions, and the American Missionary Association. The last has taken the interest of the American Board, which has become exclusively a foreign society. Since the mission was opened in May, 1835, fourteen ordained missionaries have been connected with it. This includes the agents of the three societies now at work. Dr. Williamson labored forty-four years, Dr. S. R. Riggs, forty-six years, and the Rev. John P. Williamson twenty-five years. In the first forty years of the mission the average force employed was one ordained and two female missionaries. In the past ten years large boarding-schools have been established, and more agents were required. It took thirty years to produce the first native missionary, the Rev. John B. Renaille. Now there are ten native missionaries, and they are very earnest, zealous, efficient workers. There are also a number of lay preachers. All the ruling elders are enjoined on being installed into office to exercise their gifts in this way. They visit destitute places under direction of the missionaries, and sometimes make long missionary tours. The Rev. John P. Williamson, who has been for twenty-five years a missionary among the Dakotas, in a semi-centennial review, thus speaks of the growth of the mission :

The Lord has given many gracious manifestations of converting power in the Dakota Mission. The *early success* was remarkable. The first year three professed Christ; the second, four; the third, nine; the fourth, ten; the fifth, five. Considering their limited knowledge, the steadfastness of these first converts is also remarkable. If a single one has apostatized I do not know it.

But the most remarkable work of grace was at the commencement of the second-quarter century, and just after the dark hours of the Minnesota massacre. In 1862 the whole number of Church members was only about 66. In 1863 there were added to the Church 350. In 1864, 150 were added, and in 1865 about 100. Nearly one half of these were men in military prisons. That a wonderful enthusiasm had taken hold of them could not be doubted, but the circumstances

were such as to lead some to doubt their sincerity. Subsequent events have removed all doubts as to the reality of those spiritual impressions. It was truly a wonderful work—it was the Spirit molding the heart of a nation. To live and preach in one of those years was worth a life-time. Every sermon was as the stamping of a die upon plastic hearts; and woe be to the workman who used a deformed die!

This awakening may be said to have continued nearly ten years. Then came a period of comparative lethargy. From 1873 until 1882 the membership only advanced 29. But there was encouragement in other lines, as we shall presently see. And in the last three years we are permitted again to see decided progress. In that time the membership has been advanced about 200, bringing the total number to nearly 1,000.

The Dakotas have been among the poorest of the Indian tribes. Many have died of starvation, but their contributions have been quite generous. Last year their offerings reached $2,400, and from the beginning they have given some $22,000. The first contribution was noted in 1849. It was $10. The history of the life of the father of the Dakota Mission, Dr. Thomas P. Williamson, is one of thrilling adventures, great hardships, privations, and unremitting labor. When he arrived at Fort Snelling, near what is now the city of St. Paul, Minn., it was in a wilderness. The log-house he built for himself and wife was a very lonely one. The winters were terrible. The little hut was almost buried by the snowdrifts, and sometimes starvation would stare the brave inmates in the face. Their horses were shot, their cows stolen or poisoned, and often they were in danger from drunken Indians. But their lives of disinterested devotion won even the savage, and when the massacre of 1862 came, the Christian Indians remained loyal to a man, and imperiled their own lives to save those of the whites. "Hundreds of settlers, through the courage and the sagacity of the Christian Indians, were aroused in time for flight, and then led through the woods and over the prairies to the forts, or hidden and fed until troops arrived and the uprising was quelled."

Dr. Williamson preached the first Gospel sermon ever heard in Minnesota, and organized the first church of whites.

Fifty Years of the Basle Mission.—One of the most active and successful of the continental missionary societies is the Basle, which has just entered upon the second half of its first century. Its field is South India, where it has four missions, Canara, South Mahratta, Malabar, and Nilgiri. Mangalore, in the Canara mission, was the first station, and was occupied in October, 1834. The newest station, Bijapur, in the South Mahratta mission, is not yet a year old; but half of twenty stations reported by the society were founded before 1850. The present number of missionaries, male and female, is 113, and there are many native agents. The total of communicants is 4,150. The semi-centennial report of the society says the people are becoming more and more friendly. They invite the missionaries to their houses, and seek with confidence for spiritual information. The women are showing a remarkable interest in the Gospel—those of the higher as well as those of the lower castes. The mission maintains 92 schools, with 4,447 scholars, of whom 1,028 are females.

GERMAN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.—Dr. R. Grundemann, than whom there is no better authority on mission history and statistics, gives in the "Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift" for June tables of statistics of the German missionary societies. He includes fourteen societies, and shows that they have 342 stations, 517 European and 2,564 native missionaries, 72,706 communicants, 193,975 adherents, and 40,643 scholars in schools. Of the 342 stations, 152 are in Africa, four in Palestine, 64 in India, 24 in the Indian Archipelago, 12 in China, six in Australasia and Polynesia, and 80 in America.

SOME OF THE HORRORS OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRAFFIC. — It is to be hoped that the Congo Free State, which has began its career under such favorable auspices, will be able soon to break up the slave trade which is so rapidly depopulating some of the most productive territory of interior Africa. A large part of the slaves sent to Zanzibar are captured in the country lying between Lake Tanganyika and the Congo. An English missionary has recently visited this region from the Mtua station of the Universities, and writes of it and of the capture of slaves as follows:

In Manyuema I have seen one of the fields whence slaves are obtained—where it may be said they are grown, reaped, and harvested; or, more correctly, where they are parked, shot, or captured, as the case may be. For until slaves are needed, they are permitted to thrive in their small, unprotected villages, to plant their corn, to attend their plantations and improve their dwellings; to quarrel in that soft, mild manner peculiar to simple and not over strong-minded savages, which does little harm to any body. When, however, there is a growing demand for slaves—a revival of trade—Moeni Dugumbi of Nyangwé, Mohammed bin Nasser of Kasessa, Mohammed bin Said of Mwana-Mamba, each settled at an angle of a large triangular district, invite their friends and dependents for a few days' shooting, just as an English nobleman invites his friends to grouse or deer-shooting. Now, in this general shooting it is understood, of course, that all men found carrying spears should be considered dangerous, and shot and cut to pieces afterward; but the women and children and submissive adults are prizes which belong to the victors. The shooting of people on this scale is called a war, and a grievance for war is soon discovered, where the losses are always on the side of the simple savages. In a coarse, not always successful, manner the savages sometimes attempt to retaliate, and then follows another grievance and another war. Wadi Safeni, one of the captains in our expedition, said to me as we marched from Mwana-Mamba to Nyangwé, "Master, all this plain lying between Mwana-Mamba and Nyangwé, when I first came here, eight years ago, was populated so thickly that we traveled through gardens and fields and villages. Every quarter of an hour there were flocks of goats and droves of black pigs round every village; a bunch of bananas could be purchased for one cowrie; you can see what the country is now for yourself." I saw an uninhabited wilderness mostly; the country was only redeemed from utter depopulation by a small inhabited district at intervals of six hours' march, the people of which seemed to be ever on the *qui vive* against attack. I speak not in the hope that my remarks will have a feather's weight in checking the crime of slavery; but I wish to point out to you that there exists one narrow strip on the African coast, about equal to three English counties, which is enriching itself by wholesale murder, land-piracy, and commerce in human beings.

Fancy a camp about 100 yards wide and about 300 yards long, with its river-side flanked by the open river, and pitched up to the verge of a brown clay bank, very steep, about thirty feet deep; its land side protected by the doors of the houses, and the cane wall and beams and timbers, and tall door-like shields,

and gigantic drums; and within, a body of 300 fighting men, keeping in manacles and fetters 2,300 naked women and children, their poor bodies incrusted with dirt, and gray for want of ablution, all emaciated and weary through much misery. Of food they could get but little, having to struggle for what they could get out of a bunch of bananas, or a load of cassava roots carelessly thrown among them, as farmers' wives drop scraps and slops into pig-troughs. It was like a ravening human kennel, worse than four Bedlams emptied of their insane inmates and herded in a brick-field; a rancid effluvium of unwashed humanity pervaded the air, a meaningless and undistinguishable chatter of wretched mortals filled the ears, the eyes satiated with extremest misery. It was a sight I would not care to see again—it was a sight to make the angels weep—it was a sight cruel enough to make strong men curse and cry, "Vengeance on the murderers!"

This was the net result of the burning of 118 villages, and the devastation of forty-three districts. What was it all for? It was to glut the avaricious soul of a man who had constituted himself chief of a district some 200 miles higher up. Though over seventy-five years old, here he was prosecuting his murderous business, having shed so much human blood in three months that if collected into a tank it might have sufficed to have drowned him and all his thirty wives and concubines. Those 2,300 slaves would have to be transported over 200 miles of river water in canoes. They would have to be fed, of course, but how feed them with all the country against these sons of Ishmael! Then, such as could not be fed would die, and the river, God knows, was wide and deep enough to receive such. Now, how many of the people do you suppose will ever reach their destination? I estimate that perhaps 800, perhaps 900; and then the rest—why they die, of course.

RELIGION OF THE IMPURE AND OUTCAST TRIBES OF THE PUNJAB.—The "Indian Evangelical Review," a very valuable quarterly published in Calcutta in the interests of Christian missions in India, is bringing out a series of articles which throw light on the religion and religious practices of the impure and outcaste tribes of the Punjab. It is a curious fact that the higher castes do not generally recognize the outcaste races as belonging to their religion, even though the poor unfortunates strictly observe its tenets. The grade among the outcastes is regulated generally according to employment and food. Some are considered impure because of their employment, others because of their food. The scavengers are lowest. Next come the leather-workers, and then the weavers. When a scavenger accepts another religion he generally takes to leather-working, and the leather-worker advances to the grade of weaver by a similar process. Of the various impure castes in the Punjab there are upward of 2,000,000 Hindus, 173,000 Sikhs, 492 Mohammedans, and a few hundred Buddhists. Some of these are rejected and considered impure every-where, and by all classes; but the attitude toward the majority of them is due to difference of caste, to a difference of religion within each caste, and to the variance of local custom within each caste and religion in the various provinces. The writer, Mr. Ibbetson, says there is much ignorance as to the religious customs of the outcaste tribes.

Many of them are almost certainly aboriginal, and most of them have customs, beliefs, and worships peculiar to themselves; and a more accurate knowledge of their practices could hardly fail to be of the greatest assistance in the attempt to separate the aboriginal from the Aryan element in the current form of Hinduism, and to supply us with a most valuable standard by which to detect aboriginal survivals in the customs of tribes which now claim Aryan descent. To their own peculiar customs many of them have now added others, not only taken from

different religions, but often varying from place to place, and even from village to village in the same district, according to the religion of the villagers whom they serve; and the result is the most extraordinary medley of religious and semi-religious observances.

The Chumars, or leather-workers, are never recognized by Hindus, but the Mohammedans admit them to a participation in their rites. Those who are not converted to Mohammedanism are practically Hindus, and worship at the ordinary Hindu shrines, having a Brahman priesthood, who, by the higher Brahmans, are regarded as polluted by reason of the association. The Chumar believes that the good go direct to heaven, and the bad to hell. The Chumars who become weavers are received by the Sikhs. The scavengers are regarded as impure by all religions because of the nature of their employment.

Those who have not been converted from the faith of their fathers have a curious religion, which in its doctrine resembles Christianity more nearly than any thing else we have in India. They worship one supreme deity, without form or habitation, and believe that the good go to heaven as soon as they die, while the bad pass into punishment, but for a while only. They worship and make offerings of fowls and the like at a small earthen shrine, with a flag above it, which is dedicated to Lal Beg or Bala Shah, the high-priests of caste. They also have a class of Brahmans of their own, who will not eat with them, though they are, of course, themselves utterly polluted by intercourse with their clients. Some of them have abandoned scavengering and taken to leather-work, and are then known as Rangretas, and considered as of a higher order than the ordinary Mazbi. The Mussulman Chumars may be broadly divided into two classes: firstly, those who refuse to remove night-soil and have abandoned their hereditary occupation, at any rate in its most unsavory branches, who restrict themselves to pure food, and observe the ordinances of their faith; and, secondly, those who have made no such change. The former are generally admitted to the rites of their religion by the other Mussulmans; the latter are rejected.

The Sansi Gypsies have primitive ideas of religion. Their patron goddess is Devi, Goddess of Thieves. They wear the Hindu scalp-lock, shaving the rest of the head.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE "North American," which reached its seventieth year in June, keeps its place with great editorial tact and with a somewhat wearisome use of the symposium. The Catholic school policy is described by a friendly hand in the June number. Bishop J. J. Keane upholds the policy of separate schools for Catholics with much good writing and Romanistic logic, while M. C. O'Byrne declares that the public schools must be maintained as the safeguard of the State, and attempts to show that the Catholic schools do not give an adequate education to the citizen of to-day. It is not prejudice which compels us to say that the Bishop has the worst of it.

The paper of Gail Hamilton (Miss Abigail Dodge) will attract attention from the fact that Miss Dodge is a member of Mr. Blaine's family, and did good work for him in the late campaign. In discussing "Prohibi-

tion in Politics" she waxes indignant over the defeat of Mr. Blaine, and holds that the Prohibitionists have injured the cause they profess to have at heart. She is not wholly accurate in stating that the prohibitory action of the past is wholly due to one party. She holds a vigorous pen, but has too much passion for an historical writer. In our judgment, the prohibition element is likely to be more instead of less influential in the party contests of the future. One of the best of recent articles is the review of a curious English book on "Swearing." E. P. Whipple is always a graceful writer, and in this paper has done excellent service for clean-mouthed English. "How Shall Women Dress" is the title of a symposium which ought to have a wide circulation among those women who are accessible to reason as against the whims of fashion. It is pleasant to see in Judge Learned's paper on "The Tardiness of Justice," that the courts are coming to understand that the law's delays are not in the interest of the legal profession. Every thing which can be kept out of the courts is kept out. One of the reforms sought by the socialistic element is in this direction. That it should be in the power of lawyers to defeat practical justice, and absorb entire estates in the process of finding out to whom they belong, is a monstrous thing.

So few Americans ever come to a dignified and useful leisure that we are rejoiced to see that the veteran David Dudley Field is a shining exception to this rule of American life. The July number of the "North American" opens with a "Conversation between Mr. Field and Henry George on Land and Taxation," Mr. George defending his peculiar views concerning land as the source of revenue, and Mr. Field pointing out the absurdity and impracticability of the so-called reform. This conversation deserves the attention of the thoughtful, as it brings out the peculiar views of Mr. George in the light of acute but not unfriendly criticism. In "Two Years of Civil Service Reform," Mr. Eaton finds great encouragement for the friends of progress. He believes that much substantial improvement is visible, and answers the objections which have been made by the spoils advocate to the reform. There is still need to extend the operation of the rules. It is evident that this reform has come to stay, and that this is one of the questions to which unwilling candidates must give their attention; and that advance, and not retrogression, is to be the rule of the future. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst, who is the most epigrammatic of modern preachers, discusses in this number the question, "Is Christianity Declining?" He finds evidence of a more vigorous life than at any period of its history, and gives the proof in such a way as to cause all to see who are not hopelessly blind. Gail Hamilton returns to the subject of Prohibition in this number, and can see little good in it, submitting her judgment in the following sentence: "The only hope of an unrestricted liquor traffic is in the Democratic party, and the one hope of the Democratic party is in the Prohibition party."

The best article we have seen on the Revised Old Testament is found in the "Andover Review" for June. Here Prof. C. M. Mead exhibits the

methods and the results of the Revisers in a calm and kindly critical spirit, and praises the work without feeling that it is absolutely perfect. Dr. Newman Smyth's third sermon on the Social Problems is printed, and as it is "On Social Helps," it is one of the most valuable of the series. It required great courage in Dr. Smyth to do the work he has done in the place in which he did it, and he has justified his position by the influence and sympathy gained from the classes he wished to benefit. We again call attention to the excellent series of papers by the Rev. Samuel W. Dyke on "The Religious Problem of the Country Town." Nothing better has appeared in recent magazine literature.

In the "Catholic World" for June there is a capital satire on the doings of the English "Society for Psychical Research." It gives an account of an imitation society at Scienceville, and presents the experiments of Dr. Positive, Prof. Dubitans, Mr. Festinans, Mr. Diatome, and others. There is also evidence that the Roman Church is rapidly falling into line with the most energetic movements for the reduction of the liquor traffic to its proper subordination to the interests of society. While thoroughly "Romish," the magazine is one of the most valuable, in a literary sense, of our exchanges. It is quite American in its subjects, and from a politic point of view is exceedingly well edited.

There is an article well worth reading in the May number of Lippincott's on the question, "Is the Monopolist Among Us?" It teaches with much force that causes are at work here which go far to undermine any attempts at monopoly building likely to be unfriendly to the interests of the people. The paper of special interest in the June number is, that which attempts to answer the question, "What Shall a Woman Do When her Husband Fails in Business?"

The change in the date of publication of the "Century" from the 20th of the month preceding its date to the first day of its date is one which takes it out of the line of early notice with its competitors. Nevertheless it is warranted by the fact that the means of communication are such that the numbers reach the reader in every part of the country, and even in Europe, within ten days of its issue. The series of papers on the Civil War continue to attract public attention, and the May number is especially rich in this respect. The frontispiece is a striking portrait of Gen. M'Clellan, who also contributes the account of the Peninsular Campaign. To this there are several *avant-couriers* from the pen of Confederate generals. General M'Clellan writes of the authorities at Washington in a complaining tone which has little response in the popular heart. The one thing he did not do was to capture Richmond. Making all allowance for the jealousy of rivals, Gen. M'Clellan was slow to a fatiguing and irritating point, and will in spite of all he can say be remembered as the Great Delayer. These articles are magnificently illustrated, while the general merit of the magazine does not suffer that these may excel. The discussion of the relations of "Immortality and Modern Thought," by the

Rev. T. T. Munger, in the number for May, is learned, rhetorical, and unsatisfactory. It has all the shadowiness and fine writing of the "New Theological School," and will not convince a doubter or greatly aid the faith of a believer.

The "Century" for June has a most interesting biographical sketch of the Herschel family, with portraits of the astronomers in the best American style. As the summer comes on the articles grow more breezy, and possess the interest of out-door life. Theodore Roosevelt hunts the Grizzly in a masterful fashion for the benefit of the June readers, and Mrs. Herrick describes that marvelous family, the Orchids.

But we have been especially struck with the paper of Bishop Dudley, of Kentucky, on "How to Help the Negro." He tells some plain truths to his southern brethren, and confirms much of the criticism of the southern tone which has been so vigorously made by Mr. Cable. This paper indicates a growth of opinion which promises much for the Freedmen of the South at the hands of their neighbors. General Fitz John Porter, who has been the victim of great injustice in the judgment of many, writes an account of the battle of Gaines's Mill and its preliminaries, which is among the best of the war papers published in the remarkable series now issuing.

The difference between Watts, R.A. and Gustave Doré, has illustration in the frontispiece of the June Harper's. This is an engraving of Watts's picture of Paolo and Francesca as described in the Inferno of Dante. Doré's figures float and swirl through the air, but Watts's are heavy and unspiritual. But the expression of the lost lovers is finer in Watts than in Doré. Francesca's face has that expression of satisfied despair which is demanded by Dante's description. The matter of June Harper's is not above the average of this noble magazine. But it is good summer reading, and that is what it was intended to be. The July number is much stronger both in engravings and matter. The frontispiece is an engraving of Church's charming picture of Pandora's box, which is well worth study for its mastery of form and expression. F. Marion Crawford having worked out his vein as a novelist, has, as many of his predecessors have done, turned his attention to historical writing, and his account of "The Mohammedans in India" is extremely good. The illustrations of the monuments of this religion in India it would be hard to find equaled anywhere. Francis L. Mace has a fine poem on "Midsummer at Mount Desert," with illustrations which are both poetical and accurate. But like most of the magazine work on Mount Desert, it gives the credit of beauties which are not at Bar Harbor to that pretentious mass of hotels and cottages in which the railway and steam-boat companies have taken a great and speculative interest. No one who really knows Mount Desert is ignorant of the fact that Flying Mountain and the Sea Wall, and in short the greater number of the scenic beauties of the famous isle, are at South-west Harbor and not at Bar. We do not know of a greater triumph of speculative enterprise against natural advantages than that which has identified the hot and foggy Bar Harbor with Mount Desert, while

South-west Harbor has charms which in poem and photograph are continually attributed to its rival. The prosaic city of Buffalo takes on picturesque beauty in the paper by Jane Meade Welch, which is illustrated by some of the best engravings which have ever been given to the public. Dr. Van Dyke, Jr., writes entertainingly of Ampersand Lake and its surroundings, one of the most charming of the Adirondack retreats.

An article of great value and interest is that on "A Silk Dress," which traces that well-loved garment from the moth to the woman, who is never so well dressed as when she is arrayed in the shroud of an ugly grub. Mr. Howells has not ceased to write good stories. In this number he begins a new serial, entitled "Indian Summer," which promises to be equal to his best.

It is not possible to speak too highly of the July number of the "Century." It reaches the highest mark yet attained by this enterprising magazine. From a literary point of view the chief paper is that by Alphonse Daudet on Frederic Mistral, the *Provençal* poet, of whom a grand portrait is given as frontispiece. There is a distinct revival of interest in the *Provençal* dialect, and Mistral has given the impetus to the study of one of the most beautiful of the dialects of France. Mistral is a child of nature both as to himself and his poetry. Those who have not known him in the excellent translations by Miss Harriet W. Preston, will greatly enjoy the discovery of a genius made for them in this number.

Rose Kingsley opens the number with a fine description of Warwickshire, George Eliot's county. Many Americans who know England well enough to keep out of London as much as possible, will recognize the excellent engravings of the county which is the most rural and lovely which England can show. A point of particular interest in this paper is the identification of many of the places in George Eliot's works with well known localities in Warwickshire. "The Social Life of the Colonies" grows more interesting as Edward Eggleston proceeds in his investigations. His matter is fresh, and the engravings are of great interest, showing as they do that colonial life was not so barren of beauty and comfort as many have thought. The "Century" adds its mite to the flood of interest about Afghanistan, in a paper with an excellent map by W. L. Fawcett. A pathetic interest attaches to the sketch of Frank Hatton, a young naturalist who made valuable discoveries in North Borneo and died there. His father, Joseph Hatton, writes the sketch, and the illustrations have the interest of novelty. The military section is devoted to M'Clellan's change of base and the Seven Days' Fighting about Richmond. The writers are Generals D. H. Hill and James Longstreet, of the Confederate Army, and General Franklin, of the Union Army. The intense interest of the former papers is maintained, and the illustrations are marvels of good work. A superb portrait of Henry Clay is given with a "Few Words about Him," by George Bancroft.

There is a thoughtful "Open Letter" on the "Calling of the Ministry" that is well worth reading as an aid to the true conception of the work which is before the ministry of the future.

In the art of saying well things which need to be said for the pleasure of its readers, we have no magazine which surpasses the "Atlantic." Depending for its interest wholly on its articles, it is obliged to make up for the absence of engravings by the picturesqueness of its writings. Certainly in the numbers for May, June, and July it achieves a great success in the variety of its stories and in the charm of its literary matter. We have no magazine which gives so much space to important books, or which discusses literature with so much ability. Dr. Holmes's "New Portfolio" turns out to be a story full of interest. In the June number J. Laurence Laughlin, always a thoughtful writer, discusses our "American Delusion," namely, that a vote for a President does any thing beyond determining the policy of appointments to office. He wishes that the country could get up as much excitement about the elections to Congress as it does about the President, then something practical would be effected. If our Kansas friends will read the July number they will find something which will please them, for an eastern writer finds much in western Kansas to delight, and about most things writes as enthusiastically as the most intense could wish. Yet the writer has to admit that the weather is peculiar as to winds and drouth. Dr. Warren's "Paradise Found" is unfavorably but kindly reviewed in this number. While admitting the wide range of the doctor's information and the charm of his style, the writer finds the theory that paradise was at the north pole very slightly supported.

The English are rapidly adopting American methods in engraving, as can be easily seen in the "English Magazine." In the June number the illustrations of the New Forest betray the influence of our American engravers in a marked degree. There is more softness, more attention to texture, than is found in the older methods. "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London" is reflected in the artistic yet painful account of the "London Ragamuffin."

It seems that we must depend on England and France for our art magazines. We have no American periodical distinctly artistic which approaches the excellence of several English publications. Indeed, two have found it to their profit to publish American editions. Cassell's Magazine has an American department, which is eagerly read, and which is both intelligent and fair. The July number has a full-page portrait of Handel, after the Chandos portrait by Thornhill, which is a wonderful work in respect of the accuracy with which the spirit of the original is reproduced. This is a prelude to a paper on "Handel and his Portraits," which reproduces the best known likenesses of the great master. These must be correct, for there is a marked resemblance between them, and all have that satisfied expression which is characteristic of the *maestro*. Those who would see the charm of English Rivers will do well to examine with care the illustrations of the river Dart. We have nothing like the soft charm of the English landscape. We have rugged grandeur, but little of that rural and agricultural beauty which is manifest in this paper. The rural archi-

tecture of England fits its surroundings. Ours is transplanted and exotic. A clapboarded house is our one rural type. The stone farmsteadings of England, built from the nearest quarry, are part of the spot on which they stand. Each house has its individuality. The genius of Knaus as a painter of children is well exhibited in the selections from his work which follow the article on the Dart. If any one thinks that the modern style of dressing the hair is odd, let him study the illustrations in this number on mediæval female head-gear. Evidently the modern man will be content with modern bonnets and coiffures after he has studied this remarkable paper.

The July "Art Journal" has an etching of great merit, "Evening on the South Downs." It also engraves some beautiful photographs of English scenery, taken by the dry-plate process, and illustrating a valuable paper on Knapsack Photography. The invention of the dry-plate has revolutionized outdoor photography, and is sure to make a knowledge of this charming art a popular possession.

We call the attention of our readers to the merits of "Quiver" as a Sunday magazine of the highest type, and also to Cassell's "Family Magazine." We have no American publications which fill the place these have occupied in the estimation of those who know them. Costing the reader but $1 50 per annum, they give an amount of matter and illustration which is as surprising in quantity as it is excellent in quality.

"Christian Thought" for May–June opens with a paper by Dr. Jesse B. Thomas on "Genesis, Scriptural and Extra-Scriptural." It is a very able statement of the claims of the book on the respect and admiration of scholars. One thing is certain, we have outlived the day when Genesis is despised by scholars. Dr. Abraham Coles, in his "Half Hour with the Evolutionists," shows that he really knows what the evolutionists claim—a fact not always visible in those who write on this subject. There is much in the points he makes against Huxley concerning the relation of the orohippus to the modern horse. Not as much is made by Dr. Thwing of his subject, "The Involuntary Life," as it demands. There is a field largely unstudied for the coming theologian in the involuntary and unconscious life of man. Dr. Deems must, however, be congratulated in making so valuable a periodical from the results of his Summer School of Philosophy.

The "Homiletic Review" for June, among many noticeable papers has one by the Rev. Dr. Abel Stevens on "Methodist Preaching — Old and New." It is, as is always the case in Dr. Stevens's work, bright and thoughtful. He finds that there is a new style of preaching in Methodism, but holds that it is on the whole a wise adaptation to the times, and gives credit to our modern ministry for as much piety as the "fathers" had, though it has somewhat changed its type. Dr. Buttz contributes much wise matter to the Symposium on "Ministerial Education," and Dr. Funk has a most stirring paper on "Prohibition."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity. By OTTO PFLEIDERER, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated by J. FREDERIC SMITH. (Hibbert Lectures, 1885.) 8vo, pp. 238. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Hibbert Lectures, one series of which makes the volume whose title is above given, have already a history, though only of a few years, which probably is destined to increase; and perhaps the successive issues will render the foundation a rival to the older ones, of which the Bampton Lecture is the prototype. It was founded in 1849, on a bequest made by Mr. Robert Hibbert, who directed that the fund so created should be applied by the trustees as they, "in their uncontrolled discretion," should deem "most conducive to the spread of Christianity, in its most simple and intelligible form, and to the unfettered exercise of private judgment in matters of religion." Because of the uncertainty that affects all general statements as to the intended meaning of the words used, especially in respect to theological opinions that vary from the generally accepted orthodoxy, and because we are uninformed in respect to the precise sense in which the founder of this Lecture used the word "Christianity" and the phrase "private judgment," we are unable to determine whether or not the trustees have been faithful to their trust.

At first, for several years, the fund was chiefly used by them for the higher culture of candidates for the Christian ministry; but afterward they determined to institute a series of Lectures on a plan somewhat like the Bampton Lectures, being moved to adopt that measure by a memorial letter signed by such men as James Martineau, Dean Stanley, Dr. William B. Carpenter, Professor Max Müller, John Tullock, John Caird, A. H. Sayce, James Drummond, and others, whose well-known views sufficiently indicate the intended drift of thought that would probably characterize the proposed Lectures should they be called for. This was also still more clearly indicated in the memorial sent to the trustees, which says: "From the fact that all the chief divinity schools of the country are still laid under traditional restraints, from which other branches of inquiry have long been emancipated, the discussion of theological questions is habitually affected by ecclesiastical interests and party predilections, and fail to receive the intellectual respect and confidence which are readily accorded to learning and research in any other field. There is no reason why competent knowledge and critical skill, if encouraged to exercise themselves in the disinterested pursuit of truth, should be less fruitful in religious than in social and physical ideas; nor can it be doubted that an audience is ready to welcome really capable and honest treatment of unsettled problems in theology. The time, we think, is come when a distinct provision for the free consideration of

such problems by scholars qualified to handle them may be expected to yield important results. Notwithstanding the traditional restraints which in England have interfered with an unprejudiced treatment of the theory and history of religion, a rich literature has poured in from the liberal schools of Germany and Holland, and has more or less trained and quickened the mind of the present generation, so that there cannot now be wanting qualified laborers in that reorganization of religious thought which is now taking place in our midst. Changes of sentiment and feeling cannot be simply imported from abroad. Till they pass through the minds of such men they have no local coloring and take no natural growth; and to modify English opinion and institutions there is need of *English* scholars. That need, we think, your encouragement can do something to supply. Such institutions as the 'Bampton Lectures' and others have done much to direct the public mind to certain well-defined views of Christianity. We believe that a similar institution might prove of high service in promoting independence of judgment combined with religious reverence, by exhibiting clearly from time to time some of the most important results of recent study in the great fields of philosophy, of biblical criticism, and comparative theology. We venture, therefore, to ask you to consider the expediency of establishing a 'Lecture' under the name of the 'Hibbert Lecture,' a course consisting of no fewer than six Lectures, delivered every two or three years. After delivery the course should be published under the direction of the managers of the Lecture, and thus by degrees the issues of unfettered inquiry would be placed in a compact form before the educated public."

This memorial embodies a scheme for the proposed Lecture Course, and clearly indicates its purposed intellectual and theological animus, with which it may be presumed the trustees also sympathized. The Lecture was accordingly determined on, and the results have answered to the promise of the undertaking.

The first course was delivered by Max Müller in 1878, on his favorite theme, "The Religions of India," as illustrating the origin and growth of religion, in which it is known that the comparison instituted was not especially favorable to Christianity. In 1879 P. le Page Renouf lectured in much the same spirit, and with like results, on the "Religion of Ancient Egypt." In 1880 Ernest Renan lectured on the "Influence of Ancient Rome on Early Christianity." The Lectures for 1881 were by Professor Davids, on Buddhism, as illustrating the origin and growth of religion; and those for 1882 were by the famous biblical critic, Kuenen, on "Natural and Universal Religions." In 1883 Charles Beard made the Reformation his theme, and pointed out, as he viewed the subject, its "relations to modern thought and knowledge." And last year Albert Réville discoursed on the "Native Religions of Mexico and Peru." Respecting the opinions expressed in these discussions it is enough to say of them that they are such as the memorial letter to the trustees seemed to call for, and also such as were assured by the previously known positions of the lecturers themselves. Most of them, it will be seen, are

Germans and Frenchmen, and generally persons notorious as among the more advanced class of rationalists of the Tübingen school. There is, too, in their lectures a manifest common purpose to show, from the history and character of the various ethnic religions brought into notice, that religious beliefs and observances, including by implication those of Christianity, are the results of natural causes, simply developments from man's natural mental activities, and subject to the universal law of evolution. Of course the Vedas and Eddas, the Bible and the Koran—the sacred books of different races—are all of the same general class; and Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, and Mohammed were, each among his own people, leaders, perhaps reformers, of their several ethnic religious systems. Sometimes there seems to be a kind of concession that by virtue of a specific religious tendency among the Semitic races the Hebrew Scriptures possess some peculiar excellences, but not without other counterbalancing characteristic defects. All religions are in some sense divine, because they have to do with divinities, real or imaginary; but revelation, in the proper Christian sense, must be wholly disallowed.

Professor Pfleiderer's production evinces a mind of real vigor and under good discipline, and also well informed in the literature of his subject. His utterances and allusions to Christ and his teachings are in their manner seldom offensive; indeed, they are not infrequently decidedly reverent in their tone. And since, on account of its importance and the position into which it is brought, the subject must be discussed, we welcome even such a production as this; yet while we would rejoice could it be undertaken by a competent hand, we are compelled to confess that the work as here done is very far from satisfactory. The lecturer evidently belongs to the extreme "Left" of German liberals, and though not wholly discarding all forms and facts of supernaturalism, he still does not hesitate to assume the presence of untruthfulness, prejudice, and questionable morality among the principal actors in the affairs that he has occasion to consider, not entirely excepting the Man of Nazareth from his censures.

In his first lecture its author endeavors to show that at first the Church at Jerusalem was designed to be only a reformed and spiritualized form of Judaism, and that it was thoroughly permeated and dominated by Jewish narrowness, of which Jesus himself was both a subject and a promoter; and that the episode of Grecian disturbance which resulted in the death of Stephen was entirely out of harmony with the doctrines and designs of the apostles. But the conversion of St. Paul, which was entirely aside from the Church at Jerusalem, started anew the partially suppressed irregularity. The doctrinal teaching of Paul, to which the second lecture is devoted, now the accepted doctrine of historical Christianity, it is assumed was not only original with himself, but it was entirely "another gospel" than the reformed Judaism of Jesus and his apostles. The third lecture sets forth the progress of the conflict between the Gentile and the Jewish forms of Christianity, with the relatively more rapid development of the former. The truce formed at Jerusalem, which concluded nothing; the contention between Paul and Peter at Antioch; the Judaists dogging

the course of Paul among the Gentiles; the violent polemics of Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians; his mitigated severity in the Epistles to the Corinthians, and the more didactic and irenical character of the Epistle to the Romans, in which writings Paul's gospel, as contradistinguished from that of the other apostles, is chiefly embodied,—are all considered in order, In stating these things the lecturer assumes the role of the judicial critic, with the presumption in advance that neither party had all the truth, and that either was capable of using questionable measures in order to compass its purposes. "The Reconciliation of Paulinism and Jewish Christianity" is the nominal subject of the fourth lecture, which rather goes to show how the conflict was continued and made perpetual by becoming embodied in the subsequently canonized books of the New Testament. The Epistle to the Philippians shows Paul's uncomfortable relations to his opponents at Rome while he was held a prisoner in that city. About that time the Book of Revelation was written, setting forth a "legal anti-Paulinism" and an "ideal Christology," and not the most friendly sentiments toward the heathen Christians. The Epistle of James was a trumpet-blast out of Zion against the Pauline heresy. Matthew's gospel was written with the same design, and the Sermon on the Mount is specifically and pointedly a polemic against Paul's antinomianism, while Mark is decidedly Paulinian and Luke equally so, but altogether conciliatory in tone. The fifth lecture is entitled "Paulinism and Gnosticism," and the attempt is made to detect decided traces of the Alexandrian *gnosis* in some of Paul's epistles, and especially the Epistle to the Hebrews, which also appeared still more largely in the later productions of some of his school—especially Barnabas and Marcian—and also to show that an anti-Pauline *gnosis* cropped out in the pseudo-Clementine writings. In the sixth lecture we are taught how and by what influences Paulinism became at length the accepted Catholic orthodoxy, under the favoring hands of Clement and Ignatius, and was at length firmly intrenched by the overpowering will and intellect of Augustine. A thousand years later Huss and Wiclif gave an anti-Catholic application to Paulinism, in which they were followed by Luther, who through its spirit organized the forces that resulted in the Reformation.

In his discussions the lecturer incidentally introduces some strange, not to say novel, notions. In respect to Christ, while at one point he speaks of him as a Jew, with all the narrow one-sidedness of his people, he is elsewhere referred to as a real incarnation of the pre-existing celestial man after whose image Adam was created. Paul's conversion was simply psychological, and his opposition to Jewish exclusiveness was the outcome of the non-recognition of his apostleship by the Church at Jerusalem. His doctrine is treated as logically antinomianism, though he himself did not follow it to its practical results, and the opposition that he encountered was quite as largely ethical as dogmatical.

We lay down the volume with a deep sense of disappointment. Its title awakened the hope that at length a competent investigation had been made of a most important but rather inadequately discussed subject con-

nected with the early development of Christian doctrine and the planting and training of the Church by the apostles. But, instead of this, we are treated to fanciful notions and bold but baseless assumptions of facts and purposes, and to conceptions of Christianity which are simply travesties and caricatures. And this we are to receive as the precious result of the removal of "traditional restraints" from the discussion of theology and Church history. We plead for free thought and free speech with the most "liberal," but if what are here given are the best results that can be obtained, it may seem doubtful whether such freedom is indeed a boon. Nor can we believe that English-speaking Christendom will be ready to accept and follow this new evangel, which tells us chiefly of the folly and falsehood of the venerated names of the past, and gives no assurance for the future. The Anglo-Saxon mind and heart will not be deluded by such Teutonic and Gallic vagaries.

The Abiding Sabbath. An Argument for the Perpetual Obligation of the Lord's Day. (The Fletcher Prize Essay for 1884.) By Rev. GEORGE ELLIOTT. 12mo, pp. 280. New York: American Tract Society.

The Fletcher Prize Fund was constituted a few years ago by a gentleman of Boston, and its administration committed to the trustees of Dartmouth College. Its design, as set forth by its founder, is to resist "the powerful influences constantly active in drawing professed Christians into fatal conformity with the world," and its method is to procure and publish, once in two years, a prize essay, "setting forth truth and reasoning calculated to counteract such worldly influences." The book above named is the essay for 1884, selected by a competent committee as the best of a considerable number offered, all on the same subject.

The writer's plan seems to be, in Part I, to set forth the nature of *Sabbath*—not of any specially recognized institution, but of a season of religious rest. Part II treats of the Sabbath of the Israelites, and Part III of the "Sabbath of Redemption." The statement of the case in the first part is a judicious setting forth of the inestimable social and religious value of *a* Sabbath; the second discusses the Sabbath of the Old Testament in its specially Jewish, and also in its universal and perpetual, characteristics and relations. The third part attempts to develop the true theory of the Christian Sabbath as a necessity and a fact—the first very readily demonstrated, but as to the second, wanting in the explicitness of statement that could be wished for. The argument of the book is forcible but calm, and distinctively persuasive rather than convincing; its spirit and its style are excellent. Its extensive use could not fail of the best results.

A Companion to the Revised Old Testament. By TALBOT W. CHAMBERS. 12mo, pp. 269. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The advent of the Revised Old Testament is, very naturally, the signal for the appearance of a multitude of collateral and subsidiary books, historical, illustrative, and explanatory, soon to be followed by discussions of the work done and criticisms of the changes made. This work has a

kind of official character, as Dr. Chambers was one of the Revisers, and what is here written is from knowledge acquired by his relations to that work. It treats of the need of a revision, the methods adopted and pursued in the work, the Old Testament text, changes in the several divisions of books. One of its chapters is headed "The American Appendix," and covers nearly fifty pages, made up of matters especially favored by the American Revisers, some of which prevailed, and some were defeated. As with the like cases in the New Testament, in many, perhaps most, of these we find no cause to be ashamed of either the scholarship or the good common sense of our countrymen. This "companion" volume cannot fail to be acceptable to those who shall desire to thoroughly understand the circumstances and conditions among which the Old Testament revision was made. It is well and ably done.

A Catechism of Christian Perfection. By Rev. E. T. CURNICK, A. M. 18mo, pp. 203.

Christian Perfection as Taught by John Wesley. Compiled by Rev. J. A. WOOD. With an Introduction by Bishop W. F. MALLALIEU. 12mo, pp. 288. Boston: M'Donald & Gill.

Our brethren who are making the advanced Christian life a specialty seem to be "spread into bands," and several of these have set up publishing houses, and they are producing some really valuable books, as well as some not so good. The Boston house named above seems just now to be especially productive, and the two books here named are among its latest and best. The "Catechism" is a comprehensive exposition of its subject, in plain and straightforward statements, and as nearly conformed to the best Methodist authorities as any work that we have seen. While not quite prepared to indorse all that it contains, we can nevertheless commend both its spirit and its general scriptural orthodoxy.

Mr. Wood, in the second of the above named works, undertakes the difficult task of restating Mr. Wesley's views of "Christian perfection;" but not a few readers and admirers of that great light of the Church have seemed to find in his writings a variety of statements, not all in perfect accord; and his "Treatise" on the subject was largely changed in its substance by annotations in the successive editions. Had he lived longer he would probably have further modified his statements. But Mr. Wood gives us a good book.

The Minor Prophets. With a Commentary Explanatory and Practical, and Introductions to the Several Books. By Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor, etc. Vol. II. Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. 8vo, pp. 504. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, Publishers.

The same characteristics that were noticed and commended in our notice of the former volume of this Commentary apply with equal fitness to the present one. The introductions affixed to each prophetic book are models of conciseness and comprehensiveness united, and they are at once learned and yet easily understood. Though the writer is among the most scholarly, there is no other display of learning in his annotations than is given in the wonderfully lucid exposition and illustrations of the text.

Dr. Pusey was so exact in his devotion to the canon that no difficulties in that department are allowed to come in to vex his readers. All that we before said in favor of the ability and critical learning, and especially the conservative orthodoxy, of the first half of the work, may be applied without diminution to this.

Lectures on the Lord's Prayer. By WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS. 12mo, pp. 241. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

This book is without date, either at the imprint or the end of the preface; but on the back of the leaf that bears the title is the designation of the copyright with the date, 1851. It was from that early edition that we learned the character of the book, and in that we see an ample justification of this new edition, which properly appears soon after the decease of its venerable author. Dr. Williams was no ordinary man—distinguished equally for the qualities of mind and heart, all of which are manifested advantageously in these lectures.

The Doctrine of Entire Sanctification Scripturally and Psychologically Examined. By Rev. W. JONES, M.D., St. Louis Conference. 12mo, pp. 255. Philadelphia: National Publishing House for the Promotion of Holiness.

This work is a fairly well-prepared restatement of the subject indicated by its title, with the usual excellences and the nearly as frequently occurring misconceptions. It is didactic and moderately hortatory, and somewhat philosophical, which may be a fault or an excellence. It may be read and pondered with profit.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State. A Story of Work and Exploration. By HENRY M. STANLEY. With over one hundred full-page and smaller Illustrations, two large Maps, and several smaller ones. Two vols., 8vo. Vol. i, pp. xxvii, 528; vol. ii, pp. vii, 483. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1885.

The latest and greatest of all the numerous family of books of travels and explorations in Africa are beyond question the two magnificent volumes recently issued by Harper & Brothers, detailing the marvelous story of the doings of Mr. Henry M. Stanley in Central Africa. In them the great explorer continues to be, as heretofore, his own chronicler, and accordingly we have such a record of these transactions as could have been made by no other. This work has some properties in common with Cæsar's "Commentaries" on his wars in Gaul and Britain, but it is altogether superior to these in nearly all of its chief features. Its style is the perfection of plainness, presenting its simpler facts without coloring or distortion, which is itself high praise, since on account of the intrinsic interest of its facts any attempt at merely literary embellishment would be a manifest impertinence. The writer has something to relate, and he proceeds to do it, trusting to the value of what he has to say for the acceptance of his narrative, which confidence is abundantly justified by the result. The work will, no doubt, constitute the principal literary event of the season, not

only in this country and Great Britain, but also in all Europe, into whose principal languages it has been translated, so as to be issued simultaneously in eight different versions.

From the necessities of the case, the writer, as he was the chief actor in the transactions that he records, is kept in the foreground; but there is throughout a remarkable absence of every thing like self-glorification, or the appearance of self-consciousness; he seems to have thought only of his work, and accordingly he compels his reader also to think only of that. The zeal and enthusiasm with which the business in hand is seen to be pursued readily passes over to the reader, who is unconsciously drawn into a lively sympathy with the subject, and so becomes oblivious to its accessories. The difficulties among which the work was prosecuted were of the most formidable character, arising partly from natural obstructions, but much more from the lack of appreciation, the stupidity, and the perverseness of those upon whose co-operation the chief actor was more or less dependent. The story of the opening of the road from Vivi to Stanley Pool has but few parallels in history or romance, as a display of patience and perseverance among discouragements, of fertility of mental resources, and of unconquerable pluck and will power. Compared with it, such achievements as Cortez's campaign in Mexico or Hannibal's passage of the Alps appear commonplace, since these were provided in advance with the requisite appliances, and the assured help of disciplined armies, while of all these Stanley had only the scantiest provision.

The appreciation of the work grows upon the reader as he proceeds with the narrative, in view of the purposes to be achieved by the enterprise, till at length it possesses his imagination and awakens his sympathy with it and with its chief agent. The geographical extent of the country to be occupied and redeemed—the great Congo Basin—presents an area of a million and a half of square miles, equal to twenty-five times that of New York or Pennsylvania; fertile, well-watered, elevated, and salubrious, with a sturdy population of forty millions, and capabilities for indefinite increase. These things may be expressed in words and figures, but the mind fails to grasp their greatness. The ultimate purposes sought to be reached are alike unusual and morally sublime. War and spoliation and political aggrandizement are purposely excluded, and the attempt is to be made to deal with a barbarous race on principles of justice and humanity; and surely an end so admirable is worthy of any cost that the experiment may require. The undertaking contemplates the introduction of a Christian civilization into the "Dark Continent," not, however, as a religious crusade, nor specifically as a missionary enterprise. And yet Mr. Stanley has, by personal observation, become so well convinced of the vast capabilities of Christian missions, as a civilizing agency, that he invites their co-operation as independent auxiliaries.

As a virgin soil for the planting of Christian missions, Congo possesses wonderful capabilities, and is remarkably inviting. Here there is offered to the godly enterprise of the Churches a somewhat homogeneous population, only less numerous than two others of the world's races—the

Chinese and Hindus—to whom the Gospel has never been preached; and all these, as was never before the case in such large proportions, are literally waiting for the Gospel. The freedom decreed for the great State of Congo applies especially to all matters of religion; and everywhere in all that land, and among its teeming millions, the missionary has the right of way secured by its organic law. Here, too, is a climate exceptionally salubrious, offering the most favorable conditions for vigorous activity and labor, and for long life. No doubt here, as everywhere, heathenism presents a rank growth of ungodliness and spiritual corruption; and here, as elsewhere also, the power of the Gospel is equal to any demands that may be made upon it. Here, too, no doubt, it will be possible to establish Christian churches and social communities that shall themselves become centers and sources of Christian life and influence, adequate at once for their own maintenance, or for the extension of the Gospel to the regions beyond; for in Africa, as elsewhere, missions to be healthy and fruitful must be chiefly self-supporting.

Great praise is due to the publishers for the style in which they have brought out these noble volumes. The material used is substantial and sufficiently firm; the print is large and clear, making the reading a luxury, and generally the book-maker's work is all that could be desired. Each volume has a portrait—frontispiece: the first, a steel engraving of King Leopold of Belgium; and the second, an excellent wood-cut of the author. Each volume has also a large pocket-map, and throughout the work are smaller maps and views of places and objects that greatly facilitate the understanding of the letter-press descriptions.

The Life of Rev. John S. Inskip, President of the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness. By WM. M'DONALD and J. E. SEARLES. 12mo, pp. 374. Boston: Published by M'Donald & Gill, Office of the Christian Witness.

It is well that the character and career of J. S. Inskip should be duly delineated for the comfort of his surviving fellow-workers, and for the edification of all Christians; and the authors and editors of this volume merit the thanks of all these because of the book here given to us. It may be that the views of the writers, as they have here embodied them, are somewhat one-sided, lacking the rounded fullness of the mind and heart of their subject; and certainly it is a very inadequate expression of the character of the man to describe him as simply the first officer of a body of Christian workers. In a former issue of the Review we have attempted to indicate somewhat of our estimate of his character and religious experience, and his relations to the religious life of his times. The writers speak modestly of their performance, but the many friends of their remarkable subject will thank them for their work.

Life of Edward Thomson, D.D., LL.D., late a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By his Son, Rev. EDWARD THOMSON, M.A. Pp. 336. New York; Phillips & Hunt.

The name and fame of Bishop Thomson is the property of his Church, and it is the right thing that they should be duly conserved. It was

also among his special providential favors that he should have a son to bear his name, to become his successor in the ministry, and to prepare his biography. The book, for some time promised, is at length in hand, and all interested in the matter are to be congratulated that the work is done, and so well done. It was a difficult and delicate duty self-imposed upon the son, who has wisely allowed his subject to largely speak for himself, of himself, through his letters and other written memorials, selections from which are given, chosen with good taste and discreetly. The whole composition brings its admirable and unique subject very fully into view—an image that none can contemplate without becoming nobler and better. The book is a valuable contribution to our denominational biography.

EDUCATIONAL.

The After-School Series: College Latin Course in English. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. 12mo, pp. 327. New York: Chautauqua Press.

No class of readers will more highly value such a book as this than the Collegian a few years after graduation, when his re-readings will be like a visit to old familiar haunts without the toil and vexation with which they were first traversed. To the Chautauqua Graduate, who, it seems to be tacitly assumed, never read the original, such an Anglicized selection of Latin Readings is perhaps the best substitute, and it is well, therefore, that selections like this and its kindred volumes should be made. We said a good word for the "Greek Course," by the same author, when it first appeared, but we think he improves by practice. It is really a well-ordered digest of some of the best specimens of Classical Latin.

The Student's Ecclesiastical History, Part II. The History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages: with a Summary of the Reformation. Centuries XI to XVI. By PHILIP SMITH, B.A., Author of the "Student's Old Testament History" and the "Student's New Testament History." With Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 699. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Harper & Brothers' "Student Series" of histories, now extending to fourteen or fifteen volumes, constitute an extensive and somewhat comprehensive historical library. They are eminently compact books, in respect to their literary composition and their material make-up, for each volume of about seven hundred closely printed pages is equal to two of the ordinary large octavos, and by the most thorough condensation, not really abridgment, the matter itself is brought within one half its original space, or else, as with the Scripture and ecclesiastical histories, it is written out anew. The volume before us is a complement to one issued in 1879, entitled "The History of the Christian Church during the First Ten Centuries, from its Foundation to the Full Establishment of the Holy Roman Empire and the Papal Power." It begins where Part I closed, with the deaths of the Emperor Otho III. and Pope Sylvester II. (A. D. 1002–3), and extends to the coronation of Charles V. and the Diet and Confession of

Augsburg (in 1530), and of the death of Pope Clement VII. and of the severance of the English Church from Rome (in 1534). It then exhibits in successive books the constitution, worship, and doctrines of the Mediæval Church, the monastic and mendicant orders, the learning, universities, and scholasticism of the period, with the sects and heresies that arose, thus coming to the Reformation, of which only a brief summary could be given.

For the general reader, and, indeed, for all who have not access to the larger Church histories, this volume is excellently adapted. It is admirably written, and with a view to meet the want frequently felt of something to supply what works of civil history leave in obscurity.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Errors of Evolution: An Examination of the Nebular Theory, Geological Evolution, the Origin of Life, and Darwinism. By ROBERT PATTERSON, Author of "The Fable of Infidelity." Edited, with an Introduction, by H. L. HASTINGS, Editor of "The Christian." 12mo, pp. 271. Boston: H. L. Hastings, 47 Cornhill.

The fallacies of the evolution theory, *hypothesis* rather, as presented by its special advocates, are sufficiently obvious; and scarcely less so, those of a numerous class of their antagonists. Nevertheless, there is a form of evolution in nature that is not all fallacy.

From the Golden Gate to the Golden Horn. A Narrative of Travel and Adventure: By HENRY FREDERIC REDDALL. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A decidedly readable and instructive book, clearly conveying valuable information in a pleasant manner. The eye and ear are kept attent to all the sights and sounds recorded, and the reader's interest is secured from first to last. We trust ere long to accompany the author on another jaunt. The execution is worthy of the matter; the pictures and the framing are alike good.

The Morals of Christ. A Comparison with Contemporaneous Systems. By AUSTIN BIERBOWER, Author of "Principles of a System of Philosophy," etc. Paper covers. 12mo, pp. 200. Chicago, Ill.: Colegrove Book Co.

Divinity of Our Lord in Relation to His Work of Atonement. By WILLIAM ARTHUR, Author of "The Tongue of Fire," etc. (Present Day Tracts, No. 35.) 16mo, pp. 64. London: 56 Paternoster Row.

Peter: Not an Apostle, but a Chattel, with a Strange History. By Rev. R. ABBEY. Paper covers. 16mo, pp. 59. Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House. Printed for the Author.

Standard League Document, No. 1. Non-Partisanship in Temperance Effort Defined, Advocated, and Vindicated. By Rev. DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D. 16mo, pp. 62. Boston: National Temperance League.

Bible Promises. Sermons to Children. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D. 18mo, pp. 348. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Christian Evolution; or, The Divine Process in Human Redemption. By the Rev. JOHN COOPER. 12mo, pp. 75.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES (light reading), issued weekly, duodecimos, in paper covers, are well printed on good paper, from 200 to 300 pages. The titles of the several volumes, to date, are: 1. That Terrible Man; 2. Society in London; 3. Mignon, or Boodle's Baby; 4 and 5. Louisa; 6. Home Letters (Beaconsfield); 7. How to Play Whist; 8. Mr. Butler's Ward; 9. John Needham's Double; 10. The Mahdi; 11. Life in London; 12. Waters of Hercules; 13. She's All the World to Me; 14. A Hard Knot.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY. (Latest Issues.)—*Lester's Secret.* A Novel. By MARY CECIL HAY.—*The Shadow of a Crime.* A Novel. By HALL CAINE.—*A Week of Passion.* A Novel. By EDWARD JENKINS.—*Lazarus in London.* By F. W. ROBINSON.—*The Russians at the Gates of Herat.* By CHARLES MARVIN. With Maps and Illustrations.—*On the Fo'k'sle Head.* By W. CLARK RUSSELL.—*Captain Brand, of the "Centipede."* By H. A. WISE, U. S. N. Illustrated.—*Russia Under the Tzars.* By STEPNIAK. With Portrait.—*Ishmael.* A Novel. By M. E. BRADDON.—*Diana of the Crossways.* By GEORGE MEREDITH. *Betwixt My Love and Me.* A Novel.—*Victor Hugo and his Time.* By ALFRED BARBOU. With over 120 Illustrations.—*The Professor.* A Novel. By CHARLOTTE BRONTE. Illustrated.—*The Revised Version of the Old Testament.* In Four Parts.—*Heart's Delight.* A Novel. By CHARLES GIBBON.—*Adrian Vidal.* By W. E. NORRIS. Illustrated.—*Sylvan Holt's Daughter.* By HOLME LEE.

A Hand-Book of the United Brethren in Christ. A Brief Compendium of the History, Doctrine, Government, and General Sunday-school, Missionary, Publishing, and Educational Work of the United Brethren Church; with Historical Tables of General Church Officers and Educational Institutions. Prepared by E. L. SHUEY, A.M., of Otterbein University. 18mo, pp. 50. Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Publishing House, W. J. SHUEY, Agent.

A brief, but convenient, sketch of a Christian body that deserves to be better known.

Self-Sacrifice Victorious. Rays of Divine Light on the Future of Mankind. By the Rev. JOHN COOPER. 12mo, pp. 59. Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace.

Ingenious, speculative—not always reliable.

Valeria, the Martyr of the Catacombs. A Tale of Early Christian Life in Rome. By W. H. WITHROW, D.D., Author of "The Catacombs of Rome," etc. 12mo, pp. 243. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

There is a vast deal of romance in the early Christian history, as disclosed in the monuments of the Catacombs, of which Dr. Withrow is the recognized interpreter; and much of this is here wrought into a story—in form a fiction—but truthful and life-like in its details.

Among the Stars; or, Wonderful Things in the Sky. By AGNES GIBERNE, Author of "Sun, Moon, and Stars." 12mo, pp. 311. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A fairly successful attempt to adapt the rather difficult subject of astronomy to the minds of children.

Information and Illustration. Helps Gathered from Facts, Figures, Anecdotes, Books, etc., for Sermons, Lectures, and Addresses. By Rev. S. G. BOWES, B.A. 12mo, pp. 416. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers

Themes arranged alphabetically.

Great-Heart; or, Sermons to Children. By WM. WILBERFORCE NEWTON. 18mo. pp. 342. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Chapters on Plant Life. By SOPHIE BLEDSOE HERRICK. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 206. New York: Harper & Brothers.

First lessons in Botany, given in an attractive form.

Wetterbeen

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1885.

ART. I.—PHILIP WILLIAM OTTERBEIN.

The Life of Rev. Philip William Otterbein, Founder of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. By Rev. A. B. DRURY, A.M. Dayton, Ohio. 1884.

PROBABLY we shall have to wait some time yet for a thoroughly satisfactory history of Christianity; one in which the growth of the Church, and the development of spiritual life begotten of faith in Christ in the various ecclesiastical organizations calling themselves Christian, are set forth in their proper relation to each other and to the divine purpose. But in this respect we are gaining greatly over our fathers. The later histories and biographies of the great men of the Church universal are written with a clearer apprehension of the divine immanence in the Church and in humanity. God was reconciling the world to himself in Christ; who, having accomplished his earthly mission, committed the reclamation of the world from Satan to the Holy Spirit operating through human instrumentality. Ye shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, said the ascending Lord. And so it was. The Christian Church as an institution among men, calling them to a life of holiness and service of Christ, began with the Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit. It has had no other source of spiritual life. The outward form of the visible Church has been subject to human and worldly influences, which have at times dominated and greatly depressed its spiritual life. For God is in the Church by the Holy Spirit, not as a power placed under the control and administration of ecclesiastical authority, but seeking a place in human hearts; willingly taking up his abode.

with those who receive him gladly and submit to his quickening and sanctifying power. The presence and influence of the Holy Spirit we may confidently affirm has been continuous in the Church, although we may not be able to trace his course with exactness nor measure the force of his operations. Nor shall we find it profitable to attempt a description of his manifestations, so various are his methods and instruments. But his presence has been always and every-where a call to holy living and a protest against the formalism and worldliness into which the Church may have fallen. He seeks and prepares his instruments by the simplest means, and generally without a hint of what may be expected of their labors.

The revival of spiritual religion in the eighteenth century, of which organic Methodism was the chief product, was not the invention of those who became its leaders. It was neither a new search after doctrine nor an awakening interest in ecclesiastical questions, although these afterward came up for consideration. Their single aim was to love God with an undivided heart, and to render him the most faithful service by calling men to repentance and faith in Christ. It was a wonderful manifestation and development of a spiritual awakening, or revival of religion, which may be quite clearly traced into and beyond the previous century. The Holy Spirit was making himself felt with increasing power, and in places widely apart, as professing Christians submitted their hearts to his teachings, and suffered themselves to be guided into all righteousness by a more thorough study of the Holy Scriptures. The period was one of those transforming ones in the history of Christianity which do not fall in with the conjectures of human wisdom, when here and there the spiritual atmosphere becomes charged with a fuller sense of God's personality, and the need of holiness preparatory to a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The Wesleys, and their coadjutors and helpers, were chosen for this glorious work as ready and tractable instruments, and their work became the central and principal stream of spiritual influence that has made the nineteenth century memorable in the history of the Christian Church. The beginnings, which were in weakness, despised and ridiculed by those who counted themselves successors of the apostles, grew into a spiritual awakening that has produced the most wonderful restoration

of the spirit and practice of the apostolic times since the Church began to fall away from the purity and fervor of her first love.

Methodism found in the American colonies a more inviting field than elsewhere. For the doctrines of the Methodist preachers, to a greater extent than they perceived at first, were entirely in harmony with the feeling of independence and sense of individuality that was making itself felt in every part of the land. The new conditions, following upon the organization of a new civil society of like spirit and aims, allowed Methodism to put forth its full energy, and gave free play to the itinerant system. There were at the time of its entrance into this country not a few spiritually-minded preachers. Although Whitefield's preaching had made a considerable impression in some parts, its influence had largely died out. The people, however, were eager to hear evangelical preaching, and it produced in every part of the country the same effects that had been observed in England. And in the central and southern portions of the extended field which it began to occupy it came in contact with a few ministers and churches, especially in the German settlements, animated by a spirit and purpose so like its own that a strong and lasting bond of sympathy was established between them and the Methodist preachers. We refer particularly to the revival of religion that had slowly made its way against many obstacles in a few congregations of the German Reformed and Mennonite Churches, in several localities in Pennsylvania and Maryland. This revival is not to be traced to Methodism, but to independent operations of the Holy Spirit then active in both hemispheres. That the contact and example of Methodism and the personal relations of Asbury with Otterbein and Boehm, the leading spirits of this revival among the Germans, greatly influenced its development, will hardly be doubted.

The life of Otterbein and the history of the religious organization which grew out of this revival, furnish a striking illustration of God's method of carrying forward his work of saving the world. It has so many characteristics which remind one of the Wesleyan revival that it might be described as a lesser Methodism: the same in spirit, but not so far-reaching in thought or purposes. The publication, therefore, of a new

and more clear-sighted life of Otterbein, the founder of the "Church of the United Brethren in Christ," in the centennial year of the Methodist Episcopal Church, adds interest to our studies of the period.

From the beginning of their acquaintance, not only were Otterbein and Asbury friends delighting in each other's company, but a remarkable confidence grew up between them. It was grounded in marked similarity of religious experience, a general agreement on theological questions, and reliance on nearly the same methods of evangelization and spiritual culture. Otterbein was older in years, but he had been slower in attaining spiritual insight, and perhaps never reached the confidence and vivid experiences of Asbury. He was wanting also in those executive qualities and the faculty of leadership which made Asbury the chief figure for so many years in American Methodism and impressed it with his characteristics. Their fields of labor were in the same region, separated by the barrier of diversity of language; but their aims and the results of their labors were so nearly alike, and wrought out in such harmony, that had the spirit of denominationalism been as fully developed in their day as it was fifty years after, the two friends might have joined hands and produced German Methodism in the closing years of the last century. But there was probably no serious thought of such an arrangement. Even Asbury, in whom the faculty of organization was so largely developed, was more concerned about saving souls than building a great ecclesiastical establishment. Otterbein was thoroughly content in a restricted sphere, moving forward almost reluctantly, at the suggestion of his associates rather than of his own impulse. He does not seem even to have been touched by human ambition. The volume before us, from which for the most part we obtain the facts of the life of this religious leader, does justice to his elevated Christian character, and places him in right relations to the Church of which he was the founder. It was his receptivity of the operations of the Holy Spirit, not ecclesiastical descent, that made him what he was. There are gaps in the record that we would gladly have filled, but sufficient remains to give a clearly defined figure of one chosen of God for labor and honor.

Philip William Otterbein was born in Dillenberg, a small

town in the Duchy of Nassau, Germany, on June 3, 1726. He came of a family of ministers of the Reformed Church, his father and others of the family having acquired an enviable reputation for scholarship and piety. His home was one in which simple, genuine piety prevailed; and there is reason to believe that something of the warmth and glow of the "pietism" of Spener and his followers had found access into the household. The father, happy in an honored and useful ministry, died when Philip was only sixteen years old. The mother moved to Herborn, a few miles away, the seat of a noted Reformed school, that she might carry out the design of preparing all her sons for the ministry, the oldest having already nearly completed his studies. Five brothers, besides the subject of this sketch, became pastors. There was nothing remarkable in the early history of this member of the family. Having passed through the usual classical and theological training with approbation, and devoted some time to teaching, he was ordained to the ministry on June 13, 1749, and entered at once on the duties of the pastorate, serving two villages in the vicinity of his native town. He appears to have been impressed at school by the teaching of the more spiritual and earnest professors, as was manifest in his preaching. The evangelical quality of his sermons soon began to gain attention, and in proportion as he won the favor of the more pious he lost in the estimation of the ecclesiastical authorities, who feared irregularities. His mother's true heart suggested his fitness for the mission field, for which there was some demand in the New World, whither Germans were emigrating in considerable numbers. And so, before three years had passed after his ordination, he, with five young ministers of the Reformed Church, sailed from the Hague for America. They reached New York on July 27, 1752, after a voyage of nearly four months.

Mr. Otterbein's ministry in this country began at Lancaster, Pa., one of several centers of the German population, the congregation of the Reformed Church there being second to Philadelphia only. This appointment shows his standing among his brethren to have been of the best. The church had been irregularly served, and some of the pastors had been unfit for the office, and the membership had become sadly lacking in spirituality. He entered, however, upon the work with zeal,

and the little log church was soon replaced by an imposing stone edifice. His efforts to introduce Church order and discipline did not meet with hearty support. But the difficulties of his situation and the general lack of sympathy in his efforts to lead the people into a genuine religious life only increased his determination to be faithful. He had some sense, no doubt, of the divine favor, and was seeking to know Christ more fully. His preaching produced conviction of sin, and the need of ministering to the awakened soul revealed his narrowness of spiritual knowledge and the feebleness of his faith. Like an honest soul not unconscious of the source of spiritual life, he sought light of God in secret, and came from his closet testifying of the grace of God, and with the assuring witness of the Spirit. From this time on it is plain to see that a new element had entered into the life of the pastor. It is known by the quality of his preaching, the faithfulness of his pastoral work, and his determination to establish a proper Church discipline. The doctrines of a change of heart, and the profession of constant communion with God, and the assurance of faith, were looked upon by the greater number of his hearers as a species of fanaticism or pietism hardly endurable even in a minister. We recognize in this spiritual change, that made a new man of Mr. Otterbein, the same general outlines of spiritual development that occurred in Mr. Wesley's religious life. The experience has been often repeated under like circumstances. And the spiritual life begotten of this guidance of the Holy Spirit into a clear apprehension of divine truth, and the attending quickening and increase of faith, constitute the best and only sufficient equipment for ministerial service. From the period of this larger experience, Mr. Otterbein preached with greater freedom, casting aside the expedient of a written sermon in the pulpit, and seems to have made a steady advancement along the lines of Arminian theology.

Mr. Otterbein failed of the success that he desired at Lancaster, and after eight years' service he resigned. He was induced to take charge of a church at Tulpehocken, a place of some note in those days among the Germans, but with more of the aspects of border life than he had yet seen. This field was hardly as inviting as that he had left, and he found the people set against innovations, as his prayer and other meetings were

called. Here he spent two years and was highly esteemed, for he was faithful beyond measure, preaching often, introducing prayer and a kind of class-meetings that were spiritually profitable. But the church authorities were openly and persistently in opposition. In his next pastorate, (Frederick, Md.,) his soul found greater freedom, and his work as a preacher and pastor was more fully appreciated. His influence was felt throughout the society and the town. The old unregenerate element in the church gave him some trouble, but he was growing in favor. He became more abundant in labors, preaching in every direction, extending his visits into Virginia, and creating an unusual interest wherever he went. He had invitations from places of importance, including Philadelphia. During his pastorate here he married an estimable lady, Miss Susan Le Roy, whose acquaintance he had made at Lancaster. Six years of happy married life followed, when the bond was broken by death, and he cherished the memory of his lost companion with touching tenderness to his last days. A ministry at York, Pa., began in 1765, and continued till he made a visit to Germany in 1770. The spiritual influences which had touched and were molding Otterbein were operating in other places with like effects. Methodism had been introduced, and doctrines which had been announced heretofore with diffidence were proclaimed with entire confidence, and found constant verification among the people. The work of the Holy Spirit in the awakening, conversion, and sanctification of believers was better understood and heartily preached. The preaching of Boehm among the Mennonites and the labors of other evangelists of like spirit were producing marked results. Otterbein was unusually active, preaching extensively in the adjoining States. He was brought into personal acquaintance with some who afterward became his fellow-laborers in the Gospel, and found himself in harmony with them, and his spiritual life quickened by the association.

Mr. Otterbein returned from Germany in the summer of 1771 and resumed his pastorate at York, and continued there nearly three years. There is nothing to indicate that the visit to his early home had any appreciable effect on his religious experience or the career to which God was calling him. But the last three years at York were eventful. The leaven of spirituality

was steadily gaining force and producing the usual effects in many places, and the ministers and people sympathizing with Mr. Otterbein's view were increasing. Their ecclesiastical relations became burdensome, for their motives no less than their piety and wisdom were called in question. Those who sympathized in the revival movement came together for counsel; unintentionally, perhaps unconsciously, the ties of their old ecclesiastical relationship had grown feeble, since they had no fellowship of heart and life. There were not, however, any indications of insubordination; rather the disposition was to continue faithful to their convictions and wait the developments of Providence. If there was any ambition of leadership and the formation of a new Church organization, it was carefully hidden from public view. But there was nothing of the kind. The next step was a plain one. A Reformed society in Baltimore had gathered into its folds quite a number of members who had been converted under the preaching of Mr. Otterbein. They were mostly young persons of an enterprising spirit, and they joined the evangelical party which was already forming in the Church. In the end, for it is not necessary to pursue the history in detail, a new society was organized and Mr. Otterbein accepted a call to the pastorate. Mr. Asbury's hand appears in this important event. He had arrived in this country a few months after Mr. Otterbein's return from Germany, and his preaching and zeal were having already their effect on the Methodist societies. Although these yet undiscovered leaders do not appear to have met in person, so at least it is thought, they knew and had confidence in each other. Mr. Asbury was on quite intimate terms with the evangelical pastor who preceded Otterbein at Baltimore, and fully understood the condition of the society. The Reformed *coetus* had in a manner declared against Mr. Otterbein accepting the invitation to become their pastor; but Mr. Asbury joined in urging him to accept, which he did, and came to Baltimore in May, 1774. Otterbein entered upon his work at once, and his spirit and energy produced a new order of things. He consulted with Mr. Asbury in the organization of the society, who advised a general conformity to Methodist methods; there was no effort to lead them into the Methodist societies. The constitution and rules which Mr. Otterbein drew up in consultation and with the advice of

his chief members show how thoroughly his views had been accepted by the society. The polity was Presbyterian, the theology tended toward Arminianism, and the Church discipline was far in advance of the Reformed Churches.

At an annual meeting of the pastors who co-operated in the revival movement, it was agreed to hold a "conference" in Baltimore in 1789 to consider more fully the interests of the growing congregations that looked to them for spiritual guidance. This may properly be considered the first definite step of the new organization. Of the fourteen preachers who were committed to the movement, seven were present. They were a company of ministers that would have done honor to any Church; and on account of their talents, piety, and devotion to the work of the ministry, were well qualified for the duties of the hour. The names of Otterbein, Martin Boehm, and Christian Newcomer will always be held in honor by the Christian Church. The members of the conference arrived at a satisfactory understanding, and adopted a confession of faith largely drawn from the Apostles' Creed. This was not a hasty or ill-advised proceeding. Mr. Asbury says in his Journal, under date of June 5, 1786: "I called on Mr. Otterbein; we had some free conversation on the necessity of forming a Church among the Dutch, holding conferences, the order of its government, etc." Mr. Otterbein no doubt saw quite plainly in what direction the work of the revivalists was tending, and was in thought preparing for the future. He was not of an adventurous spirit, even when most impressed with the conviction of duty. From the first the Methodists had been closely observed by Mr. Otterbein and his associates; they could not be insensible to the merits of the system which was being developed in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and especially its fitness for the work of evangelization which they were themselves pursuing, and the grand results of the itinerancy. And the organization which grew up under Mr. Otterbein and his coadjutors has more and more taken on the practical peculiarities of the Methodists; and, to its honor be it said, has perpetuated some of these which Methodists have allowed to fall into disuse. And its great gains may be already attributed to this flexible, simple system which seems fitted beyond any other for the saving of souls. It is not intended to assert that these minis-

ters were under any special obligations to Methodism, or dependent on it for their success, but that their common aims and singleness of purpose led them along nearly the same paths, profiting by each other's experience.

The new organization, which was for years after known as the United Brethren, began soon to vindicate the judgment of those who formed it. We cannot follow its history from year to year. Its growth was not rapid, partly, we are inclined to believe, because it did not assume a more independent position. Mr. Otterbein, like Mr. Wesley, seems to have retained great affection for the Church in which he was ordained to the ministry, and maintained for a long time a twofold ecclesiastical relation—some persons still affirming that he never separated from the Reformed Church. He met with the synod of that Church for the last time in 1800. During the next month the first regular Annual Conference of the United Brethren was held, and the organization took on more definite form. Mr. Otterbein and Martin Boehm were elected, or perhaps only recognized by general consent, as superintendents or bishops. A great revival was in progress among the Methodists, in which the United Brethren shared, and the greatest sympathy prevailed between the two bodies. They preached in each other's houses of worship, and were as one people in social worship and in the communion of the Lord's Supper. So long as Mr. Otterbein was able he preached far and near, and his influence was felt throughout the societies as the leading spirit in the movement. Boehm was as active, and hardly less popular among the people, but Otterbein was the acknowledged head, and thought of as the founder of the Church. He had the characteristics that are sought after for one in such a position.

The last Conference that he attended was in 1805, after which his age and increasing infirmities compelled him to abide in Baltimore. But he was not forgotten, nor did he lose his influence in the Church. The chief ministers came to see him in the quiet of his ministerial home, sought his advice in all important matters, and enjoyed the presence of the patriarch. A serious sickness toward the close of the year named induced him to make his will. He did not preach as often as he had, but his sermons are yet described as powerful and with the "unction from on high." Always kind and

benevolent, he grew still more tender toward the poor, and more mindful of the common duties of life. He took part in some honorable negotiations which looked toward a possible union of the United Brethren and the Methodist Episcopal Church; of which, however, nothing came beyond an agreement in regard to the use of churches and attendance on class-meetings and love-feasts. In March, 1812, the venerable, catholic-spirited Martin Boehm, his colleague in the superintendency from the beginning, who, like himself, had been laid aside from active labor, fell asleep in Jesus in his eighty-seventh year. Hardly had two months passed when the tender-hearted, eloquent Adam George Geeting, soon after a brief visit to Baltimore, closed his life in triumph. In April of the next year, Bishop Asbury, accompanied by Henry Boehm (son of Martin), paid him a last visit. "I gave an evening to the great Otterbein," says Mr. Asbury; "I found him happy and placid in God," and the evening was a memorable one. Perhaps no other words could have described the condition of the aged saint more accurately, so thoroughly in keeping with the character of the man. In October Christian Newcomer, who now filled the chief place in the superintendency, visited him, and writes that he was "weak and feeble in body, but strong and vigorous in spirit, and full of hope of a blissful immortality and eternal life." It had been the custom to license the preachers that had grown up in the revival, and to give them permission to administer the sacraments without ordination. Mr. Otterbein had not seen the necessity for any thing more, and his modesty and regard for Church order had restrained him from following the solicitations of others. But the brethren in the West had, by vote of the Conference, requested him to ordain Mr. Newcomer, who had been elected a bishop. He yielded to the request, and on the 2d of October Mr. Newcomer and two others, in the vestry of the church, were ordained elders, Mr. Otterbein having been lifted from his bed and placed in a chair. He was assisted by Rev. William Ryland, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This was his last public service, and it was marked by his accustomed fervor and unction. As these brethren took leave of him next day, bidding them farewell, he said: "If any inquire after me, tell them I die in the faith I have preached." He continued to grow more feeble day by

day, suffering from an asthmatical affection, till, on November 17, in the evening, his friends perceived that his course was finished. At the close of a prayer by a ministerial friend of the Evangelical Lutheran Church he responded, "It is finished." He sank away, but rallied again soon after, and in expressing his faith in Jesus he said: "The conflict is over and past. I begin to feel an unspeakable fullness of love and divine peace. Lay my head upon my pillow and be still." And as this last service of earth was rendered him he passed away to the company of the redeemed, to be forever with his Lord.

A great company, Christians of all the Churches, attended the funeral. Rev. Dr. Kurtz, of the Lutheran Church, for many years his friend and collaborator in Baltimore, preached in German, and Rev. William Ryland in English. A Protestant Episcopal minister conducted the ceremony at the grave. The departed Christian was akin to them all. But when the Baltimore Conference was held in March, 1814, four months later, by request of the Conference and the Otterbein congregation, Bishop Asbury delivered a discourse in memory of the friend whom he had loved with unvarying affection. He was himself growing feeble, and the shadows were falling across his path. He wrote in his Journal: "By request, I discoursed on the character of the angel of the Church of Philadelphia, in allusion to P. W. Otterbein—the holy, the great Otterbein —whose funeral discourse it was intended to be. Solemnity marked the silent meeting in the German church, where were assembled the members of our Conference and many of the clergy of the city. Forty years have I known the retiring modesty of this man of God; towering majestic above his fellows in learning, wisdom, and grace, yet seeking to be known only of God and the people of God."

Nothing could have been more appropriate. Indeed, we can hardly conceive the record complete without this closing scene. At the ordination of Mr. Asbury to the episcopacy, nearly forty years before, in the Methodist chapel not far away, he had asked the favor of Mr. Otterbein that he should assist in the ceremony. The request was granted, and the stately figure and devout bearing of the German divine made him the most conspicuous person of the company. And now Asbury, infirm and nearly worn-out with incessant labor, the head of a Church

whose rapid increase contained already the prophecy of its future, testifies of his friend in words that will never be forgotten.

The foundations which Otterbein and his co-laborers laid remain, and the superstructure has grown far beyond any anticipation he may have had of its future. The Church of the United Brethren in Christ, of which it is but just to say that he was the founder, retains the spirit and vigor of its youth, and has taken on a more compact organization, increasing in connectional feeling, and establishing the agencies of a thoroughly equipped Church. From having been entirely German it has become so nearly English that it is no longer looked on as a German institution. The old intimate fellowship between the United Brethren and the Methodists has disappeared, but the most kindly feeling still exists. It has grown rather more Methodistic in form and methods in its manhood, preserving, however, the differences which marked its beginning, yet modifying them wisely, we think. It accepted an invitation to the London Methodist Ecumenical Conference, was well represented, and in perfect sympathy with the followers of Wesley. It belongs to the great revival movement of the eighteenth century, and will continue in it so long as it cherishes the memory and preserves the faith and spirit of its illustrious founder.

ART. II.—THE CRITICAL AND THE ETHICAL IN LITERATURE.

The author dreads the critic.—JAMES ELLIS.

A just criticism injures no man's proper influence.—T. TILTON.

The most noble criticism is that in which the critic is not the antagonist so much as the rival of the author.—I. DISRAELI.

Those who do not read criticism will scarcely merit to be criticised.—B. DISRAELI.

THE office of the literary critic is a responsible one, often more so even than authorship itself. The reading public may be under less obligation to the writer of a book, able and important though it be, than to the trained critic, who, by his insight and the application of just canons, is able to show its true character, and disclose its real merits and defects, and so assign it to its true place in the world's literature.

The judgment passed upon any literary work by honest and capable critics is generally *final*, and it comes in time to be accepted as the final verdict. Occasionally, indeed, books and authors that were condemned by the critics have made their way to popularity and success; but these exceptions are extremely rare. More and more is it coming to be recognized by the intelligent that it is the *specialist* alone, in any department of human knowledge or attainment, that achieves the best possible success. The testimony of "experts" is invoked by courts and juries in matters of jurisprudence affecting difficult questions relating to sanity, idiocy, murder, and the like. It is the "man of one book" that is now coming to be dreaded by an antagonist.

At no former period in the history of literature has the office of honest and competent criticism been more imperatively called for than at the present time. The reason is to be found in the rapid growth and the enormous extent of our literary life and productiveness. The human mind was never so active, so prolific, so intensified as now. It is so in every department of knowledge and in every class of literary production, from the flippant, sensational "dime novel" to the greatest works in science, in philosophy, in theology, and to the ponderous, all-embracing encyclopedia. In so busy an age, all bustle and excitement, with a thousand interests clamoring and a thousand demands made on men's time and thought, very few find the leisure and capacity to read and profit by one out of a hundred of the five thousand new books which are annually published in the United States alone, or to make the acquaintance of a tithe of our ever-expanding and improving periodical reading. And yet a considerable portion of our professional and intelligent business gentlemen, and a growing class of persons of leisure, men and women of literary tastes and habits, are desirous to know what is going on in the world of letters. But this is impossible unless they can avail themselves of the services of the critics, who are awake to all that is new, and who furnish an epitome, often the best results, of current literary activity in their bright, condensed reviews, by means of the newspaper and periodical press. More and more is the reading public disposed to look to and confide in the judgment of our critics in the matter of books and authors. Macaulay's

assertion is true: "The opinion of the great body of the reading public is very materially influenced even by the unsupported assertions of those who assume a right to criticise."

What is to save the republic of letters from the inroads of the Goths and Vandals of the quill? what is to protect society from a flood of trashy and abominable literature? what is to conserve morality, and religion, and the intellectual life of the race, if there be no high tribunal, no class of men of keen minds and honest purpose and potent influence to stand between a horde of unprincipled writers and unscrupulous publishers on the one hand, and the reading public on the other? In spite of adverse criticism a vast amount of worthless and deleterious literature gets abroad, and is read by tens of thousands, young and old, to the detriment of their minds and morals. If only *one bad book in ten* goes unchallenged and finds its way into print, the aggregate of immoral literature is still fearfully great, and every year increases its amount and its desolating effect. But for the alert eye, and trenchant pen, and faithful service of fearless criticism, the number of pernicious books would be far larger than it now is, and their circulation much greater. Critical fidelity may fail to strangle a bad book while in manuscript or at its birth, yet is quite sure to limit [its influence] and shorten its life-time.

Authors and publishers are coming to appreciate the power of intelligent, honest criticism, and to act accordingly. There is now a manifest respect for this tribunal, and a dread lest its verdict be adverse to their interests. It is quite apparent, to discerning observers, that the opinions of the critics are anticipated and discounted in our great publishing houses before making a venture. It is well understood and accepted as a fact, established by experience, that a great name, and extensive advertising, and hard pushing, will no longer sell a book, and make it popular and a financial success, unless it can contrive to run the gauntlet of the oracles of criticism. And it is somewhat amusing to note the methods adopted to propitiate or forestall their verdict. Authors, also, have come to learn that their fame and fortune are not assured when once their literary progeny is adopted by a leading publisher, and he is introduced by him to the reading world with his best compliments and with all the attractions of a faultless mechanical taste and skill.

Not until it has passed the ordeal of the critics, who lie in wait to discuss the merits of every new candidate for public favor before the ink on its pages is fairly dry, and prophesy its fate with more than sibyl cunning and assurance, does either author or publisher breathe freely. That verdict—for which, often, both wait with trembling anxiety—either elates or depresses, kills or makes alive a "demand," according as a favorable or unfavorable judgment is pronounced. Many a poor author's heart is broken and his anticipated fame changed to sad disappointment, and many a publisher's venture turns out a failure, because the verdict of stern criticism is adverse. And from its unsought yet inevitable decision there lies no appeal. The case of poor Keats was a very sad one. The unjust and brutal assaults of the critics broke his heart. But that day has past. The like could not be repeated now. In the majority of instances sharp and severe criticism is deserved. And it is a benefit to society and an advantage to literature to expose a pretentious, worthless book, and crush to the death one that is false and pernicious in its teaching and tendency.

Our literature, so far as it is distinctively American, is yet in its *childhood.* We are still in the creative period of our literary history. But the critical usually succeeds the creative. And there is growing up among us the critical faculty, and the judicial spirit and habit. And we are not wanting in skillful critical pens that would do honor to a much older literature than ours—whose influence has helped to mold and guide and elevate the thought of this new and mighty nation. The number is not large, nor yet is it insignificant.

While still deficient in breadth of view, in philosophical penetration, in correctness of taste, and in skillful methods, our national literature is certainly respectable, and is to be respected and encouraged. It has a grand mission before it, and a wide field, not only in this great Western Republic, but wherever the ideas and principles it represents find expression, and prospectively in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon literature. Under its first, and comparatively rude, teaching, our native authorship has vastly improved in tone and quality, as well as in volume, until, in many departments, it compares favorably with that of much older nations. This is conspicuously true in the fields of religious and biblical authorship. It were not difficult to name

a considerable number of recent issues from the press—the product of our own writers—which, in point of scholarship, intellectual vigor, breadth of culture, philosophical penetration, critical sagacity, and purity and vigor of style, are fully equal to the very best productions of Great Britain and Germany, in similar departments, during the same period of time. Even in the realm of fiction we have living writers of no mean merit and recognized ability, who, though not equal either in creative power or æsthetic skill to the great masters of modern English fiction—are yet quite equal to any writers of the second class of novelists among the English-speaking people of the Old World.*

"Distance lends enchantment to the view" in literary as well as in physical life. Compare the average productions of our authors to-day with those of a generation or two ago, and the growth, the improvement, in almost every quality, is manifest. One can scarcely credit it, unless he make the investigation for himself. You may test it in any department of literary production: in text-books for schools and colleges and theological seminaries; in the way of helps in preaching; in homiletic studies; in commentaries and encyclopedias; in the realm of theology, biblical exegesis and criticism, and sacred literature, or in fiction and works adapted to children and youth. Our entire Sunday-school literature is of recent growth. To characterize the advance made in all these departments in terms of just appreciation would seem exaggeration. The change wrought has been so gradual from year to year, and from decade to decade, that we have failed to mark and gauge it. We must fairly confront one period with another—the present with, say, fifty years ago—to see what improvement

[* It is, however, in the department of history that our American writers have especially excelled. During the latter half of the century there have been living at the same time a company of historical writers that could scarcely be equaled in any other age or country. Within the city of Boston there were living at the same time Bancroft and Prescott and Motley and Hildreth and Parkman; and in other parts of the country others only the inferiors because of the unequaled excellence of those named, whose united works constitute a mass of literary matter that has not often been equaled by the productions of any former epoch. Nor have we fallen behind other countries in the production of poetry; and the age and country that could present at the same time four such poets as Bryant and Longfellow and Whittier and Lowell need not come into the presence of the potentates of critical learning with the language of apology and deprecation.—ED.]

we have actually made in all the elements and forces of a true, informing, elevating literature. We are no longer sneered at by the older nations of the world. American scholars are the recognized peers of the best scholars of the Old World. This has been clearly demonstrated in the matter of Bible revision, the most extensive and important literary enterprise since 1611, now brought to a close. American books are reproduced abroad by the score every year. Our magazine literature, in artistic perfection and popular elements of instruction, surpasses every thing they have on the other side of the water, and is sharply competing with the foreign magazines on their own field. We have theological and religious reviews to-day which, in point of scholarship, critical ability, and accomplished literary skill and ability, are the equal of the Old-World-renowned quarterlies of Great Britain which a generation or two ago wielded so prodigious a power both in Church and State; while our newspaper system, for enterprise, skill, and intellectual force, is not inferior to that of the most advanced nation on earth.

I do not claim that this marked progress is all the result of the agency of our literary critics. We have become a reading people. Intelligence and culture are widely diffused. There is a higher standard of literary excellence in general society. Scholarly men and women are found in every circle. Authorship, because of its frequency, has ceased to inspire the world with awe and wonder. Critics and criticism have sprung up on every hand, and gained a hearing and a footing in our literature, and made their influence decidedly felt in every department and along every channel of literary activity. The force has been a silent one, scarcely noted by the public. But it has permeated our literature. It has infused new ideas and loftier ideals into the reading men of the nation, and educated the public tastes and demands until, as a people, we are capable of appreciating true art and genuine literary merit, and will no longer buy the trash and twaddle, the crude and the superficial, which once satisfied us.

There is one important fact bearing upon this subject which is not commonly understood by the public. With rare exceptions the books issued by our publishers and bearing their names are not read by themselves, and their merits made a

matter of personal knowledge, before publication. They depend almost entirely on the critical judgment and ability of their "readers." So at the very fountain-head of literature sits the critic, and his function is exercised with autocratic absoluteness. It rests with him mainly to determine what works offered in manuscript shall see the light and what shall be sold for waste-paper. The power behind the throne, in our great publishing houses, is greater than the king upon it. The unseen, unknown, mysterious personage known as the "reader," stands between author and publisher on the one hand and the reading public on the other, and his dictum really decides the fate, if not of kingdoms, yet of interests more vital to human progress and human well-being than the rise or fall of empires and dynasties.

People are surprised at the great number of books *published.* They would be more surprised still if they knew the number that are read in manuscript and *rejected!* The proportion probably is *at least nineteen to one!* A single publishing house in this city not long ago declined one hundred and fifty in a single month! The aggregate number refused yearly by the publishers of New York city alone will amount to several thousands! It is thus seen that the *veto* power of the critical fraternity is exercised on a large scale. If our literature were cursed and weighted by all the rubbish, the froth and filth, the crude and unwholesome thinking and writing which seeks a publisher, it would soon sink into deserved contempt. Literature and the public owe a hundred-fold more to the ability and integrity of this class among us—a class absolutely unknown to the public, and unrecognized even in literary circles—than they have ever given credit for. If our would-be authors would oftener avail themselves of the critical services of these literary experts, they would do better service to literature, and often save themselves a world of bitter disappointment, and often serious pecuniary loss.

A word as to the scope and function of criticism, before I proceed to discuss its cardinal elements. Webster defines criticism as "the art of judging of the beauties and faults of a literary performance, or of a production in the fine arts." No class of men have been more roundly abused than have our critics. It is surprising, and even amusing, to read the sharp

and silly things which have been written of them. Washington Irving, who certainly had no cause for prejudice by reason of their treatment of him and his writings, declares them a "kind of freebooters in the republic of letters, who, like deer, goats, and diverse other graminivorous animals, gain their subsistence by gorging upon buds and leaves of the young shrubs of the forest, thereby robbing them of their verdure, and retarding their progress to maturity." Sir William Temple's opinion of them was not much better. "The critics," he says, "are a race of scholars I am very little acquainted with, having always esteemed them but like brokers who, having no stock of their own, set up a trade with that of other men, buying here and selling there, and commonly abusing both sides, to make out a little paltry gain, either of money or credit for themselves, and care not at whose cost." Longfellow's appreciation is nearer the truth, and still not very complimentary: "Critics are sentinels in the grand army of letters, stationed at the corners of newspapers and reviews to challenge every new author." I might cite the opinions of any number of other writers of renown, all showing a total misconception of the function and the dignity of the critical profession.

Why is it? Whence this false idea and inveterate prejudice? Literary criticism has certainly a right to be. It is a high art. Its function is legitimate and honorable, and its proper exercise yields results eminently beneficial to the cause of letters. Its object is not a vulgar, selfish, destructive one, but the elevation of literature by the creation of truer and higher standards of literary excellence. Its scope is not restricted to the office of the literary "scavenger" and "freebooter;" but it is as broad as the domain of literature, and enters into all that is vital in its structure. To cut and slash after a cavalier fashion; to criticise the style and method and logic and blunders of an author; to decry or praise a book in a wholesale and indiscriminate manner, is not a legitimate part of the critic's function. His mission is a broader one, his work more serious and radical. There are general and fundamental elements of literary culture, philosophy, criticism, and mental creation involved in every literary production, whatever be its grade of merit. The critic must comprehend and be able to apply to the case in hand the laws respecting the

structure of language, the philosophy of thought, and the canons of criticism, and he should be familiar with the whole literature of the subject under consideration. He has not half done his work when he has succeeded in laying bare the real life, the actual character, of any particular book; it may be a wise or a foolish, a good or a bad book *in itself*, and the fact scarcely be worth the knowing. But that book has vital relations, it may be, to the whole literature of the world, to the sum total of human thought, human progress, and to the very philosophy and destiny of humanity. To discover this vital principle or relation in an author or in his production, and be able to point it out for the benefit of the world, is among the highest functions of criticism. Comparatively few critics possess this superior gift.

True criticism is not simply *destructive;* it is *creative* as well. If it sometimes kills, it also makes alive. It points out the faults and errors of an author, that they may be corrected, and thus be stripped of the power to do mischief. It exposes fallacies in reasoning, falsehood in statement, and wrong conclusions in argument, that the public may not be misled. It sharply criticises, it may be, gross violations of the rules of mental perception and literary taste and excellence, purely in the interest of good literature. No higher favor can be done to the author himself than impartially and faithfully to analyze and pronounce judgment upon his production according to the rules of just criticism. The more severely and thoroughly the work is done—if fairly done—the better for him. It will do him good, really, not harm. If he is too self-conceited or sensitive to endure it, he ought not to have ventured on authorship. Longfellow's observation is singularly *untrue:* that "the strength of criticism lies only in the weakness of the thing criticised." The reverse is often true. Masterly criticism—criticism that enters into the domain of the creative—has sometimes been evoked by the strength of an antagonist. Criticism has been the *making* of many an author's reputation, and of his excellence and success as well. The shame of his early failure, and the ridicule of the critics, as in the case of Disraeli's failure in his first attempt in the British Commons, have spurred him to new endeavor. He has had the good sense to see the justice of the criticism passed upon him and his work,

and to learn from it. If authors generally could *reconstruct* their literary performances in the light and with the benefit of the strictures passed upon them by the censors of the press, it is safe to say nine tenths of them would undergo material change; not a few, radical transformations.

The same is true of the reading public. No higher favor can be bestowed upon it in a literary, and often in a moral and religious, sense than to read critically and interpret for its benefit the new books and periodicals that are constantly making their appearance; and the more skillfully, conscientiously, and thoroughly the service is done the greater the obligation and the benefit.

One bad book may taint a thousand minds, a whole community, and transmit its pen-poison to many generations. Paine's "Age of Reason" has blasted more lives and damned more souls than the sneering and blasphemous tongues of ten thousand Ingersolls will ever accomplish. There is the power of an evil immortality, the genius of an incarnate devil, in every evil thing which the press brings forth. Hence the man who suppresses or strangles one of this vile progeny is a public benefactor. And the class of men whose keen eyes discern, and whose fearless, trenchant pens write False, Evil, Infidel, Devilish on the foreheads of the literary imps, imbeciles, monsters, and "lying and seducing spirits" which troop and play their pranks and practice their black arts on the stage of human life deserve all honor and praise. They are the true ministers of high art. They are the conservators of a pure, elevating literature, the educators of the people in matters of grave and eternal import.

In this, as in every other profession, there no doubt are those who abuse and pervert their gifts, who use their pens only for pelf or to gain some sinister end. They have as little conscience as they have real literary merit. They are only pretenders, or "wolves in sheep's clothing;" they disgrace the profession, and deserve to be ignominiously drummed out of it. The critical guild should not be judged by those literary quacks and penny-a-liners who infest the offices of newspapers and reviews, and are tolerated by editors and publishers out of sheer pity or good nature, to the detriment of the public and the prejudice of those who do honest and competent work in the realm

of criticism. If my readers desire to see worthy specimens of American literary criticism, I beg to refer them to the leading reviews and journals of the country, which have rendered in the past, and most of which are still rendering, conspicuous services in this important branch of our literature. A vast amount of fair, able, and discriminating criticism, on books and authors and literary matters in general, will be found in these periodicals, covering a large range of literature and going back over a period of seventy years. One not familiar with the history and achievements of these organs of literary thought, culture, and scholarship can form no adequate conception of the extent or value of the service which they have rendered in the republic of letters and in every department of American literature. Not a work of any importance, in any field of human knowledge or literary activity, has appeared during all these decades that has not been critically reviewed in one or more of these standard and influential journals. And it cannot be doubted that the influence of this mass of intelligent, persistent, current criticism on the character of our infant, growing literature, during almost its entire formative period, has been most decided and salutary. This great work of our critics sheds luster on American scholarship and culture.

But it is time to cease this somewhat cursory and general survey of the subject, and proceed to formulate the fundamental principles which enter into and govern all genuine literary criticism. I shall not attempt to exhaust the subject, but content myself with stating, and that briefly, a few of them.

1. I name, first of all, *independence*—absolute, unfettered liberty, both of judgment and expression. This involves not only personal qualities—mental, moral, religious, social, philosophical—but also position, relation, training, motive. No one can perform properly the critic's function unless he be free from all undue bias and prejudice toward author or publisher; from all low ambition and personal interest; independent of all cliques which infest literary circles, as well as of public sentiment. The conscientious reviewer will put all these things aside, as the upright judge on the bench will thrust aside and rule out all irrelevant and improper evidence, and conduct his examination according to the rigid rules of justice, and decide the case on the basis of truth without fear or favor. Conscious of the high

interest involved and of his responsibility to author and publisher, although he may be a stranger to both, and with an eye single to the best interest of literature, the true critic will command his spirit, and render the best verdict of his enlightened and independent judgment.

Temptations not a few beset our critics to depart from strict integrity. To allude to a single mode. The practice has become quite general of late, to have prepared and sent out with every new book and periodical issue, addressed to the "literary editor," a printed notice or criticism; if the former, it is usually accompanied with the commendations of several distinguished names, to whom advance copies have been presented for this purpose. All such criticism is, of course, in the interest of author and publisher. There may be no evil motive in it; yet the effect naturally is to bias favorably the critical opinion solicited. There are "literary editors" who will not be caught with such guile; but the mass of them are entrapped. The work is done to their hands; and done, probably, more ably and gracefully than they could do it after hours of labor. And the result is what we might expect. Whoever will take the trouble to compare on a large scale the criticisms of the press on any new book or magazine will find a suspicious and remarkable *similarity* in hundreds of critical notices. The explanation is, that they have simply copied, with more or less fullness and variation of verbiage, the printed opinion sent out. This is not true of the majority of our reviews, nor of the better class of our magazines and newspapers. *But the mass of readers never see any other criticism of new books and periodicals than this highly spiced and interested kind.* All honor to the critic who has independence and conscience enough to rise above all temptation and every biasing influence; the industry to examine for himself every work submitted to his judgment; and the courage to render his verdict with fearless independence.

2. True criticism will be ruled by the spirit of *candor*. It will be false and perverting if it be otherwise. To detect and condemn the faults, errors, and weak points of a book, and say nothing about its redeeming qualities, is unfair and ungenerous. There is no surer way to kill a book and wrong author and publisher, who are at the mercy of the critic. Such

an act, deliberately perpetrated, is literary scoundrelism, and ought to be visited with condign punishment. And yet the iniquity is practiced continually; practiced boldly and habitually by many critics, and by organs of literary criticism, and by schools and coteries of thought and culture. They have some sinister end to gain, a spite to gratify, a rival interest to subserve, a low ambition to gratify, or a clique to serve. Or they are ruled by prejudice or party zeal, or religious bigotry or sectarian feeling, or infidel intolerance. They have an eye that sees *only evil*, and is blind to the good. They "love darkness rather than light." Like vultures they scent the carrion from afar, and feed on the putrid carcass with delight. *Such* critics may well be called "scavengers."

Whoever carefully watches the criticisms of the press for a period of years will be forced to the painful conclusion that we have, comparatively, *little really candid criticism among us.* Even in circles of high respectability—in literary organs of ability and influence—it is not difficult, often, to detect the animus of secret hostility or prejudice, personal, literary, sectarian, or religious, coloring, shaping, adapting to their special ends no small part of their criticisms. You can often *forecast* their judgment. Candor does not determine it. Praise and censure are not meted out on the broad principles of a universal ethical or literary law, but as interest, caprice, affinity, or taste happens to dictate.

There quietly passed away from us not long ago a rare character, estimated by any fair standard of criticism. A gentleman by instinct and habit; modest in demeanor, with the gentleness and tenderness of a woman; and noble and generous in his appreciation of the merits of his compeers in literary circles. His culture, his ability, natural and acquired, his literary tastes and genius, were of a high order, as the uniform excellence and superiority of his manifold works, both in verse and prose, abundantly prove. That modest author, of solid worth, of honest purpose, of high Christian character and teaching, whose active pen was wholly consecrated to God, to humanity, and to pure literature, charmed and instructed a larger circle of intelligent readers than any other American writer of his times. As an editor, his influence was powerfully felt on the journalism of the country, and conspicuously on our magazine litera-

ture, lifting it to a degree of perfection and a sweep of popular influence never before reached.

And yet that very man and author and popular favorite of a wide cultured circle of men and women never had a standing in some of our literary circles; was regarded and treated by them as a "barbarian." Coteries that claimed pre-eminence in literary matters never admitted him to their fraternity; their organs of criticism never had a kind or appreciative word for him. The author and his writings were uniformly and persistently disparaged by them. Every new work from his pen was greeted with derision or a new blast of detraction. The very popularity of his writings, based on real merit, and the ever-increasing interest shown in them by a widening circle of literary friends and admirers, only served to increase their hostility and bitterness. Their evil nature got the better of their candor, and they could see nothing good in a writer who touched the popular heart as few men have ever done, and touched it only to inspire pure thoughts and noble living. To say that he *felt* this cruel injustice in the very depths of his sensitive nature is to disclose no secret. The bitterness went with him down to a premature grave. Who knows but that it shortened that useful life?

Another case, no less remarkable, and which attracted some attention at the time in a limited circle. A certain quarterly review, of acknowledged ability and careful editorship, for some unknown reason fell under the displeasure of a leading journal of lofty pretension and no little smartness, and for years no occasion was lost to strike at it in the way of disparagement. Had it passed its issues over in silence, or candidly and fairly criticised its conduct or contents, however severely, no exception could have been taken to its course. But its tactics were of the mean type. It was careful to get every issue of the work, and reserve its "notice" of it until it could lay it by the side of all its competitors; and then, by innuendoes, unfair comparisons, and criticisms, place it to the greatest disadvantage before its readers. When it could find no fault with its literary merits, it stooped to fish out and parade in detail every proof-reader's blunder or printer's mishap. Finally the review changed editor and publisher, and instantly this same journal began to pipe on another key. And this is *candid* criticism!

3. True criticism must be *impartial.* Candor has main reference to the particular work under review, and obliges the critic to judge it fairly in its entirety, and award its due meed of praise and censure. Impartiality has a much wider scope, and requires a survey of the whole field of authorship and of literature, and of all the vital questions and interests affecting the public mind and society in relation thereto. Impartial criticism must look at the matter from all sides, from every angle of vision, and allow no circumstances, or conditions, or considerations, to have undue prominence or weight in the final decision. It must separate the subject from every thing extraneous, from all surroundings and influences whatsoever likely to warp or mislead the judgment, and look at the thing in its intrinsic elements and broadest relations in the calm, clear, philosophic light of comprehensive and impartial critical sagacity and judgment. Impartiality, in a word, is the application of the *judicial* spirit and principle in literary criticism. It will not be turned aside from the straight path of honor and right, but with firm, unfaltering step will move on to a rightful deliverance.

This may be said to be an *ideal* criticism. It is the only criticism that is worth the name, and the standard to which all friends of a pure and noble literature should aspire. Would that we had more of it! Our criticism, it may be hoped, will improve as it grows in years, and broadens and strengthens, and is fostered and appreciated by an enlightened and generous public sentiment. Its evil elements will slough off under the influence of a healthier moral and literary atmosphere. As its ethical element tones up its general character, and it rises to the dignity and standing of an important and recognized profession in the republic of letters, with a distinct class of genuine literary aristocrats, the low-minded and unworthy members of it will one by one drop off or be rooted out.

4. True criticism is *honest.* There is no relation or function in life in which *downright honesty* is more imperatively necessary than in the realm of literary criticism. The character of their literature will, in the long run, determine the character and the life of a people and rule their destiny. Literature has come to be mightier than armies and navies; mightier than the sword, and commerce, and diplomacy, and statesmanship, and

kingly power. No "railroad king," with a hundred millions to back him, is as potent a force to-day in the affairs of the world as the king of the quill. The knights of criticism are well-nigh masters in the realm of thought. Brains—educated intellect—and not physical power, or wealth, or aristocracy, actually rule in this mundane sphere. The lords of the press are the lords of human thought, human progress, and human destiny.

This is a fact which cannot be truthfully denied. It is a tremendous fact, the full significance of which we fail to note. *What* is to be the history, the development, the final destiny of this greatest of the nationalities of the future, in numbers and material resources and power? No man or patriot, no scholar or Christian, can ponder this question and not feel anxious. And yet this momentous problem will be largely affected by the character of the literature of the future. Our thinkers, writers, critics, publishers, and those who aid and abet them in their work, will decide the matter for us. The brains and the pens of the masters of thought—the leaders and factors of the world's intellectual life in the realms of science, history, political economy, philosophy, theology, and fiction—will be chief forces working out the grandest destiny that history has ever recorded of any people; or they will cause a downfall so fearful in its extent, and so overwhelming in its ruin, as to shake the whole earth.

Let the writers of our popular reading ignore the ethical principle, strike down personal purity, and undermine the family constitution—let socialistic ideas take root in the minds and habits of the great working classes—let an atheistic agnosticism cast its baleful shadow over the nation, and let the censors of the press be as "dumb dogs that will not bark"—let this state of things ensue, and the work of ruin will be done. The decadence of moral virtue is the sure precursor of the decadence of national strength and greatness. The corruption and defilement of a nation's literature means the corruption of social virtue in the body politic, the destruction of integrity and honor in all the relations and walks of life, and the final complete overthrow of order and good government. One of the greatest perils to our literature, and through it to the people, lies in this direction. The weakest point in our lit-

erary criticism lies just here. Too many of the critics of the press are wanting in literary *honesty:* are not thoroughly conscientious and reliable. They do not ply their vocation in the fear of God, with a due sense of responsibility to the reading world. They are not always careful to give a verdict in strict accordance with truth and righteousness. The purity of the critical ermine is often, like that of the judicial, soiled by passion or interest. If a critic has not taken time and thought sufficient to know just what he is criticising, he ought in all fairness to say so, and let his guess go for what it is worth. But are not hundreds of books reviewed, and the reviewer's judgment paraded before the public, when not so much as the leaves of the book have been cut! Or, is that honest criticism which, after mastering the contents of a work—its faults and beauties, its merits and demerits—fails to give its honest opinion of it as a whole? Is that honest criticism which is restrained by a false delicacy, by fear of giving offense or wounding feelings, or by favoritism of any kind, from giving free, emphatic expression of disapproval and censure whenever and wherever the occasion demands it, and especially when truth, morality, and literary integrity are involved?

5. All worthy criticism must be *thorough.* Superficiality is one of the great faults of criticism, and indeed of all our literature. Either from too great haste or from incapacity for the difficult service, a large proportion of the work of our critics is not well done. It is too general in its character. It does not go below the surface. It tithes "mint, anise, and cummin," and passes over "the weightier matters of the law." It strains out the gnat and swallows the camel. It notes typographical errors, and fails to discern the gist of a book. It is quick to detect crudities of thought, infelicities of expression, and flaws in the arrangement of an author, and yet fails to grasp his argument or comprehend the scope and substance of his production. It praises or blames inordinately, because it lacks the discriminating faculty, or does not know how to apply the laws of criticism. It concerns itself with matters trivial, which the ordinary reader would be likely to see for himself, while the real inwardness of the book is not discovered, and the essential qualities and chief merits or defects of it, which ought to challenge the critic's sagacity and judgment, and which

the mass of uncritical readers may not be competent to detect or see in their full light, are not so much as hinted at.

This characterization applies to much of the literary criticism of the newspaper press, and to not a little that is found in our magazines. Frequently is it the case that only some trivial exception is taken to a work that is rotten to its core; and a trashy and even bad book is praised, while in the same issue a meritorious book is condemned, or noticed only by giving its title. This arises, it may be, not from malice or evil motive, but from sheer critical incapacity or mental laziness, or from the force of a most pernicious habit which has grown up among editors of passing judgment on books on the slightest glance at their contents, or from farming out the service—the most difficult and important which pertains to journalism—to unknown and irresponsible scribblers.

The point under consideration will *test the critic's mettle*—determine the breadth and depth of his culture, and the range of his critical sagacity and acumen. It is child's play, in reviewing a work, to note its mechanical defects, its infelicities of style, its defective reasoning, its surface errors, its immediate relations and aptitude. But when all this is accomplished the critic's main task is still before him. He must penetrate to the core thoughts of the author's mind. He must master his use of terms, his methods of construction, his philosophy, his essential argument, and all the materials and conditions which enter into the production. He must be able to look at it from the author's own point of view, and, in a measure, with his eyes; to comprehend his purpose, his limitations, his environments, and be able to judge whether his facts or arguments are sufficient to warrant his conclusions, and whether the performance, as a whole, is a creditable one to the author, and one that has claims on public attention and patronage. In no other way, at no less cost of time, patience, and critical ability, is it possible to do justice to a literary work of any moment, and determine its character, place, and mission in the world of letters. And this involves the necessity of extensive reading and culture, of trained sagacity and sound critical judgment, as well as a thorough knowledge of the principles of criticism and the structure and philosophy of literature. It is easy for one to write a history; to gather and arrange the facts, events, and

epochs which constitute the staple of all history, and set them forth with due order and perspicacity: we have any number of such histories. But it is quite another thing and a severer task to write a *philosophy of history;* to place this mass of isolated facts and events and epochs in their several relations of cause and sequence, so as to be able to deduce from them, by broad and philosophical generalizations, the law of history, and thus discover and set forth the potent factors which govern the growth, development, and decay of nations, peoples, and civilizations. Such histories are of immense value to the statesman, the scientist, the political economist, the moralist, and the student of Providence.

It is more than possible to elevate literary criticism into a science; to infuse into it the spirit and life of a divine and all-pervasive philosophy. There *is a vital philosophy pervading all true thought, all nature and Providence.* It dominates in heaven. It rules the stars. Its circuit is as limitless as universal being. It controls the course of nations, the rise and fall of empires, the growth and decadence of civilizations. It permeates the sphere of the mental and the spiritual. The intellects of men and angels are pervaded by it, and the Divine Intelligence is the seat and throne of its power. And it is possible for the devout student in the kingdom of thought to come under the attraction of this universal law; to feel the kindlings of this heavenly power, and under the touch of its wondrous inspiration to attain to a true conception of the dignity and glory of literature, and of the mission of those who strive to make it the handmaid of religion, and the very "power of God," for the elevation and sanctification of humanity.

6. Criticism, in order to answer its high end, must be *truthful*—not only in the ethical sense, but in the literary sense as well; truthful to nature as well as to God, and truthful to the ideals and principles which govern all true literary conception and life. Truthfulness is essential in every relation and sphere of life, but nowhere more so than in all literary work. This law of perfect truthfulness must be respected and obeyed or there will be no real or enduring success. History, biography, science, theology, must be true to facts; philosophy must be true to mental processes; poetry must be true to the laws of

the emotions; and fiction must be true to human nature in all its multiform aspects and conditions, and to actual life in common experience and observation. One of Sir Walter Scott's friends once laughed at his scrupulous fidelity to local description. The author's reply showed not only the high ideal of excellence at which he aimed, but also the insight of genius. As in nature herself no two scenes were exactly alike, so whoever presented truly what was before his eyes would possess the same variety in his descriptions, and exhibit apparently an imagination as boundless as the range of nature in the scenes recorded.

One of the greatest charms of Shakespeare, and one of the secrets of his world-wide popularity and permanent place in the world's literature, is the accuracy and truthfulness of his delineations. His anatomy of the human passions, and his portrayal of the power and workings of a guilty conscience, are true to the very life. The universal heart and conscience of mankind so recognize them. He cleaves straight down through the shams and disguises and subterfuges of sin and guilt, and lays bare the inner heart, with its lusts and defilements and sinuosities, to the consciousness of every man and to the observation of the world. The main reason why we have to-day so few writers of fiction that touch and sway the popular heart, and command the homage of the intelligent and cultured class, is, because we have so few masters in this line of excellence. George Eliot excels them all in mental power and grasp of thought; but many of her novels are philosophical disquisitions on the dark problems of life and being, rather than the delineations of actual human hopes and passions and lives in this existing world of ours. If the heroes and heroines of modern fiction were all gathered into one community, and clothed with flesh and blood, and each made to play his or her several parts, as described by our writers, what a community it would be! Unlike any thing ever seen on this mundane globe. And what a society it would constitute!—what a life it would present! And yet this is the species of humanity, this the type of life, this the society that our novelists picture out to the youthful fancy, describe as reality in human experience, delineate in character to instruct the world. The picture is essentially FALSE; there is no correspondence to actual nature and the

common lives of men and women. *Truthfulness* is sacrificed for the sake of effect or popularity, or because of the dominance of false tastes and standards, and in response to a vitiated demand. Dickens would have swayed a much more potent force while living, and his popularity would not have so rapidly declined after his death, had he been more truthful in his representations of human nature and life. Many of his characters are such exceptional oddities or monstrosities that they seem, to the average reader, to be merely caricatures. Possibly *he* may have seen the models of his characters in the slums and dark alleys of London life; but to the mass of his readers they are happily palpable untruths, and libels on human nature. Thackeray, with less genius than Dickens, is far more truthful to the actual, common, every-day life and humanity of the world, and he is therefore read with more pleasure and instruction.

It is the duty of criticism not only to set a conspicuous example of truthfulness in its own sphere, but to exact the same virtue, both on the ground of art and morals, throughout the realm of literature. It is bound to mark the absence of this essential quality, to detect and expose the counterfeit semblance, and to arraign and condemn, in the interest of sound literature, whatever is untruthful in spirit or in form. The critic will be false to the trust reposed in him if he shirks this duty. His own nature should be responsive to the demands of this high law, and he should be strict and fearless in visiting censure for every breach of it upon whomsoever the censure may fall. We shall not have a literature worthy of a free, cultured, Christian people until we weed out that which is unreal, untrue to nature, to art, to genuine virtue and pure living. The task is a severe one, but it can be accomplished.

7. Literary criticism, above all things, must *conform to the ethical principles of Christianity.* It is not necessary that Christian morality be formally taught in literary circles and in general literature; but the spirit of it, and the fundamental law of it, must underlie and permeate and be the "salt" of all thinking and writing and teaching, or we cannot create or conserve a clean, vital, healthy, vigorous literature. There must of necessity be freedom from all moral taint, and a high moral end and tendency. Literature is the expression, the in-

tellectual and moral force and trend, of the thinking and the life of a people. The institutions, the character, the civilization of any age or people, will not be superior to the actual and general character given to its literary development. It is not possible to think and act correctly—to give the right tone and direction to the human intellect—to subordinate the evil proclivities and passions of our fallen nature; to conserve liberty, social order, virtue, and truth, in the individual, the family, and the state—to make humanity true to itself and to the high end of its being, unless the principles of the Decalogue and the sublime precepts of the Sermon on the Mount are practically recognized as of universal and perpetual obligation in the entire realm of literature, as well as in the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ. All law, in heaven and on earth, is based on the ethical principle. Emerson, with all his bright sayings, never uttered a truer or more comprehensive truth than when he wrote this pregnant sentence: "*Health of mind consists in the perception of law.*" Law is the essence of right embodied and formulated. Morality, in its widest scope and essential spirit, is obedience to that divine law which runs through all nature, physical, mental, and spiritual. Human nature, as well as the angelic nature, is based on moral foundations, deep laid in the conscience, and all-pervasive. In no sphere of thought or action, in no actual or conceivable condition of being or society, can a man absolve himself from allegiance to this high law. It is dominant every-where. The words of the psalmist are literally true, as well as poetically beautiful: "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech nor language, where their voice is not heard."

The sentiment is creeping in among us that art and strict morals are incompatible, and if one or the other must be sacrificed the *ethical* must suffer. This false and atrocious sentiment has not as yet gained much headway in our literature. Even American fiction is but slightly tainted with it. But in art it has made fearful strides. Nude pictures, colored to the life, and the amatory passions depicted and spread out to the eye, both in painting and sculpture, are common sights in our art galleries and in the studios of artists, and on the walls of

many a palatial home. The London "Times" has recently contained several columns of sharp criticism on nude art in the Royal Academy exhibitions, of which there has been a great increase of late years. How long ere this pernicious sentiment will work its way into our literature, especially our fiction, to taint and blast the morals of the nation? If high art can thrive only at the expense of ethical purity and social virtue, then perish high art, and give us instead old-fashioned puritanical severity. We are on the downward grade when "technic is of more importance in any art than moral effect, and market price most important of all."

We do not urge the claims of religion, nor the dogmas of the Church, in thus insisting on the recognition of the moral code of the Bible as the basis and essential law of all literature, for that law is restricted to no creed, nor faith, nor religious belief, nor unbelief. It is alike binding on the Christian and the infidel, on the Jew and the Gentile, on the philosopher and the peasant. It belongs to *man as man*—to universal humanity; and applies in every relation and act and condition of life. The supreme obligation of this eternal and universal law is not abated one iota because a man rejects "the gospel of the grace of God" and lives in defiance of its teachings. The scholar, the writer, the critic, the publisher, the reader, are each and all amenable to this ethical law for every sentiment expressed, and for every book written, published, bought, and read. It is very *responsible* business, this putting on paper and in type, in permanent life, for the eye and mind of mankind during all the on-coming ages of time, the thoughts of one's mind, the passions of one's heart, the moods and habits of one's inner being, and the principles which govern and find expression in one's outward life. The man who deliberately assails the fundamental law of ethics—a law absolutely essential to the health and well-being of God's moral universe—by the improper, sinful use of pen and type and press, is the enemy of his race, and the deadly foe of society and of universal humanity, a thousand-fold more so than if he had simply broken a human statute. The writers and publishers of that fearful mass of vicious literature which so shocks the sensibilities of the better class in society, and is filling the land with vice and crime in every loathsome form and in startling proportions, are

infinitely more criminal than the pirates who plunder and murder upon the high seas; or than the gambler, the seducer, or the kidnapper, who ply their devilish arts on the land. They strike at a universal law; they assail virtue at its source, and society at its most vulnerable points, and taint, corrupt, and demoralize the entire race of man, as far as the poison of their writings is felt.

The French novel is to-day sapping the very foundations of moral virtue in the family and the state, and it tends with fearful certainty to subvert social order and civil liberty, and to bring on again in France the reign of communism, anarchy, and blood-thirsty passion. When the ethical principle is discarded by the popular writers of a people; when the "salt" of social virtue is perished out of its popular literature and the flood-gates of immoral sentiment and passion are opened, moral and social decadence, putrefaction, and ruin are the inevitable results. No power of genius, no brilliancy of intellect, no amount of scholarship among its savants, or of learning cloistered in universities, or of intelligence diffused among the people, and no passion for art or love of liberty, can then stay the tide of desolation. When moral restraints are gone, when marital ties are dissolved at will, when the integrity of virtue is sneered at, and the popular mind is flooded with the filth of lustful sentiment and passion, a people will surely ripen for the terrible visitations of divine righteousness.

We have not wholly escaped the vile contagion in this land where Puritan morals have been so long dominant. The tendency among us is in the same direction. The same exciting causes exist here as on the other side of the great sea. Already agencies and forces are at work to demoralize the public conscience and debauch the morals of the people, particularly of our children and youth, by obscene pictures and by the vilest kinds of reading. We have writers, too, in any number, who are ready to sell their brains and pens (morals they have none) to this iniquitous trade. They are constantly on the outlook for opportunities. And we have publishers who have grown rich by printing and circulating cheap novels and story papers by the million which are a disgrace to our Christian name and civilization—a mass of literature which, like the frogs of Egypt, is every-where where there is a boy

or a girl to be decoyed to ruin, or an evil heart to be inflamed with lust—a literature without one redeeming trait, either in a literary or moral sense, and which only panders to vice, idleness, immorality, and crime, and which, on the Sabbath and on every day of the week, is educating millions of the children and youth of this land for the brothel, the penitentiary, and the gallows.

The newspaper press of this country, while we heartily recognize its ability and enterprise, and appreciate its general excellence, is nevertheless a source of *imminent danger to our morals.* The greater its excellence in other respects and the more potent its influence, the greater the danger if that danger really exists. And this peril is seen in two potent facts: the first is, that the ethical principle has come to be quite generally set at naught, even by our leading journals, in their anxiety to furnish "newsy," exciting, popular reading. And hence scandals, intrigues, "interviews," real or imaginary, marital infelicities, divorce and seduction suits, murders, robberies, hangings, suicides, etc., are spread out in their columns under startling headings and sub-headings in all their disgusting details, and with all their demoralizing suggestions and concomitants. It would be an insult to common sense to attempt to justify this course on moral grounds, or as a necessity in journalism. The other fact is the "Sunday" newspaper. It dates back only a few years, and already it is an established institution in the land, and a factor of tremendous influence for harm. How is it possible to preserve intact our American Sabbath, when more than five hundred leading journals of the country on that day are scattering their millions of papers, by means of Sunday trains and expresses and carriers through all our cities and country districts, tempting multitudes to buy and read and join them in secularizing the Sabbath. Their example and influence are doing more to demoralize our Sunday and turn it into a day of recreation, pleasure, and dissipation than all other agencies put together. With this example and influence operating in full force, it is morally impossible to stay the demand and tendency to open our parks and museums and libraries and theaters on the Sabbath, and thus make that day, hitherto the glory of English-speaking Christendom, what it is in Continental Europe.

There is one historical fact, expressed in the annexed paragraph, that affords some comfort:

> The literature of the two great Anglo-Saxon peoples has always had a tolerably clear idea that there is a necessary connection between art and ethics. It has contained many mischievous or frivolous books; it has wavered between the austerity of Bunyan and the license of the dramatists of the Restoration; it has been successively influenced by Norman-French, Italian, Latin, and Greek culture; but it has never lost sight of certain principles peculiarly its own. One of these principles is, that a book should have a definite purpose, a real reason for being, if it expects a long life. This principle has not been lost even in the imaginative literature of England and America.

And as the Anglo-Saxon *race* seems destined to be the dominant race of the future, we may hope that Anglo-Saxon *literature*, freed from its incidental impurities, will dominate also in the world of letters.

Art. III.—THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The eighteenth may be regarded as an epochal century in England's long and celebrated history. Its fluctuating and unpromising civilization—the degeneracy and corruption of its political institutions—the variableness and uncertainty of its social tendencies—and both the insipidity and animation, the decline and restoration, of religious ideas among the people—attract the attention of the student of the period.

In its activities, aims, and achievements, it is a century of marked contrasts, the extremes of which are moral disorganization and religious revival. Vices flourish as luxuriantly as virtues; business stagnation balances commercial enterprise; select learning is outwitted by the common ignorance; theological independence is matched by universal depravity.

Great names adorn the records of the one hundred years. Steele, Addison, Pope, Sir Isaac Newton, Blackstone, Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson, Paley, Burke, Swift, Bolingbroke, Hume, Chesterfield, and Gibbon appear, constituting an array of brilliant thinkers and writers not eclipsed by the intellectual

giants of the Elizabethan era. Great events, discoveries, inventions, and wars—notably the war with the American colonies followed by their independence—indicate the progressive and military spirit of England; while angry contentions in parliament and changes in ministerial leadership denote political unrest and a public demand for greater liberty of thought and action. The idea of the sovereignty and the greatness of man is cherished as never before, and is announced with an elegance of phrase scarcely less attractive than the idea itself.

Great preachers are at the front emphasizing the natural and moral rights of the individual, and uncovering the doctrine of human responsibility which had been obscured under the indifferent teaching of the Established Church. Whitefield, the Wesleys, Fletcher, Venn, Robertson, Bishop Watson, Romaine, Doddridge, Warburton, Campbell, Butler, and Talbot are heard throughout the kingdom, agitating the public feeling, reviving a religious enthusiasm, and, notwithstanding their clashings and antagonisms, preparing the nation for a moral upheaval.

The result of these political struggles in parliament, of the hostile controversies among the theologians, and of the investigating spirit in literary pursuit, was the broadening of both political and religious inquiry, which culminated in new ecclesiastical movements and the pronounced necessity of religion to the nation.

Our interest in its history grows out of the relation of its events to the condition of society and the Church at the present time, both in England and America. Without the eighteenth century the nineteenth had not been. The nineteenth is the heir of the religion, the political ideas, the social manners, and churchly teachings of the eighteenth century. The doctrines, laws, usages, and, to some extent, the spirit of the one, together with its literature and scientific aims, have been transferred to the other.

Standing apart from the ages as does the eighteenth, and memorable as it is for the second Reformation of England, it is surprising that the literature of the period, especially the written history of the Church and of the religious developments of that time, is so limited, so difficult of access, and so incomplete and unsatisfactory when obtained and studied. Of great events, great personages, great changes, the revelation is sufficient;

but of historical details, even of prominent facts, there is a great paucity. Like towering peaks do great political or religious movements seem to the observer; but he must be content with general statements respecting the same, or minute descriptions of whose authenticity he is not quite assured. Hume and Macaulay suspend their histories with the close of the seventeenth century. Allison forgets the order of the events he is narrating, handing over a miscellany of facts, valuable as facts, but without declaring that inner connection which constitutes an historic plan, or the spirit of providential movements. Froude completes the reign of Elizabeth and stops. Of political historians Charles Knight alone succinctly traverses the century. Of Church historians Neander, voluminous and reliable, does not advance beyond the thirteenth century; D'Aubigné, the chief authority on the European Reformation, lays down his pen at the middle of the sixteenth century; Milner, describing the career of the Church from the time of Christ, concludes his labors with a description of the Diet at Augsburg; Pressensé, charming and elegant, does not venture beyond the limits of the apostolic mission; Southey, writing elaborately of John Wesley, devotes a solitary and ambiguous chapter to the state of religion in England during the rise of Methodism; Mosheim engages to reproduce the contents of the century, but, besides being governed by prejudice, which is always a disqualification for authentic writing, he gives little account of the ministry, save the controversies and schisms, conducted by theologians, which rent the Church. Our own Dr. Abel Stevens supplies in part the connecting links, and is authentic within his limitations, but the impartial student feels that he is writing of an individual or of a single ecclesiastical movement rather than of a country, or of a century, or of the general life of the Christian Church in England. The same observation applies to Isaac Taylor, who writes of Wesley and Methodism.

The materials for a paper on the English ministry of the eighteenth century are not easily obtained, and especially have not been anticipated or furnished by the popular writers named. A history of the essential facts, however, the later historians, such as Lecky, Wilson, Shaw, and Greene, have sought to preserve; and Church annalists, pamphleteers, and biographers have contributed incidental references which are

valuable in the making of an estimate of what the Church was, and what it accomplished during the passage of one hundred years.

The first question, then, to be settled is, How shall the century be investigated? In what form and order shall the segregated facts be presented? Is there an historical order, or are the events with which we deal an accidental grouping without logical processes and connections? If the events to be considered succeeded one another as cause and effect, or were so linked that one suggested another, the unraveling of the historic process, while it might require sagacity to discover the *nexus* where it is obscure, would be a delightful and perhaps a comparatively easy task. In that case our search would be for operating causes, or moving principles. If the century, however, is without apparent historic or providential order—if it is a chaos of proceedings, a constant collision rather than a visible development of ideas and purposes—the task, though more difficult, will be equally delightful, for it will consist in an attempt to bring order out of chaos, and to reduce the manifold manifestations of the civil and religious life of the people to a system. For system there is in all history. History is only a plan. The plan, manifest or occult, is there and always in execution. Events signify system; apparently disorderly events only a hidden plan.

Happily, the century was not chaotic, except at times in appearance, nor was it definitely regular in its development; and yet the homogeneity of its elemental forces, the juxtaposition of its varied movements, the conspicuousness of its permanent features, and the perpetuity of its religious results, justify the attempt at a simple classification of its historic phases and products.

Chronologically, it may be divided into three periods, the ruling factor of which may be religion in its enlarged and universal sense, or some central figure or personage who embodied himself in some particular movement which affected the century, or a commanding event which was the core of a vital and sovereign change or achievement. Divided in respect to its relation to religion, the three following periods will be the result: (1) The non-religious period; (2) The religious period; (3) The anti-religious, or reactionary, period. Divided with reference to a central figure, Wesley, for example, we shall

have the following: (1) The ante-Wesley period; (2) The Wesley period; (3) The post-Wesley period. Divided in view of some religious movement, as Methodism, the arrangement must be: The pre-Methodistic period; the Methodistic period; the post-Methodistic period. In substance these divisions are one, covering the same periods, embracing the same facts, and including the same order of history. Another writer, selecting the Established Church, or the Oxford University, or an archbishop, as a starting-point or basis of division, would be compelled to recognize the facts, if not the order of the facts, as here given, for it is impossible to comprehend religion in its historic phases in England from Queen Anne to George IV. without including that masterpiece of evangelistic workmanship—Methodism, with the originating work and molding influence of the Wesleys.

Not to appear as confining our observation to one range of thought, we propose to review in the order of the first division; that is, to consider the century in its relation to religion—the non-religious, the religious, and the anti-religious, or reactionary, periods of English history.

The non-religious period, beginning with Queen Anne's reign in the year 1702, spans thirty or forty years, during which there was a manifest decline of the spirit of religion, of the practice of its virtues, of a performance of its duties, and of a belief of its doctrines; and, as doctrine and life, or belief in the truth and correct living, are indissolubly joined, stagnation in morals and a growing tendency to formalism soon appeared. The national Church, itself the school of formalistic ideas and worships, and relying rather upon parliamentary support than upon the voluntary offerings of the people, became more tyrannical than ever, oppressing all nonconforming religionists with unbearable exactions and limitations, and extinguishing, by its non-aggressive spirit, all love of religious development in the souls of men. Its chief and persistent aim was to maintain itself without regard to the spread of religion, the demands of the Gospel, or the welfare of the people.

Perhaps a national Church is a divinely ordered institution, having functions which it is quite impossible for a spontaneous Church to discharge; but just what those functions are no

writer has satisfactorily pointed out. It is conceded that when spiritual life has departed from an ecclesiastical organization, or is in the process of departure, connection with the State may prove advantageous to the preservation of its form; it may continue to exist even when dead, but formal existence cannot be a substitute for spiritual life. When the Church has ceased to be spiritual it is a question if it is any longer a Church. It may observe beautiful forms of worship; its creed may have legal sanction; its ministry may be supported out of the national treasury; but æstheticism and taxation are not the criteria of Church life. The cross must not be covered with flowers; cultivated Unitarianism buries it out of sight with bouquets: it must stream with blood. A bloody, not a beautiful, cross—a spiritual, not an æsthetic, worship—a divine, not a parliamentary, creed—must enter into vital religion. These, indeed, are the forces of a true religion. Formalism, the result of national establishments, is sometimes more ruinous than, and therefore not to be preferred to, death itself; for it is a deceptive pretense, under whose blighting influence not only the Church falls into sleep, but also the world, quick to discover the deception, loses faith in the genuine manifestations of religion. If the national Church of England contributed to the preservation of religion, certainly it failed perceptibly to extend it; it aimed not at extension; it was without the missionary impulse—it lived upon itself. Even its forms lost their sanctity and were imperfectly conducted, and in many instances entirely abandoned. No warrant is given to concede that the religion of ecclesiasticism, of pure but spiritless forms, flourished openly, or exerted any considerable religious influence in the early part of the eighteenth century. It was salt that had lost its savor.

To obtain a just estimate of this period and understand the character of the forces at work to undermine true religion, we must consider England's condition in its philosophical, social, political, and religious aspects—a fourfold view, but with an underlying unity in that each aspect is related to the final determination of the period.

What was the relation of the prevailing philosophic teaching to religion? Did philosophy and religion mutually support each other, or were they antagonistic? Genuine philosophy, in

its highest attempts, is theological, for it deals with theistical and ethical problems. Both consider the unconditioned, the absolute, the infinite; both inquire concerning the soul, the limits of knowledge, and seek and suggest laws for the regulation of human conduct; both are interpreters of nature or the universe. Philosophy, in its relation to theological and ethical truth, must support or oppose religion in its relation to the same truth. It cannot be indifferent to the fundamental teachings of religion. It must be atheistic, deistic, or theistic; it must accept the spiritual character of man or plunge into materialism; it must sustain Sinai, as it voices the supreme law, or antagonize it with other commandments; it must bow to a supernaturalistic religion or frame a scientific morality. This relation is vital, sovereign, indissoluble.

What was the attitude of the English philosophy of the eighteenth century toward the Christian religion? Rugged Thomas Carlyle says: "The eighteenth was a skeptical century, in which little word there is a whole Pandora's Box of miseries." As between a reverential and skeptical philosophy, we are compelled to decide that it was the latter; it was strangely and strongly infidelic, impregnated with the poison of a hateful prejudice to all alleged supernatural truth. Deriving its impulse from the seventeenth century, and going even to the sixteenth for philosophic idioms and ideas, it yet had a complexion and motion of its own, and was equally destructive of the ancient landmarks of religion. Borrowing from Hobbes and Shaftesbury certain questionable ethical theories, it strove to undermine the popular faith in the sacredness and authority of moral distinctions; and, listening to Locke, who, employing the empirical method in the analysis of the mind's processes and operations, unintentionally but absolutely opened the gates to the rankest materialistic heresies, overwhelming disaster to the popular conceptions of immortality and responsibility followed.

These philosophers, with others, prepared the way for the more reckless assaults of Hume, Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, and Gibbon, who applied the torch to the temple of truth, smoking its oldest pillars and consuming a fragment of its altar. The work was heroic, the effect terrific, suicidal. Such lofty minds uniting in a crusade against the doctrine of revelation—that is, supernaturally-communicated truth—and holding up the insti-

tutions of religion to the scorn and calumny of the multitude, succeeded in turning the public thought from the subject of revealed truth, or exposed to their own satisfaction the hollowness of the mission of the Church in urging such truth upon the attention of men. The infidel philosophy of this period, however, must not be confounded with the scientific philosophy of the times, which, under the leadership of such an authority as Sir Isaac Newton, was in strange contrast with the former, and resisted it to the extent of its power. Scientific philosophy, or philosophical science, in his hands was a supporter of Christian truth. Science then, however, was in its rudimentary stages, and did not command the field. Even Newton's discoveries were held for some time in disrepute, and Newton himself, for a little while, doubted the reality of the law of gravitation which he announced. Science had a suspicious air, and, joining itself to religion, lost the little favor it received on its own account. Sneering Horace Walpole and the refined but poisoning Chesterfield swayed the moral sentiment of the nation, while the devoted Newton's protests were filed away for future reference.

The failure of science to resist infidelic encroachments and aid religion in its weighty tasks, though it raised its arm to strike the enemy, was owing in part to the division or antagonism of its own followers. Scientific philosophy was by no means a unit, either in its methods, purposes, results, or the form in which the results were announced. Newton himself was opposed, under the reign of George I., by Hutchinson, who, framing a perverted philosophical conception of the universe out of the Mosaic cosmogony, drew to his support many of the ablest clergymen of the kingdom, among them George Horne, Romaine, Jones, and Wetherell. What could be expected of a ministry that, incompetent to silence the scoffer and the infidel by a defense of the Scriptures, arrayed itself against that form of science which alone confirmed the Scriptures? Such is the spectacle presented in the non-religious period of England: the ministry ridiculed and overthrown by the infidel, the Bible torn in shreds by the scoffer, the institutions of religion calumniated by outspoken unbelievers, the Church abandoned by the multitudes, and science divided against itself respecting philosophical and revealed truth. If

the intellect of England was thus adrift; if its philosophy was in the hands of infidels; if its ministry were abetting false science; if the nation had outgrown the necessity of a Church, and Bible truth was actually superseded by skeptical dogmatism, the decline of the morals of the nation has an easy explanation. The result, however, is exceedingly painful to contemplate, and is a commentary on the character and moral influence of philosophic infidelity.

What was the social status of England at this time? Was it such as to conserve the spread of religion and the purposes of the Gospel, or were the social forces in antagonism to religious education and discipline? England then, even more than now, cherished the aristocratic spirit which divided the people, arraying on one side the nobles, lords, and princes, and on the other the multitudes. Social life, social manners, social opinions, originated with the aristocratic classes; the court, with its stiffness and sternness, was in power. But scientific and philosophic truths are not dependent upon aristocratic approval for favor or authority, since the test of truth is not human opinion of it, but its own essence, or the form of its manifestation. Truth proves itself. Religion, however, as taught, or as a dogmatic deduction from the Scriptures, was subject to the aristocratic rule of opinion, and was lowered to the level of social ideas and sanctions. It must obtain the consent of the aristocracy or be powerless. Religious truth, in itself, is as independent of opinion as scientific truth, and is to be tested by its own merits; but while the aristocracies submitted to philosophic truth, and went down with it, they compelled religious truth, as it was taught, to submit to them, and so wrested it to their destruction. Religious truth had favor or disfavor as the aristocracy nodded assent or withheld it. Unfortunately the aristocracies of the country were unfriendly to evangelical religion. Submitting to an unfriendly and perverted philosophy, it was natural that they should reject the religion which it condemned. The animadversions on religion of the Duchess of Buckingham, the criticisms of Whitefield by Dr. Samuel Johnson, and the peculiar social trials of Lady Huntingdon, reveal the iniquitous condition of the upper classes in England, and that they preferred infidelity to religion.

Let us not be understood as implying that there were no

brave spirits in this period of decline, or that nothing was done to check the declension. Christian philosophers resisted the skeptical philosophy; Christian ministers sorrowed over the decadence of Christianity; of aristocratic families, not a few mourned over the lapse of evangelical religion, and the disappearance of personal piety; but in general, from Queen Anne, who favored the Established Church against all dissenting classes, though it was a lifeless institution, down through all grades of society, there was little reverence for religious truth, and none whatever for the forms of religious worship. There was a social religion in England, but not a *religious* religion. The social, the high-toned, classes, the aristocracies, and royalty itself, were unacquainted with true religion, and by the force of a resistless influence suppressed its first manifestations.

The politics of the country—what support was found for religion here? Was it not the province of Parliament to sustain the Established Church, to support its ministers, to see that the forms of religion were publicly observed, and that public morality was promoted? In other words, while philosophy was dictating the submission of religion to its own primary settlements of moral questions, and while the social forces were corrupt and corrupting, did not Parliament, the source of power, the guardian of the Church, and the promoter of religion, arrest all decline and keep perforce the nation on its knees before God? Something is required to resist the progress of decay; will the State religion prevent its own overthrow? Here we meet a failure where success is imperative in order to prevent a collapse of the national life.

The century began with political disputes between the Whigs and Tories, and ecclesiastical hostilities between the Orthodox and Sectaries, or the Established Church and Dissenters. Under Queen Anne the politico-religious contest was exceedingly complicated from the fact that while the Tories sympathized with the national Church and controlled the pulpits of the country, the Whigs were in political power and controlled legislation.

In Parliament the Dissenters were in the majority, so that the national Churchmen were often rebuked and outvoted; in the national Church the Tories were in the majority, so that the Dissenters were crushed. In this mixed and apparently evenly-

balanced condition of affairs, a Tory clergyman, Dr. Henry Sacheverell, assuming a fatal independence, ventured to preach a stirring sermon against the Dissenters, whereupon the Whig majority in the House of Commons silenced him for three years. The agitation thus precipitated was unfavorable to calm religious inquiry, and disastrous to the hitherto unbroken power of the Church. In so far as it was a conflict between the Established Church and Parliament, or between politics and religion, politics triumphed. In so far as it was a conflict between Nationalists and Dissenters, the latter triumphed. In both cases the popular result was an effective blow at the national Church; but the decline of the national Church was the decline of the national religion. This conflict did not terminate with Queen Anne's reign, but was intensified by the sympathy of George I., of the House of Hanover, with the Whigs, or dissenting classes. The new king was a Lutheran in faith, and, caring little for the Church of England, the Whigs found in him an unexpected and influential ally, and used him to their advantage and to the widening of the gulf between the two religious classes of the realm. In time so wide became the gap between the Orthodox and Sectaries, as Mosheim calls them, that the Dissenters made a bold dash for liberty, but, advancing heroically, they were not entirely successful. Dr. Benjamin Hoadley bravely introduced a new controversy by preaching a sermon on Christ's kingdom, in which he maintained that the Church should be free from the State; he virtually declared for disestablishment, but it did not prevail. That such a doctrine could be preached in safety one hundred and fifty years ago was a sign of the times and a warning to the national Church, which, however, it did not heed. At the same time an attempt was made to relieve the Dissenters of all religious tests, a just movement intended to put them on an equality with the Churchmen; it was only partially successful, for while the test oath was annulled, the sacramental oath, quite as odious, remained.

The result of these controversies was, on the whole, advantageous to free religion, but it must be understood that they were in spirit rather political than religious. Religion was secondary; there were no more prayers offered, no more souls converted, during the exciting contests than before. Religion

may have gained certain political rights, but politics gained nothing from religion. The spirituality of the people steadily declined with the assertion of political rights, and the extension of religious privileges. The outcome was not redemptive.

To the Church itself, then, let us go in search of religion. If it cannot be found among the philosophers, in the social aristocracies, or in parliament or politics, surely the Church itself will be true to its character, and reflect the image and excellences of Christ. If disappointed here, then we shall be ready to crave the advent of reformers.

Let us not be over-sanguine of a favorable discovery. To estimate the religious condition of England at this time, it must be remembered that, as we have shown, the public feeling was in a state of irreconciliation with religion, or of positive disloyalty to the Established Church, the keeper of the religious covenants. Philosophy, aristocracy, and royalty itself in some of its branches, combined in a peremptory warfare against religious ideas and the forms of worship. The aggravating feature of the opposition was its openly avowed infidelic purpose, and not infrequently its intense and contagious immoral character. What produced this state of things? Was religion responsible, in any degree, for the opposition that was raised against it? Is there any thing in religion calculated to provoke sedition? Was the Church immoral in conduct, defective in doctrinal teaching, unholy in its programme of living, giving occasion for infidelity to attack it, and the aristocracy to abandon it? Or did infidelity, atheism, and immorality exist in society, and finally corrupt and disintegrate the Church? A corrupt and immoral ministry, or an infidelic philosophy and corrupt aristocracy—which existed first? Which was antecedent? which consequent? Disregarding the order of the religious subsidence in England, certain it is that it was not the result of superficial or suddenly appearing causes; it was not hastily precipitated, but originated in a moral dissipation and coquetry with skeptical questionings which, imperceptible in influence at first, grew in force and acquired courage enough at last to demand the surrender of all that is vital in religion. The ethically unsound teachings and the gross immoralities of the aristocracies of the seventeenth century passed over into the eighteenth, without resistance or protest. Not even the

sturdy Puritanism of that day, which contested the claims of the Papal Church, stood out against the corrupt invasion of the previous century; in fact, it was vicious itself, and the Puritan Churches fell into both doctrinal and ethical decay. A catastrophe whose magnitude it is difficult to adequately estimate, now imperiled the whole Church; the Church itself was in the last stages of dissolution.

To understand the extent of the disaster inflicted by the hostile forces of infidelity and corruption without, and the disintegrating forces of indifference and immorality within, the Church, we append the statements of those who, either as observers or historians, were qualified to judge of conditions and results, and are known as trustworthy reporters of the same. "There is no such thing as religion in England," Montesquieu declared in 1730, and added, "If any one speaks about religion every body begins to laugh." Dr. Kirk reports that, according to the essayists of the period, "the moral virtues of the nation were at their last gasp." Both dissenting and national ministers agreed that "religion was dying in the world," and Christianity was interpreted as a huge fable. In these uncontradicted expressions are the proofs of a universal decline of respect for religious truth, and the positive reign of an immoral tendency in the public and private life of the people.

In the theater the most repulsive and shameless wit obtained; in the Church clergymen like Swift and Sterne indulged in indecent jesting. Among the poets Dryden, always vacillating in his religious affinities, gave respectability to vicious ballads; among the novelists Smollett and Fielding contributed to the general demoralization. Dr. Dobbin, of the Dublin University, may be quoted for the saying, that the Church and the world were alike asleep. Macaulay depicts the demoralization of the preceding age in a startling manner and with a marvelous fullness of immoral exposures; while William Massey states, that the depravity of England from George I. was not exceeded by that of the Roman Empire in the days of its decline. Thackeray confirms with specific accounts the appalling representation. Bishop Burnet declares that "the clergy (of the Established Church) were under more contempt than those of any other Church in Europe." Watts, seeing deeper than others, states that "there was a general

decay of vital religion in the hearts and lives of men;" and another re-echoes the same truth by saying that "the Spirit of God has so far departed from the nation that hereby almost all vital religion is lost out of the world." Dr. Guire's testimony is, that "Christianity is ridiculed and railed at with very little reserve, and the teachers of it without any at all." Stronger than this is the declaration of Bishop Butler: "It has come to be taken for granted that Christianity is no longer a *subject of inquiry*, but that now at length it is discovered to be fictitious;" and respecting the clergy, Southey remarks, that they "had lost that authority which may always command at least the appearance of respect."

Such is the concurrent testimony of the ablest divines, and the most reliable writers of the period, revealing a melancholy condition of society, and the triumph of skepticism and immorality in the nation. The sum of it is, that Christianity is a fiction, the clergymen are in contempt, spirituality is unknown, vice is on the throne, and religion in any form has departed. The Church is dead.

Was the age altogether insensible to its rottenness? Was nothing done to check the sway of irreligion? Certain periodicals, the "Spectator," the "Rambler," and the "Tattler," were established by Addison, Steele, and Samuel Johnson, which aimed volleys of criticism at the follies of the day and exposed immoralities without plainly denouncing them. Besides, the criticisms were in the form of essays, sometimes too elegantly written, or too pregnant with obstructions to engage the public mind, and when clear-cut and retributive in spirit, they neutralized their effect by wit and apology. It must be remembered, too, that these publications were not specifically religious, nor established in the interest of the Church. They were useful in calling attention to existing evils, but suggested no adequate remedy and initiated no suppressive influence.

What were the clergy doing during these days of decay? Some of them were reading the sermons that Dr. Samuel Johnson had written for them; all of them, abandoning the doctrines of the Reformation, were preaching—when they preached, which was not often—the doctrines of natural religion. Revealed religion the pulpit discarded; piety it did not

encourage; immorality it condoned. Apologetically, Mosheim says the clergy of the Establishment *sunk into lukewarmness*, and represents that they were concerned for the Church and not religion. For incomplete statements, distorted facts, and unfair inferences, commend us to Mosheim; but for full, frank, courageous representations of the irreligious Establishment, we must look elsewhere. Under George I. the atheistic attacks on religion were repelled, he says, by Waterland, Foster, and other able theologians; that William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, wrote against Bolingbroke, and that Campbell and Adams replied to Hume. Accepting his statement, they prove that God was not without witnesses in the midst of the civilized heathenism of England; but he does not, he cannot, contradict the concurrent testimony of the writers given in a previous paragraph, that the Church was spiritless, religion had vanished from the nation, and infidelity and immorality, joined together in purpose, were sharing the profits of victory in the decadence of the empire. Isaac Taylor says, England had lapsed into virtual heathenism when (in 1740) Wesley appeared.

As when Christ was manifested the Roman world was corrupt, degenerate, "dead in trespasses and sins," so England, apostatized, infidelic, and immoral, was in need of a reformer, a teacher, a helper. England was ripe for a religious revolution. Come it must; it was the only thing that could come. If the way is not open for a reformer—if John Wesley was not raised up to save England to the Church and religion to England—the doctrine of providential interposition in behalf of the Church has no illustration in human history. The non-religious period, with its moral defalcations, inferiorities, and crudities, is succeeded after severe trials and struggles by a period of religious development and resplendent spiritual conquests.

The consideration of this auspicious period in England's history, with its central figures and industrial spirit, is now in order. England's need was a second reformation. It had put away the first; it must return or begin anew. In Oxford University were a few young men who, enthusiastically grieving over the moral anarchy of society, determined upon personal reform, so far as they were concerned, and began at once a serious study of the Bible; but they were ridiculed and were called in derision *Bible-moths*. One of these young men, John Wesley,

always courageous when opposed, saw at a glance what was first needed, namely, a revival of religion in the Established Church. Of that Church he was an unconverted member, but he was disturbed by what he saw without, and even more by what he recognized within, its pale. In the incipient state of his religious purpose there was no idea of organizing a new movement, or founding an independent Church. The old Church was good enough in doctrine, strong enough in mechanical form, and numerous enough in its adherents, if it only had religious life, to accomplish the needed revolution; but he soon found that the Church had no desire for religion and had repudiated common morality. The fire burned in his bones and he could not rest. The Gospel, believed or rejected, must be preached in the Church or out of it, for the Church or against it; and so commenced the struggle between a pure evangelism and a base apostasy; between revealed religion and natural religion; between holiness and sin.

Not for some time did Wesley appear like the nucleus of a great providential movement; his preaching was that of one man, and yet it proved to be the call of another Elijah to the nation. Laborers gathered about him; preachers multiplied; revivals, akin to those of apostolic times, burst out in unexpected places, and triumphed over all opposition; hundreds and thousands were converted; and the old Established Church became alarmed. In a spirit of infuriated jealousy, and with the strength of a lion, it determined to crush the supernatural signs and preserve itself from crumbling into dust. This hostility alone proves the old Church destitute of godliness, exposes the spirit of cruelty that animated it, reveals its deep-seated hypocrisy in all its shameless phases, and justifies the evangelistic work of Mr. Wesley. An Episcopalian, as Mr. Wesley was and always was, the pulpits of his own Church were denied him, and he was compelled to preach in the open air, or in barns and mines, or in the homes of the people. This, however, proved to be providential, for he was heard by the multitudes, and a great awakening was the result. As if to put a sudden stop to the spread of religion, Wesley and his preachers were often arrested as disturbers of the peace, many of them were fined, some were imprisoned, and Wesley himself was stoned. In spite of these obstructions revivals continued

and the word of God prevailed; churches were built; heroic workers increased daily; and the prospect of an independent Church dawned upon the national mind. The common classes were easily reached and impressed; the aristocracies were invaded and captures were not infrequent; royalty itself heard the thunder of the Gospel and trembled, or felt the cold wave of condemnation and shivered. Lady Huntingdon was raised up to assist with her influence and patronage in the evangelization of England, and she personally led many lords and nobles with their families to the Lord Jesus Christ. What shall be said of Whitefield, Fletcher, Romaine, and the eccentric Berridge, and William Grimshaw, and Madan, and Maxwell, and Nelson, and a host of co-workers raised up to proclaim the Gospel and save the nation?

Evangelists rapidly increasing, and defections from the Established Church daily occurring, it was not long before England, cold, impassive, and steeped in immorality, was aroused, presenting in the great moral agitation which irresistibly prevailed a striking contrast with its former debased and spiritless condition. The religious movement, emerging from an obscure beginning, developed with wonderful rapidity, its chief aim being the restoration of religion to the nation. In no sense was it an attempt on the part of its conductors or instruments to revive ecclesiasticism, of which the nation had had enough; but its purpose was to re-instate the reign and authority of religion. Singularly, the public desire for the restoration of the religious idea became soon as intense as it had been for its abrogation or dethronement; the movement, too, took a spontaneous character, and was wanting in precise ecclesiastical methods, which, exciting the wrath of the old Church dignitaries, proceeded in its work of conquest until its triumph was proclaimed. In this unmethodical uprising there is little sign of human calculation; it bears the mark of a divine development, which neither legislation nor persecution could resist or overcome. All England is aroused, spontaneously aroused, divinely quickened, and the nation is saved.

If we should confine this moral and pervading agitation to Wesley and his followers, or to dissentients alone, we should overlook the magnitude of God's work and do injustice to many honored instruments in its success. Standing in the foreground

is John Wesley; he is the central figure of the revolution; in him is the spirit of leadership; and without him the religious movement had waned, and perhaps had utterly failed. At the same time the movement received augmenting force in the labors and sacrifices of others, both of the same and a different faith, which deserve recognition. Even in the national Church were those who quaked with fear and studied the solemn signs of revival with an apprehension that it was from God.

In the general, however, the authorities of the old Church, the archbishops principally, regarded the propagation of the Gospel by other than their own methods as a usurpation of their rights, and so they lent small favor to the regenerating attempt of the Wesleys.

In the course of events it came to pass that this great religious uprising, somewhat miscellaneous in character, and without ecclesiastical order, must centralize itself under special leaders, and assume for its own preservation a distinct name. Opposed by the old Church, the uprising was felt within its bounds; extending itself beyond the Church, it was receiving the warmest welcome; and it was natural that to all observers it should appear as an outside and independent movement. Had the old Church embraced it, sanctioning at least its spirit, and confining it within its own realm, it had been known in history as a revival within the Church, but sanction being withheld it is known as an outside, or the Methodistic, revival of the eighteenth century. It was thrust out; the old Church expelled it as it would a traitorous spirit; and it necessarily organized itself into an independent movement.

By virtue of its organic independence, however, it invoked the more demonstrative opposition of the Church Establishment, which determined upon its extinction. In its incipient or sporadic stages, ridicule was the weapon employed against it; but as it advanced in popular favor, silencing somewhat the menacing criticisms of the authorities, social ostracism and condemnation were turned against it; and when assuming independence it stood alone, legislation and the national spirit combined for its overthrow. The existence of a new Church organism, exhibiting a superior religious character, and aiming at specific religious ends, was regarded by the formal worshipers of the Establishment as a menace, as a disloyal

organization whose suppression by law would be justified. In vain, however, the restrictive legislation of statesmen; in vain the upbraiding fulminations of the arch-episcopal boards; in vain the critical appeals of the old pulpits: God was in the movement, the nation needed it, and it thrived in proportion as it was opposed until it regenerated the nation, silenced infidelity, and stanched the floods of immorality.

But Wesleyanism, having suffered from without, was now exposed to trial from within, which threatened serious disaster, but which proved to be the providential means of its purification and stability. Since its assumption of a definite form or organization, it had maintained the appearance of unity, notwithstanding the assaults from the national ecclesiastics; it had but one heart, one purpose, and, finally, one method; and unified in every particular, it awakened England. The spirit of doctrinal difference now sprang up in the midst, leading to division, if not to formal schisms, though happily not to decay or destruction. Without portraying at length the causes of division, it is sufficient to note that Mr. Wesley was a strict Arminian in the interpretation of the Scriptures, while Mr. Whitefield, although a Methodist in spirit, purpose, and influence, was a Calvinist, as respects the doctrine of predestination. On this rock the close and mutually helpful friendship of the two leaders was partially shattered. Mr. Whitefield became known as a "Calvinistic Methodist," the name being applied to a sect which immediately organized and arrayed itself against the more powerful organization of Mr. Wesley. The announcement of the theological difference of the two parties was the beginning of the controversial period of Methodism in England, which continued with alternating results until the close of the life and labors of Mr. Wesley. Mr. Whitefield was eloquent and forcible, and espousing Calvinistic tenets, it gave him for the time an extensive influence among the Presbyterians, whom he excited to a holy living and a more earnest piety. Lady Huntingdon, with her vast social prestige, withdrew from the Wesleyan movement, establishing one of her own, and cooperating to some extent with Mr. Whitefield, with whom she sympathized in his departure from Wesley; and so unfriendly did Wesley and Lady Huntingdon become, because of their doctrinal separation, that they did not meet in twenty years.

But this Calvinistic Methodism, unnatural and self-contradictory as it was, and dividing the Wesleyan movement as it did, was short lived, while Wesleyanism held the field, all the stronger since its doctrinal life had been tested and preserved. New conflicts, however, awaited it for which it seemed prepared. There arose, as a mere speck in the sky, a form of religion known as Moravian Methodism, which delighted in discipline, in excessive zeal, and indulged in so many objectionable teachings and practices that neither Wesley nor Whitefield could countenance it. We only notice it in passing as it appears on the page of history, for it was not specially obstructive of the Wesleyan movement; it needed guidance more than repression. During this controversial period of Methodism, resulting in an examination of what it taught and proposed to accomplish, other Churches partook of the same spirit, so that it became a controversial age, finally involving all the Churches of the kingdom.

In addition to the usual errors, Arianism and Socinianism, which had to be combated, Swedenborgianism, Shakerism, and Universalism disputed the Church's progress, and only yielded after it became evident that further resistance was useless. In Scotland there was a secession under the leadership of Mr. Glass from the Presbyterian Church, giving rise to the Congregationalists, who rapidly increased in England. The Baptists, under Mr. Whiston, announcing immersion as the only mode of baptism, boasted of not inconsiderable successes; while Francis Blackburne, a clergyman of the Establishment, attacked the idea of a religious creed, which was a thunderbolt aimed at the Thirty-nine Articles. Every Church had a struggle within itself, and was engaged in a war with the errors outside. This controversial period, somewhat rancorous and divisive in spirit, was not without valuable fruits, and during its continuance the Church advanced throughout the kingdom. It was an age of inquiry; controversy promoted investigation; investigation undermined error and established the truth. Painful as were the causes which originated Calvinistic Methodism, it is historically accurate to say that it had a mission which Wesleyan Methodism alone might not have accomplished. While the latter was resisted by the national Church, the former, by its affiliating tenets, captured some of its best men.

Berridge, Toplady, Talbot, Newton, Venn, Romaine, and a host of others were influenced by the movement under Whitefield; and as the result of that movement the Low-Church party in the Church of England took its rise. Methodism, by its controversial division, effectually divided the old Church, an end which Wesley did not contemplate. By this division Christianity on its spiritual side found way to the heart of the old Establishment, and extended itself among the lords and nobles of the land, insuring a conciliatory spirit and a wholesome moral tone where before neither existed. Religion flourished again in the Church, and certainly was progressing outside of it.

That these controversies were not as obstructive of the progress of Christianity as controversies sometimes have been, may be explained by the fact that they were in no wise political. These were not Whig and Tory contests. Parliament could not decide doctrinal differences, and ceased to legislate respecting them. The contest as a whole was religious; it was not a warfare over forms, or a dispute over church government, but an inquiry concerning the truth, or an interpretation of the Bible, which more than any thing else, England, in the later years of the period, needed. The first purpose of Wesleyanism was the revival of spirituality, which was secured by prayer, repentance, and faith; the second object was the revival of pure doctrine, which was secured by controversy. What the spiritual revival failed to accomplish the doctrinal revival aided to secure; the revival itself was spiritual, the sequel of the revival was doctrinal; and so having given to England both spirituality and doctrinal intelligence, it left the kingdom at the close of Mr. Wesley's life in a condition far better than he found it. In the first period of the century religion was a quiescent force—the Church was shrouded in forms, the ministry were corrupt and immoral; revealed religion had small place in the hearts of the people; formalism, apostasy, vice, infidelity, atheism, and all their bitter fruits of disorder, wretchedness, and social disintegration, prevailed throughout the kingdom, contaminating parliament, corrupting the aristocracies, and loading society with the woes and miseries of general demoralization. With Wesley's advent a change was inaugurated which culminated in a moral revolution in the history of England. Religion's voice was heard again in the land; the

Church was born again; the ministry sought a genuine Christian experience; revealed truth was preached as the all-vital source of salvation; infidelity was confined to books; formalism was superseded by piety; and vice literally surrendered to the popular demand for righteousness. With all the drawbacks to a progressive religious movement in the eighteenth century, it may be said that England owes its regeneration in that century to the activity of the Wesleyan reformation and its associate forces.

After fifty years of earnest Christian work—after the struggles and successes of half a century—the great leader, John Wesley, dies, and we are at once confronted with the new and last era of the eighteenth century. From 1791 to 1800, the short period of nine years, we see England under the influence of a different spirit, and again in the greatest moral danger.

The third period is the anti-religious, or post-Wesleyan, period in England's history. The French Revolution, aiming at the subversion of monarchical principles, was in progress and enlisted popular attention throughout Europe. England was soon affected by it. It at once disturbed her political quietude, turning the public mind from religion to politics, and finally absorbed the thought of the nation. Even the ministry engaged in pulpit discussions of the principles of the Revolution, exciting the people more and more with each succeeding discussion. Many dissenting clergymen and a few Churchmen hailed the revolution as the omen of good to the continent, and likewise to the world, and supported it, although it was antagonistic to English absolutism. At the same time the recent triumph of democratic principles in America had scarcely less effect in England in leading people to consider the propriety of the introduction of democratic ideas among themselves. The government was alarmed, for revolution was imminent.

A still more threatening influence visited England, attacking especially its moral basis and its religious life. At that time Thomas Paine was the most popular man of the age. He was popular in the United States as a patriot, popular in France as a statesman, popular in England as a scholar, and while his fame was at its maximum he corrupted the nations with his infidelity. It took root in France and ended in the Revolution; it grew in England, and almost precipitated a crisis. We do

not witness the revival of infidelity and the subversion of religion throughout the kingdom, but we do see the power of infidelity over the higher classes, and the effect of the French Revolution on the lower classes. These two forces—the Revolution a political force, Infidelity a *quasi*-moral force—each antagonistic to the other, seemed for the time to suspend, or at the least quiet, the influence of the higher political and moral forces in existence in England, and as a consequence spiritual activity diminished, and the Church engaged in no new enterprises. It had the effect of temporarily turning the public attention from religion to irreligion, which was ominous of the disturbance of the religious foundations of society. Paineism had its successes, creating the expectation of a speedy return to irreligion. The period of suspense, however, was fortunately of limited duration; in its sober moments the nation had no thought of returning to infidelity or plunging into irreligion; it therefore survived all attacks, resisted the threatened invasion of the infidelic spirit, and closed the century firm in the faith, and resolute in its loyalty to God.

The century began under Queen Anne with a condensed denial of religious faith; it closed under George III. illumined by gospel truth and walking in the Lord's ways. Under the former, Church ministers were public functionaries who drew their salaries and made light of religion; under the latter, they were the messengers of God who defended the Gospel and preached Christ to all the people. Marvelous change! Who but God could have breathed into the ministry the Spirit of life? Who but the Head of the Church could have conducted the new movement through obstructions so many and embarrassing to its consummation in a religious revolution?

The lessons that may be drawn from the eighteenth century will close the presentation of this subject.

1. The duty of the ministry in times of spiritual degeneracy, formalism, and indifference in the Church, is clearly indicated by the occurrences of the century herein considered. Without enterprise, without spirituality, without moral heroism and enthusiasm in the ministry, there will be a declension of all that is vital in the religious life. In the absence of religious enthusiasm and aggressiveness in the Church, the ministry must assume the defense of the truth, and inspire the gospel spirit

in the followers of Christ. Whatever the condition of the Church, the ministry as leaders must be heroes, enthusiasts, reformers, and prophets of the Lord, pure in their hearts, blameless in their lives, ethically sound in their teachings, and altogether inspiring in their activities. A pure ministry insures a pure Church.

2. The combination of religion and politics, as objects of pursuit or participation by the ministry, cannot be justified, except in national emergencies. In the non-religious period of England's history the ministry were Tories or Whigs, and the contests were political rather than religious, in the midst of which religion disappeared. In the last period of the century political principles absorbed the attention of the ministry, and the nation descended perilously near to an anti-religious condition. Governmental affairs belong to statesmen; the affairs of Christ's kingdom belong to the ministry. Except in war or great calamities, the ministry should not depart from a strict adherence to their functions as spiritual leaders of the people.

This position justifies the additional remark, that in civilized countries there is no need of a National or Established Church. Under the English Establishment England was ruined; under a non-national but independent religious organization it was regenerated. Political Churchism, or State religions, cannot and should not be much longer maintained. Disestablishment is the demand of the hour.

3. The darkest periods of the Church are usually succeeded by great awakenings and reformations. It was so in the time of Jonah, who was commissioned to go to Nineveh and declare its destruction. That great city, whose cup of iniquity was nearly full, hearkening unto the prophet, turned unto the Lord and was saved. It was so in the time of Christ; the world itself was sunken in the depths of heathenism; then the Saviour appeared and the adversary for a time ceased his roaring. It was so in the time of Luther; the Roman Catholic Church was the nursery of vice and crime; then the light of the Reformation shone brightly on the darkness, and the people were saved. So was it in England when religion had almost expired and Wesley appeared. This teaches us that God will not suffer his Church to perish, but will revive it "in the midst of the years."

4. A maximum religious condition may be followed by reactions. Belief may be followed by infidelity. The dragon may be let loose after the millennium. But the reaction that follows religion is never as great as the reaction from infidelity; the ebbing tide is always followed by an incoming wave greater than the receding, so that there is perpetual gain amid the reactions of religion.

5. The Church may flourish in an apparently divided state. There is room for denominationalism in the world. In those nations where the denominational spirit is strong, Christianity thrives the most, as in the United States and England; while in nations where the Church is an organic unit, as in Roman Catholic countries, there is neither civil nor moral progress. Wesleyanism may have suffered temporarily by its divisions, but Christianity on the whole has not been embarrassed by them, but rather flourished under them. Organic unity among all the branches of the Christian Church is perhaps not desirable; mutual love among them, however, is possible.

6. In most cases the remedy for wide spread apostasy is a new evangelical awakening. If existing religious institutions are unable to resist the advances of infidelity, or turn back the tide of immorality, then, in God's providence, the old must give way to the new, or the ruin becomes universal. On this principle we explain the Reformation and the rise of Methodism, and it will apply to the future. If the Christianity that is in custody of the Churches to-day will not save the nations, then it is probable that another religious organization will appear which will accomplish the tasks of the Gospel. This teaches us to be faithful.

7. The inspirer of all reformation is the Holy Spirit. In the central period of the eighteenth century, embracing fifty years, God's hand guided, and God's power preserved, the religion of the people. Without the supernatural presence, the spiritual illumination, and the directing supervision of the Church's everlasting Founder, religion is utterly vain, faith becomes a superstition, the ministry are without a mission, and the Church itself a lifeless form. Let it be ours to carry forward the purposes committed to us, to give redemption to the people and fill the world with the echoing joy of a universal salvation.

ART. IV.—RAILROADS AND CIVILIZATION.

MANY persons now living well remember when railroads were unknown. Their possibility had dawned upon the American mind quite early in the century. In 1804 Cadwallader D. Colden, probably a grandson of the first Surveyor-General of the Colonies, and himself a civil engineer, said: "The time will come when, on tramways, loaded carriages will be propelled by horses at a speed of not less than six miles an hour." His words were prophetic. Twenty-five years later cars were propelled by steam at a speed of twenty-five or thirty miles an hour. The tramways came later, but they are now of world-wide use.

Within half a century from their origin, railroads became the chief, almost the only, means of transporting passengers and freight overland, for long distances, in all civilized countries, and now the existing railroads have a mileage of nearly three hundred thousand miles, a distance equal to eleven and a half times the circuit of the world.

It is not generally known by the present generation that strong opposition displayed itself in the beginning against the building of railroads. It arose, in large part, from unwarranted apprehensions that somehow the new departure would work injury to existing material or social interests. These fears were long since proved to have been entirely groundless, yet for the time they were as effective as though well founded. The objections urged were various and remarkable. As we consider them now, they appear frivolous and amusing.

By superseding horse-power to a large degree, it was urged that railroads would depreciate the value of horses and destroy the market for them. As a matter of fact, the exact reverse has resulted. Good horses were slow sale then at from $100 to $150 each. The same style of horses now readily command from $250 to $500 each. It is true that money had then a higher purchasing power than now, but the uses and the value of the horse are certainly not less, relatively, than they were a half-century ago.

The railroad has relieved the horse from road transportation of freight and passengers over long distances, leaving to him other and profitable work, in city and country, in hack and

dray and farm service. In these ways, and also for delivery wagons and pleasure driving, although steam-cars in our country are doing the work of forty million horses, still horses are in demand, and there are more than ten millions of them in profitable use. The horse has not been superseded. He is yet recognized as the noble and useful animal of the home and the farm, steadily increasing in value and in the public estimation.

It was objected, moreover, that railroads would injure the agricultural business of the country by rendering the oat crop valueless, for it was urged that as horses would be practically dispensed with, there would be no demand for horse-feed. The contrary has been proved true. Oats have steadily advanced until now, bringing nearly three times as much per bushel as formerly. It was further strenuously objected that the demand and the wages for daily labor would fall off should railroads become general. All know that this objection has been refuted by the facts.

A more serious, and as it has proved a better grounded, fear was, that the large amount of capital invested in railroads would combine to oppress and injure the people, by levying exorbitant rates of fares for freight and passenger transportation, and by becoming also a corrupting element in politics. This apprehension was pronounced idle, for it was argued, on the contrary, that competition would prevent extortion and would keep prices down to reasonable figures.

This argument was re-enforced by the obvious fact, that almost all the railroads first built were short and independent, and often competing, roads. Thus, from Albany to Schenectady, sixteen miles over "the incline," was one road; thence to Utica, seventy-five miles, was another; from Utica to Syracuse, fifty-two miles, another; thence to Auburn, twenty-six miles, and thence to Rochester and to Buffalo, were separate roads with distinct officers and rates. The same state of things was true of the earlier railroads in Ohio and in other parts of the country. But it did not long so continue. In a few years the New York Central had absorbed and consolidated all these short, separate roads under one, with a single direction. When it was feared or found that the local rates would be, or that they were, too high and oppressive, the Legislature limited

the price of passage on that road to two cents per mile for all distances. The price of freights was also alike limited.

To compete with the Central road, and to furnish the southern counties of New York and the northern counties of Pennsylvania railroad facilities, the Erie road was chartered and constructed. The work was begun in some sections by driving piles into the solid ground as a road-bed for the ties and rails. By this time, however, so controlling already had the railroad legislative lobby become, that it was found impossible to limit the fares to two cents per mile. They were fixed at three cents.

The Baltimore and Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other great trunk lines succeeded. Sharp and healthy competition, as would naturally be supposed, was expected. It has not been realized. On the contrary, parallel roads have combined, pooling expenses and receipts and drawing out pro rata amounts. Railroad legislation in the State and in the nation has, to a very large extent, been molded and directed by railroad lobbyists using money freely, and securing legislation not in the interests of the people, but of gigantic moneyed corporations. Railroad competition, so confidently predicted and so naturally expected, has not been realized. Instead, combination and monopoly have been the rule.

Railroads have wrought great changes in all our business lines, as well as in our social and moral condition as a people. These changes have been so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. They have been fifty years in coming. Since they began, a generation and a half have passed away. As might be supposed, those now living under middle age can hardly realize the number and significance of the changes so wrought. Let us consider some of them.

Railroads have changed the frontiers and practically destroyed them. All the great inland territory of the country is practically nearer the sea-boards, Atlantic and Pacific, than eastern Ohio and western New York and Pennsylvania were to the Atlantic half a century ago. The completion of four lines to the Pacific has made the East and the West one. Red River of the North with its fertile wheat belt, and Colorado with its silver and gold, and New Mexico and Arizona with their great mineral wealth, are no longer frontier regions. They are as cen-

tral points for all the purposes of commerce and travel as were Ohio or Illinois only a few years ago. Settlement and production have been stimulated by these multiplied transcontinental and other lines, until there is hardly any part of our wide domains, south of Alaska, which is not habitable and inhabited, tillable and tilled. The agricultural resources of the country have been augmented and developed to an incredible extent by these roads traversing all parts of our territory.

Railroads have developed our unpeopled territories to an astonishing extent. Twenty-five years ago the country from the Mississippi westward to the Sacramento was a wilderness, traversed by wild animals, Indians, and hunters. To-day it is almost a continuous settlement between those great rivers, and from the Mexican line to British Columbia, fourteen hundred miles away.

Railroads have facilitated, if indeed they have not largely caused, the amazing growth of large cities as centers of trade and business. The forwarding of produce, construction establishments for making and renewing the rolling stock of the roads, and large manufactories, assisted by means of transportation lines, have gathered and concentrated capital and population, creating populous cities, or largely augmenting those already existing. Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Omaha are examples of central and western cities owing their magnitude and their rapid growth to radiating or terminating railways. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore are perhaps as much indebted to their inland railway lines as to their ocean lines for their commercial greatness and wealth. Whether this centralization of business and capital and population is better and safer than a more general distribution of them is a problem awaiting solution. Our large cities are most difficult factors in our republican institutions. They seriously menace our morality, safety, and civilization.

With the supersession of wagon and stage transportation of freight and passengers over long reaches and between far-distant points, turnpikes and stage lines have disappeared. In place of the taverns at the cross-roads and hamlets stands the saloon, a modern feature of our civilization, with its blinded doors and windows, so that its cruel and deadly work may proceed unseen and unhindered.

Distances between places and directions to places by wagon roads are becoming comparatively unknown, except within narrow areas. If one were traveling by private conveyance over the highways, and he were within a dozen miles of the place of destination, and he should inquire the distance and the route to it of half a dozen different persons, he would get no two answers alike, and the distances given would vary from five miles to twenty. The great thoroughfares of the earlier times, as the "Great Western Pike," the "Genesee Pike," the "Cumberland Road," and the "National Road," and the distances and courses of the places on them, were formerly very familiar, not only to dwellers upon them, but to persons in all parts of the country. All this is now entirely changed. Scarcely any persons travel by stage or hack, not many by private carriage.

The traveling by families, whether for longer or shorter distances, is now almost entirely by rail. This is true of nearly all excursion and pleasure traveling, and especially of all business travel. The railroad train is the commercial traveler's home for a large part of his time. Thousands of them are seen on all the great railway lines!

Railroads save much time and labor. A man has business to do in a place five hundred miles away. He goes, effects his errand, and returns within two days. By carriage or on horseback the trip would require twenty-five days of exhausting, wearisome travel. This great economy of time and nerve and muscle is certainly a most important and desirable change, and it is wonderfully affecting the settlement and improvement of our vast areas of lately unpeopled territories.

Before the iron horse was guided from the Mississippi to the Pacific, emigrants to that distant coast were six months in crossing the Plains, exposed, for all that time, to great hardship and peril. Now the trip is made with ease and even comfort in as many days; and, besides this, those distant regions are settled and improved. And what is the result? In 1850 the total white population of Oregon Territory was 13,294; in 1880 in the same area it was 341,842—an increase of twenty-five hundred per cent. in thirty years.

This saving of time and labor is not only of great pecuniary value, it also benefits the average American in other directions.

We are a restless, adventurous, migratory, pushing people. We cannot brook delay. We are intense, active, nervous. We must push. We cannot stop. We would not, if we could. All this is adapted to our characteristics. One of the first Americans who rode at a rate of sixty miles an hour was asked how he liked it. "Well," said he, "at first it was a little scarish, and I felt queerly; but I soon got used to it, and I said I didn't care if they run the darned machine a hundred miles an hour."

Railroads counteract and destroy sectionalism and exclusiveness. They bring the people of different and distant regions together. They obliterate State lines. They mitigate party and sectional prejudices. They promote unity and homogeneity. Practically, there is no East nor West, nor South nor North, in countries intersected by railroads. If trunk lines linking North and South together had been as numerous and as much traveled thirty years ago as the great East and West trunk lines are now, the late Civil War would have been impossible. Gradually, peacefully, and from natural causes, slavery would have expired, and the late "unpleasantness" would never have occurred. A late thoughtful writer forcibly says:

> Compared with the wealth of the country thirty years ago, railroads have created on this continent a new nation.
>
> The railroads while penetrating every portion of the continent, at least wherever our people go, for the first time create the conditions of a firm and compact nationality.*

Besides rendering the people non-sectional and homogeneous, the railroads broaden, liberalize, and assimilate a people. When they were first projected, it was urged against them that their tendency would be agrarian; "that the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant, the polite and the vulgar would all herd together, in the new mode of travel." This, however, if true, would not be an objection, but an excellence. Class and compartment cars have never been popular in this country. [But "Pullman's" are.—Ed.] They are un-American. Indeed, in the earlier railroad period, the plan of classifying passengers and passenger cars was fairly tried and given up.

Assimilation and grading up result from this promiscuous mingling of all sorts of passengers together. Object lessons of

* Poore's Manual of Railroads.

political oneness and of social equality are thus, all the time, effectively taught. Thus the grading is constantly upward. Human life, in various ways, amounts to much more in modern times than it did in the earlier times. We live longer in the same number of years than our predecessors lived. We live faster. We see more in the same time. We do more than our fathers did, more than we ourselves could accomplish but for the railroads. Achievements in gaining wealth, position, power, honors, and in propagating truth and error, are much more marked, rapid, and extensive under the new conditions than they were under the old, and every form of material civilization is heightened.

Progress in the rapid transmission and interchange of ideas has been largely accelerated by the railroad system. This is true also of telegraphy and the use of the telephone, as well as of the rapid transit of goods and persons. And evidently we are as yet only at the beginning of our achievements in this direction—yet but in the early dawn of rapid travel and transportation.

The railroad has wrought great moral and social changes. How different now the travel and the sojourn of the itinerant minister from those of the former period. His journeyings to and from Conference and over his assigned district or circuit are now made by rail, instead of by horseback or buggy, as in the ante-railroad period.

The old-time hospitality for man and beast to the weary itinerant, the familiar, godly, pastoral intercourse, the family worship conducted by the minister, the words of personal admonition, cheer, or encouragement spoken by the honored guest to each member of the family, and especially to the children—all this is a thing of the past, a vanishing picture. The same is largely true too of social and hospitable intercourse generally.

The railroad system has developed very rapidly, and it has now reached gigantic proportions. The total railroad mileage of the world is about 286,023 miles; or equal to eleven and a half times the distance around the world. In the eastern hemisphere there are 132,934 miles, distributed as follows:

Europe	112,388 miles.	Australia	6,008 miles.
Asia	11,155 "	Africa	3,382 "

In the western hemisphere there are 153,089 miles, distributed as follows:

United States.....	121,592 miles.	South America.....	4,849 miles.
Canada	15,778 "	Central America.....	2,385 "
Mexico	7,533 "	West Indies.....	952 "

The aggregate cost of all these railroads has been estimated at about $17,500,000,000. Allowing the cost per mile of building railroads to be about the same in all parts of the world, the average yearly sum expended in the construction of these roads for fifty years has been about $171,600,000, not far from half a million dollars a day.

The railroads of the United States are distributed over the whole Republic, stretching alike over populous and non-populous States and Territories, bringing the newest, more remote, and less populous regions into close relations with the older and more populous sections.

The distribution by groups gives the following results:

New England group: Six States—area, 66,375 square miles; population, 4,009,529; railroad mileage, 6,323; one mile of railroad to every 634 inhabitants; one mile of railroad to every $6\frac{2}{10}$ square miles of area.

Middle group: Six States—New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia—area, 141,240 square miles; population, 12,186,986; railroad mileage, 17,582; one mile to every 801 inhabitants; one mile to each $8\frac{1}{10}$ square miles of territory:

Southern group: Ten States—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky—area, 449,619 square miles; population, 12,348,858; railroad mileage, 17,582; one mile of railroad to every 654 inhabitants; one mile of railroad to each $20\frac{4}{10}$ square miles of area.

Western group: Thirteen States and two Territories—Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Colorado, Wyoming—area, 1,249,836 square miles; population, 21,269,601; mileage, 70,345; one mile of railroad to every 302 inhabitants; one mile of railroad to each $17\frac{7}{10}$ square miles of territory.

Pacific group: Three States and six Territories—California, Oregon, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Idaho, Washington, Montana—area, 1,003,810 square miles; population, 1,540,320; railroad mileage, 7,486; one mile of railroad to each $205\frac{1}{3}$ inhabitants; one mile of railroad to each 134 square miles.

A comparison of these groups is interesting and suggestive. In the New England group there are fewer miles of railroad than in any other group, while there is more railroad mileage to the square mile. Next to the New England group the Pacific group has the fewest miles of railroad, yet there is more railroad mileage to the population than in any other group. It is seen, here, that the mighty West, as usual, distances every other group in its number of States, in its population, and in its railroad mileage. The West is, and it is ever to be, the great body of this nation.

The capital invested in the railroads of the United States may be set down at $7,495,471,311, made up as follows:

Amount of share capital issued by the several companies,	$3,708,060,583
Funded debts of the several companies.....	3,455,040,383
Floating debts	332,370,345

This sum would equal $136 to each man, woman, and child in the nation. Many of the investments in railroads are unproductive.

A few years ago there was, in public estimation, no more inviting field for railroad enterprises than Colorado. A vast system of railroads, covering the whole State, was constructed with great rapidity, involving a nominal expenditure of nearly $100,000,000, almost the whole of which is unproductive.*

It is stated that—

Stocks and bonds to the amount of $530,132,000 were listed at the New York Stock Exchange in 1883. The amount of stocks and bonds listed was equivalent to about $80,000 per mile of new road built during the year. A considerable amount of the securities listed, however, was on account of old works.

In this immense increase of fictitious capital is to be found the cause of the general distrust which prevails, and the enormous decline in the price of railroad securities. From 1879 to 1883 a most singular delusion rested upon the public as to their value, and this delusion was taken advantage of on a large scale by able and unscrupulous adventurers. Whatever was manufactured and put afloat was seized with avidity by an eager and uninformed public. . . . The delusion culminated about the time of the opening of the Northern Pacific, in connection with which visionary schemes of immense magnitude had been put upon the market. Their worthlessness, and the rapid decline of their securities, exerted a powerful influence over the public mind, which continues unchecked to the time of this writing.

* Poore's Railroad Manual, 1884.

The distrust extends alike to good and bad, so that prices at the present time have as little reference to values as they had at the beginning of 1883. The distrust will continue until time shall show what securities are really well based.

The gross earnings of all the roads for their several fiscal years of 1883 were $823,772,924, an increase from the previous year of $53,563,025. Two eighths of these gross earnings were received from passengers, and upward of five eighths of them from freight. The net earnings of all the railroads in the United States in 1883 were $333,911,884, an increase of $21,461,082 from the previous year. The percentage of gross earnings to investment was 10.99 per cent.; percentage of net earnings was 4.49 per cent. upon nominal cost. The net earnings upon actual cost of the roads was about nine per cent.

During the years 1881–83 the annual increase of miles of railroad in the United States was 10,000 miles, costing about $30,000 per mile, involving an outlay of $300,000,000 a year, or $1,000,000 for each working day in the year. In wealth alone, the railroads of the country have created a new nation, as they have also in other respects.

In 1883 the railroads transported 400,000,000 tons of freight, the value of which, at $25 a ton, would equal $10,000,000,000.

In freight traffic the States range as follows, namely: The State of Pennsylvania is first, with a tonnage moved of 105,507,916, or more than one quarter of the total of the United States, and a tonnage moved one mile of 7,859,109,440, or more than one sixth of the total. New York comes second, with 50,372,817 and 6,040,404,413, respectively; Ohio third, with 43,065,926 and 5,969,378,057; Illinois fourth, with 35,472,611 and 5,266,273,900; New Jersey fifth, with 19,270,393 and 1,140,070,889; and Indiana sixth, with 18,506,607 and 2,625,042,677.

The number of passengers transported in 1883 on the railroads of the New England group of States, having a population of 4,009,529, was 72,377,566, a number 18 times as great as its whole population. The number transported in Massachusetts was 53,080,887, a number greater than for any other State; Pennsylvania comes next, with 49,970,774; New York third, with 43,734,962; Illinois fourth, with 25,116,732; New Jersey fifth, with 24,416,770; and Ohio sixth, with 21,096,833. The number transported in the middle group of States, having a population of 12,374,510, was 126,735,899 (which is exclusive of those carried on New York city elevated roads), a number about ten times its population. The number transported in the Southern group was 14,087,866, a number 2,500,000 greater than the present population of this group. The number transported in the Western and South-western group, having a population of 20,045,070, was 87,614,699, a number 4.4 times as great as its population; the low average for this group arises from embracing in it the comparatively undeveloped North-western and South-western States. The number transported in the Pacific

group, having a population of 1,480,272, was 11,870,626, a number more than eight times its population.

The number of passengers moved one mile in the New England group was 1,187,719,657, at a charge of 2.15 cents per mile; in the Middle States' group, 2,489,766,204, at a charge of 2.17 cents per mile; in the Southern group, 613,891,085, at a charge of 2.85 cents per mile; in the Western group, 3,834,082,895, at a charge of 2.56 cents per mile; in the Pacific group, 415,849,833, at a charge of 2.84 cents per mile. The total movement in all the roads equaled 8,541,309,674 persons moved one mile, at a charge of 2.42 cents per passenger per mile.*

The comparative safety of railway travel is shown by the following statistics, taken from the tenth census: Out of 269,583,340 passengers carried in 1883, 143 were killed, 60 by causes beyond their control, and 82 through their own carelessness. This ratio is as one person killed to every 1,885,000 persons traveling on the rail; and one person injured to every half-million passengers. The casualties fatal and non-fatal to employees are in much higher proportion. Out of 419,000 employees 260 were killed, or as one in 1,600; and 3,617 were injured, or as a little less than one per cent.

It would seem from this showing that the immunity from fatal accident in riding on the railroad is very great. It would appear almost safer to travel than to stay at home. The danger ratio of employees is much higher.

In the remaining part of this paper we may very properly examine the question: whether danger is to be apprehended to the material and moral interests of the people, to our civilization, to the public morals, and to the future peace and safety of the nation from the massing and wielding of such immense capital in our railroads? Freely conceding the great material and commercial benefits accruing to the world by means of the railroad, is danger to be feared to the liberties and welfare of the people? Great railroad combinations are formed; enormous accumulations of capital are gathered into few hands, and vast irresponsible power is created, threatening the property and business of individuals and of the millions of citizens.

Consider a few patent facts: The politics and the legislation of the country, both as to Territories, States, and the United States, are notoriously manipulated by railroad magnates, in

* Poore's Manual of Railroads, 1884.

the interest of grasping, soulless railroad corporations. Money and influence are skillfully and unscrupulously used to secure desired legislation. There has probably not been a territorial Legislature held in twenty years where legislation has not been procured more favorable to the railroad corporation than to the people represented in those Legislatures. All railroads will combine in seeking general or special railroad legislation, while only the people of a limited area will unite in opposing oppressive railroad legislation in that area.

The same is, doubtless, true as to State Legislatures and the election of State senators and representatives; and is it not equally and eminently true of Congressional elections, both to the Senate and the House? The scandals of the *Credit Mobilier* will not soon be forgotten. They smirched honored names. The aid rendered by Congress in loans to the Pacific railroads has been requited by systematic and persistent endeavor on the part of those corporations to evade payment of interest on those loans. Laws have been passed and processes instituted to secure the payment of those loans, which, up to this time, have been too successfully eluded.

The large quantities of public lands granted to great railroad monopolies have still further tended to reduce the resources of the people and lavish them upon grasping, bloated corporations. The vast amount of patronage and control these railroads have, by their nearly half a million dependent employees, largely augments their power to corrupt elections and to bribe lawmakers. A hundred and twenty thousand offices are said to be at the disposal of the President of the United States, and this has been cited as imperiling the purity of elections. Yet the families of 419,000 railroad employees in the United States are dependent upon the nod and beck of railroad magnates.

These railroads have the power to oppress the producers of the country by demanding and receiving extortionate rates for transporting passengers and freight upon local routes, and upon routes where competition does not prevent such extortion, and for short distances. Repeated instances have been cited, where all the transported article could possibly bear has been charged for freights. The oppression of employees, by compelling overwork and by scanty wages, is a liability which will require vigilant attention.

A more serious question remains to be considered, namely, the flagrant Sabbath desecration practiced by all the railroads, and the injury this must cause to public morals and to civil order and safety. Before preparing this article inquiries were addressed to leading officials of all the principal railroad companies, as follows, namely: "1. What number of employees are there on your roads? 2. What proportion of your business is done on the Sabbath day? 3. What proportion of your employees work on the Sabbath day?" Of the Pennsylvania Central Railway Company, this additional question was asked, namely: "What damage and what loss of life resulted to your roads during your railway strike a few years ago?" This question has not been answered. The following answers have been received, namely:

From J. H. Rutter, Esq., President New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company:

> We employ about 15,000 men. Probably not one half of our usual daily business is done on the Sabbath day. We run through passenger trains and through freight trains on Sunday; but not as many on Sundays as on week days. Your third question I cannot answer, except approximately. I should say not one half of the employees work on the Sabbath day—very likely, not one third.

From Charles Paine, Esq., General Superintendent of the New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and of the New York, Lake Erie, and Western Railroad Company, this answer has been given:

> I do not find any statistics which would enable me to answer the questions you propose, or I would take pleasure in giving you the desired information.

S. R. Callaway, Esq., General Manager of the Union Pacific Railway, responds:

> Upon the Union Pacific Railway and its controlled lines, about 20,000 men are employed. I cannot tell you what proportion work on the Sabbath day. But we endeavor to limit Sunday work as much as possible upon a line of its length.

These are substantially all the answers received from a dozen or fifteen letters. The officials were obviously disinclined, if they were able, to give the information sought. This is probably all the light obtainable from these sources. But it is noto

rious that much passenger and freight work is done on the Sabbath day by all the railroads.

The effect is injurious in several ways. 1. To all the people living upon or near railroads, where the steam whistle and the rushing train flagrantly defy the Sabbath law, and accustom aged and young alike to become familiar with open defiance of divine and human law, general laxity of morals must ensue. 2. The injury to railroad employees is more direct and deadly. Thousands of railroad employees know no Sabbath from one year's end to another. On all the railroads in North America there are 600,000 employees. If we take President Rutter's average—one third—we have 200,000 men who are required to violate God's law and the civil law as well, and to live without the Sabbath. Can words measure the inevitable demoralization which must ensue? Most properly and commendably the railroad employees are required to be sober men. Should they not also be prevented from becoming morally irresponsible? Is it surprising that men compelled habitually to be immoral should become communists and nihilists, and on occasion should raise the red flag, and should waste and destroy? If railroad corporations thus sow to the wind, the whirlwind of disaster will not be far behind. Can corporations more than individuals violate moral law with impunity?

It may be said that to stop railroad travel on Sunday would work a hardship to travelers. To forbid secular business and work on the Sabbath, as the civil law does, to the non-traveling public, may be inconvenient to all those who do not care for the Sabbath, but should Sabbath laws be therefore abrogated and the civil Sabbath be abolished?

It is urged that it is wasteful of perishable freights to delay them by stopping Sunday trains. Then, let them be started on Monday rather than on Saturday or Sunday. It is also urged that live freight should be hurried through in kindness to the animals transported, and that to delay cattle trains, by non-Sunday travel, would be cruelty to animals. In some of the States the law requires railroads not to keep the cattle in cars beyond thirty-six hours. It would be humane to require all cattle trains to lie over for feeding and rest on the Sabbath. That to enforce non-Sunday travel and freighting on railroads would cost something, is admitted; but the present moral gain

and, in the long run, the future material gain would far outmeasure the loss.

The interest of the railroads imperatively demands the suspension of this Sunday violation. Public morals, public safety and order demand that this flagrant Sabbath desecration should cease. It should be done, peacefully and without compulsion, as a measure of supreme importance to the railroad corporations and to the public welfare. If it be not done voluntarily, and by the voice of a healthy public sentiment, it will come after loss and riot and waste of life and great public disaster; but it were far better to have it come by peaceful and moral means than by reaction after wide-spread ruin.

If slavery had been peacefully abolished, even though it had cost many thousand millions to pay for the slaves, the far greater loss of life and property wasted by war would have been avoided. Railroads, publicists, legislators, and voters will do well to heed the teachings of history, which enforce religious morality as the foundation of civil order and civil liberty.

Art. V.—RECENT CHECKS TO MODERN UNBELIEF.*

Part II.—Critical.

It is generally and confidently acknowledged by the highest authorities of the school of modern critical unbelief that there are certain books in the New Testament which are unquestionably genuine. Such men as Baur and Strauss, Renan and the author of "Supernatural Religion," for example, agree in accepting Romans, First and Second Corinthians, Galatians, and the Apocalypse as books incontestably genuine and authentic. That is, these representative leaders of modern learned unbelief agree with catholic Christians in holding fast by the unquestionable genuineness of about one fourth of the New Testament, and that, a fourth containing over and over again all the essential facts and doctrines of the Gospel. In regard to the remaining books of the New Testament, the position originally taken up by Baur and his more immediate followers was, that

* "Some Recent Checks and Reverses Sustained by Modern Unbelief." By Rev. Alexander Mair, D.D. "The Monthly Interpreter" (Edinburgh), Feb., 1885.

they were composed far on in the second century, and mainly between A. D. 130 and 170.

It is a well-known fact that of late years many previously unknown manuscripts of valuable ancient books have been discovered throughout the libraries and convents of the south and east. It is most important and strengthening to our faith to know that these discoveries tend decidedly to confirm the catholic view in regard to the date of the New Testament books, namely, that they were all written within the apostolic age. We will now adduce a few illustrations of this statement.

We begin with the so-called "Epistle of Barnabas," which was written about A. D. 120. Until 1859 it was known only in an imperfect form, the first four and a half chapters being extant in Latin but not in the original Greek. At the close of the fourth chapter it contains these words, "as it is written, Many are called, few chosen." The expression here quoted is found nowhere in ancient sacred literature except Matt. xxii, 14.* Hence the conclusion was naturally drawn that this was a quotation from Matthew, and that the quotation was made as if it was acknowledged Scripture. But the unbelieving school, in effect, replied, "No. This is only the Latin translation. The quotation was very likely inserted by the translator, who was some biased Christian. If we only had the original Greek, we should find that it is not there." Well, two original Greek copies have now been discovered, one by Tischendorf at Mount Sinai in 1859, and another more lately at Constantinople by Bryennios, now Metropolitan of Nicomedia. And what is the result? The old Latin version is absolutely correct; for the quotation is found in the original Greek almost exactly as in Matthew. The conclusion from this is obvious; the Gospel of Matthew was already written and apparently acknowledged as Scripture. It is noteworthy that the author of "Supernatural Religion" still endeavors to wriggle out of the iron grasp of the necessary inference. In a way which must fill many readers with amazement, if not with something worse, he still struggles to show that it is not a quotation from Matthew at all, but from 2 (4) Esdras viii, 3: "There be many created, but few shall be saved." Surely comment is unneces-

* It is also found, of course, in the *Textus Receptus* in Matt. xx, 16; but there it is probably not genuine. [Westcott and Hort insert it in the margin.]

sary. The discovery of the Greek copies of Barnabas settles the question on the side of the catholic view, as even Hilgenfeld, the present head of Baur's school, most cordially admits.*

In the year 1842 there was discovered at Mount Athos a copy of the long-lost work of Hippolytus, "The Refutation of all Heresies." The author lived at the close of the second century and the beginning of the third. This discovery has proved one of the first importance for various reasons, and very especially for the references or quotations therein given from the works or teaching of the ancient heretics. Now it is well known that Baur regarded the Gospel of John as written about A. D. 160–170. But what do we learn from Hippolytus? He deals at length with the heresy of Basilides, who flourished about A. D. 125, and he tells us that this heresiarch fell back on the gospels, specially including John, for support to his views. He writes: "And this, he [Basilides] says, is that which has been stated in the gospels; He 'was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'" † This quotation is unquestionably from John i, 9, and it is scarcely less questionable that according to the laws of Greek grammar Hippolytus puts the quotation into the mouth of Basilides, and even seems to quote from a book of his which he has in his eye. In other words, John was not written after A. D. 160, as Baur holds, but before the time of Basilides; that is, before A. D. 125. It may be noticed, also, that Basilides refers in the above quotation to "the gospels," and uses them as being of acknowledged authority.

The so-called "Clementine Homilies" played a most important part in the hands of Baur and his immediate followers, in the contest as to the dates of the New Testament books. Down to 1853, it will be remembered, these Homilies existed only in an imperfect copy which stopped short in the middle of Homily xix, chap. 14; eleven chapters and a half of Homily xix, and the whole of Homily xx being lost. The date of their

* Hilgenfeld holds that Barnabas was written in A. D. 97, and that the reference proves, "das ein Evangelium, sei es nun das des Matthäus selbst oder ein demselben verwandtes, schon gottesdienstlich gebraucht, als heilige Schrift angesehen ward."—*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, p. 38.

† "Refutation of all Heresies," book vii, 22. For English, see Clark's Translation, vol. i, p. 276; and for Greek, Charteris, "Canonicity," p. 173.

composition is assigned to the middle of the second century, or a little later, say about A. D. 160.

We restrict our attention at present solely to the bearing of the Homilies on the Gospel of John. Baur contended that they contained no proof of the existence of the fourth gospel at the date of their composition. It is true that even in the imperfect edition we have quotations or reminiscences from John, which seem unmistakable to the ordinary reader, and which, if they occurred in any modern author, would be unhesitatingly referred to the fourth gospel. We read in Homily iii, chap. 52, these words: "Wherefore he [Christ], being the true prophet, said, I am the gate of life; he who entereth through me entereth into life," a passage which can scarcely fail to recall John x, 9, "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved." In the same chapter of Homily iii we further read: "Wherefore also he cried and said, . . . My sheep hear my voice," an expression which seems obviously quoted from John x, 27, "My sheep hear my voice." What makes it still more likely that these quotations are taken from John is the fact that they are both found in the same chapter of the Homilies, and correspond to passages in the same chapter of the fourth gospel, a circumstance most naturally accounted for by the theory of actual quotation. Once more, the old and imperfect edition of the Homilies contains, in Homily xi, chap. 26, the statement, "For thus the Prophet has sworn to us, saying, Verily I say to you, unless ye be regenerated by living water into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven," a passage which naturally appears to contain a free but undoubted reference to John iii, 5, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Such were the references to John in the older edition of the Homilies, and yet Baur and his followers, like the author of "Supernatural Religion," could hold that they contained no proof of the existence of that gospel, and therefore it did not exist, or just came into existence, at the time when the Homilies were written. Consequently John could not have been written before A. D. 160, the approximate date of the Homilies.

But we now have the "Clementine Homilies" entire in Greek. In the year 1853 Dressel published a complete edition

from a manuscript which he had found in the Ottobonian Library in the Vatican. Now it so happens that the new and concluding fragment contains testimony of the utmost importance. For one thing, it settles that the author of the Homilies knew and used Mark, which had been doubtful up to that date. But it also settles to all reasonable minds the fact of the previous existence and the use of John. In the portion discovered by Dressel we have the following passage in Homily xix, chap. 22, "Whence our Teacher, when we inquired of him in regard to the man who was blind from his birth, and recovered his sight, if this man sinned, or his parents, that he should be born blind, answered, Neither did he sin at all, nor his parents, but that the power of God might be made manifest through him in healing sins of ignorance."* This passage is obviously a free but real quotation from John ix, 1–3: "And as Jesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from his birth. And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." So obvious is the quotation that the controversy may now be regarded as settled in the estimation of reasonable men. Hilgenfeld, the present head of the dying Tübingen school, at once acknowledged the question as finally closed.† "Volkmar admitted and admits that the fact of the use of the gospel must be considered as proved. The author of "Supernatural Religion" stands alone in still resisting this conviction, but the result, I suspect, will be only to show in stronger relief the one-sidedness of his critical method."‡

We now come to another interesting and most important point. It is well known that Tatian, the Assyrian, who flourished about A. D. 150–170, and of whom we possess one work, his Address to the Greeks, was the author of another work called the "Diatessaron." The testimony of antiquity is so uniform and distinct that thus far there never could be any

* For the Greek of the quotations from the Homilies, see Charteris, "Canonicity," pp. 184, *f.*; or Sanday, "The Gospels in the Second Century," pp. 287, *ff.* The English given above is from Clark's Translation.

† "Einleitung," p. 43, *f.*, note.

‡ Sanday, "The Gospels in the Second Century," p. 288.

reasonable doubt. This "Diatessaron," as the name naturally implies, is declared by ancient writers to have been a Harmony of the four gospels. The importance attached to this fact by catholic scholars and critics on the one hand, and by Baur and his school on the other, was naturally very great. If, as catholic critics generally held, it was a veritable Harmony, it was a clear proof that at the time when it was constructed, and of course long previously, four gospels were regarded as occupying a position quite distinct, approaching to what we call canonical. Further, critics of this class naturally considered that these gospels must have been the present four. But if so, then John must have been received in the time of Tatian as genuine, so that it could not possibly have seen the light only so late as A.D. 160, or even later, as Baur's school maintained. It was therefore of the utmost importance for this school to undermine the argument of the catholic critics by showing that the "Diatessaron" was no Harmony whatever of the four canonical gospels. The English reader may see how this is attempted by the author of "Supernatural Religion" in his second volume (pp. 152, *ff.*). He makes statements like the following: "There is no authority for saying that Tatian's gospel was a Harmony of four gospels at all." "No one seems to have seen Tatian's Harmony, for the very good reason that there was no such work." And again: "It is obvious that there is no evidence whatever connecting Tatian's gospel with those in our canon." *

The question, however, seems of late to have been finally settled to the utter discomfiture of the school of Baur, and the complete demonstration of the perfect correctness of the traditional view. According to the testimony of antiquity, Ephraem the Syrian wrote a commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron. The commentary was regarded as hopelessly lost until lately, when an Armenian translation of it was found in the library of the Mechitarist monks, in the island of S. Lazzaro at Venice. This translation was published in Latin in 1876 by Professor Mösinger of Salzburg.† Now, Professor Zahn of

* "Supernatural Religion," vol. ii, pp. 158, 160, 161.

† The title is: "Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a S. Ephraemo, in Latinum translata a J. B. Aucher, Mechitarista, cujus versionem emendavit, annotationibus illustravit et edidit G. Moesinger, Venetiis," etc., 1876.

Erlangen has lately subjected this ancient commentary to a most thorough-going criticism and treatment, and that with the most interesting and astonishing results. It turns out actually to be Ephraem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron. We therefore now know exactly what was the nature of Tatian's famous work. And what is the result? It is found to be a consecutive gospel narrative constructed out of a blending of our four canonical gospels on a somewhat free principle. And Tatian uses John the most extensively of all the gospels, and adopts the chronology of that gospel as the frame-work of his Harmony. "It may be observed that a difference is so far made between the evangelists that the text of St. John is almost completely adopted, perhaps with the sole exception of chapter iv, 46–54; next in completeness comes that of St. Matthew, while St. Luke and St. Mark are much more incompletely represented."* The meaning of all this is obvious. The Tübingen school, in their blind and desperate attempt to maintain the late origin of all the gospels, and especially of John, have suffered themselves again to be misled. In the words of Professor Wace: "There is no longer any doubt that all four gospels existed in full, and substantially as we now have them, in the time of Tatian, and therefore of Justin Martyr;" for, as the author of "Supernatural Religion" expressly acknowledges, "Tatian simply made use of the same gospel as his master, Justin Martyr,"† who died probably in A. D. 148.

One other point remains on which we wish to say a few words. It is the issue of the controversy in regard to "Marcion's gospel." This heretic was a native of Pontus, but lived and flourished at Rome in the time of Justin Martyr, that is, about A. D. 140. He used a gospel which, according to the consent of antiquity, and especially of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, was a mutilated Luke. There was no substantial reason for doubting this statement. But if it was true, then it was plain that Luke must have been written a considerable time before A.D. 140. This could not be admitted by Baur and his immediate followers, whose hypothesis required them to hold the late origin of that gospel. What was then to be

* Article by Professor Wace, "Expositor," Oct., 1882, p. 301. Comp. Charteris, "Croall Lectures for 1882," pp. 177, *ff.*

† Vol. ii, p. 159.

done? Of course, Marcion's gospel must be held and proved to be the earlier and the original gospel, of which that of Luke was only a later enlargement.*

In Germany, the rectification of this grievous error came in its final stage, to its honor be it said, from within Baur's own school. Volkmar and Hilgenfeld, two distinguished members of the school, were not only led by their own study to renounce the view of Baur and return to the traditional view, but by their thorough investigation as nearly proved as such a thing could be proved that the ancient view was right, and that Luke was the original from which Marcion had derived his gospel by mutilation. So effectual was the demonstration, that Ritschl was convinced, and even Baur withdrew from his original position. The question may now be regarded as finally settled in Germany in favor of the priority and originality of the Gospel of Luke.† The statement of the fathers is proved to be substantially correct, and Marcion's gospel turns out to be a mutilation of Luke.

But the matter was not so speedily brought to a conclusion in England. The author of "Supernatural Religion," as might have been anticipated, still held out. He could even write: "The statement of the fathers, that Marcion's gospel was no original work, but a mutilated version of Luke, is unsupported by a single historical or critical argument;" and again, "If we except the gospel according to the Hebrews, Marcion's gospel is the oldest evangelical work of which we hear any thing, and it *ranks far above the third Synoptic in that respect.*" ‡ But Dr. Sanday in his well-known volume, "The Gospels in the Second Century," entered once more into an elaborate investigation of the question, and succeeded in practically demonstrating the priority and originality of Luke. So convincing is his argument that he has had the unlooked-for satisfaction of seeing even the author of "Supernatural Religion," after the example of abler and wiser men, withdrawing from his wild position, and finally admitting that Luke, and not Marcion's

* See Baur, "Kritische Untersuchungen," pp. 397–427.

† "Es genügt zu bemerken, dass das Vorhandensein des Lucas vor Marcion von Volkmar, Köstlin, Hilgenfeld, Ritschl, und Zeller, nachgewiesen wurde."—Holtzmann, "Die syn. Evangelien," p. 403.

‡ "Supernatural Religion," vol. ii, pp. 138, *f.*, 4th edition. The Italics are ours.

mutilation, is the true original. He now acknowledges that Dr. Sanday's "able examination of Marcion's gospel has convinced us that our earlier hypothesis is untenable, . . . and, consequently, that our third Synoptic existed in his time, and was substantially in the hands of Marcion." He says that Dr. Sanday's argument must "prove irresistible to all" critics, and that "it is not possible reasonably to maintain" his previous view.* After such an admission coming from such a quarter, we may safely say with Professor Salmon of Dublin, "The theory that Marcion's form [of the gospel] is the original, may be said to be now completely exploded."

In the preceding pages we have dwelt on individual points by way of illustration; it now remains for us to give an indication of the general current of the tide of opinion in the critical world. Even in the negative critical world, in the very school of Baur himself, the current of opinion in regard to the dates of the leading books of the New Testament has begun distinctly to flow back. A brief general statement will be sufficient to make this luminous. Baur regarded Matthew as written after A. D. 130; Hilgenfeld, the present head of Baur's school, holds it to have been written immediately (*εὐθέως*) after the destruction of Jerusalem, say about A. D. 70; while Renan regards it as written about A. D. 84. Baur originally regarded Luke and Mark as written about A. D. 150 or later; but both Hilgenfeld and Renan agree in placing their date more or less decidedly within the first century, and therefore within the apostolic age. The case with John is very instructive. Baur regarded it as written about A. D. 160, or even 170; Hilgenfeld assigns it to A. D. 130–140; while Renan, after a good deal of vacillation, holds at present to about A. D. 125. Baur held Acts to be written about the middle of the second century; Hilgenfeld regards it as written after the close of the first century, but maintains that the portions narrated in the first person were the genuine work of Luke; while Renan assigns it to the first century. Baur regarded Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians as the only genuine Pauline epistles; but in addition to these, Hilgenfeld accepts also First Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon; while Renan, also in addition, accepts First and

* "Supernatural Religion," complete edition (1879), vol. ii, pp. 138, *f.*

Second Thessalonians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, and although he regards Ephesians as doubtful, yet he says that "in any case it belongs to the apostolic age." Baur relegated all, or almost all, the remaining books of the New Testament, except the Revelation of John, to the second century. Besides those specified above, Hilgenfeld assigns to the first century Hebrews (c. A. D. 66) and James (A. D. 81–96); while Renan assigns to the same century Ephesians, Hebrews, James, and 1 Peter. To sum up in a general way, we have this approximate result. According to Baur, we have only about one fourth of the New Testament belonging to the first century; according to Hilgenfeld, we have nearly three fourths, and according to Renan, decidedly more than three fourths, falling within the first century, and therefore within the limits of the apostolic age. This surely indicates a very decided and significant retreat.*

Such are a few of the checks or even reverses sustained of late years by the critics of the extreme negative school, and such is their substantial retreat. The general result of the whole is most significant and confirmatory of the catholic belief in regard to the age of the leading books of the New Testament. And let it be noted that the strength of the argument is to be seen not so much in the points separately

* It may be interesting and helpful to clearness to fix our attention more particularly on the four gospels. The following table gives the approximate dates according to different critics, and speaks for itself:

	Baur.	Volkmar.	Hilgenfeld.	Keim.	Renan.	Schenkel.	Holtzmann.	Weiz.	Meyer.
Matt.,	130+	105+	70+	66	84	70	c. 67	70+	60–70
Mark,	150+	73	81+	100	76	58	c. 68	69	60–70
Luke,	c. 150	100	c. 100	90	94	80	70+	80	70–80
John,	160+	155	130+	130	125	120	100–133	c. 95	80
	600	433	396	386	379	328	327	314	285

The above table may be accepted as approximately correct. We have added up the different columns (making allowances), in order that the eye may see the general results more distinctly. They are very significant. The sum under Baur is 600, and by comparing with this the sum under the other authors respectively, we see the aggregate retreat in regard to time in each case. We append Meyer as a specimen of the liberal but positive critic, only for comparison. We close the note with the words of Holtzmann himself: "Wir finden in der Tübinger Schule eine allgemeine Rückbewegung, bis zuletzt Hilgenfeld die evangelische Literatur in einer Zeit zum Abschluss bringt, wo sie nach Baur erst angefangen hätte.—HOLTZMANN, "Die synoptischen Evangelien," p. 403.

as in the general drift of the whole. Every new discovery has not only fallen in harmoniously with the view commonly held in the Church, but has distinctly tended to confirm it, while in some cases it has been dead against the extreme school of unbelief. Moreover, the distinct and general tendency of the leading authorities on the side of negative criticism has been to move the date of the chief New Testament books back nearer and nearer to the apostolic age, until at last, instead of only one fourth, they agree that about three fourths of the New Testament were actually written before the death of the apostle John.

When the age of historical criticism came, it was impossible that the books of the New Testament could escape the fire. They had of necessity to pass through the ordeal just like other ancient books, and it will be found in the long run that it was well for the Church that it was so. We have reason to believe that the battle of the dates is drawing near its close, with the victory obviously inclining to the side of the catholic view, namely, that the Christian Scriptures belong to the apostolic age. When the battle has once been fought out, and our sacred books have been proved and acknowledged even by negative critics themselves to fall within the first century, we may reasonably hope that a day will dawn of firmer faith than ever in these books. After they have stood the fire of such criticism as no ancient books have ever undergone, and the unwilling testimony of enemies is found substantially to coincide with that of friends, surely all future ages may regard them as practically unassailable. The battle had to be fought out; but the end is now in view, and fought out once, it is fought out forever.

One of the most brilliant of our scientific writers draws a vivid picture of the "fear and powerless anger" with which he supposes some Christians contemplate the advance of the "realm of matter and of law," that is, of physical science. As drawn by him, the picture is a sad one. But one sadder still sometimes presents itself on the side of unbelief. Here is a man who was cradled in the Christian faith, and brought up in a reverent belief in the New Testament. But when he grew up to manhood, he came into contact with the advanced criticism, let us say, of Baur and his school. It was to him

something quite new and startling. He was completely carried away by the originality of the principle which underlies the criticism; by the power, learning, and ingenuity with which the great master of the school supported it; and he ended in cordially accepting the position of extreme negation. In his own eyes he now became a free man, standing on the lofty rock of unassailable criticism, in the high, clear air far above the ignorant and superstitious multitude who grope in the twilight of the valley below. He has continued on in this course for years; he has, perhaps, proclaimed his views from the platform and the press; he has committed himself hand and foot to his position, and has become hardened in it. He is now, by "habit and repute," a member of the most enlightened school of infallible criticism; a well-known antagonist of superstitious supernaturalism, and, it may be, a prophet of the speedy downfall of Christianity. But as his generation glides away, a younger race of critics arise. They grow up accustomed to the negative criticism, and are not so easily bewildered and misled by the glamour of its novelty and ingenuity. They examine things more calmly, and in a healthier spirit; they almost unanimously give up the extreme negative position as utterly untenable, and retreat toward the catholic position. But what of our older friend? He has renounced his original faith, he has committed himself to his unbelief, and now it appears that he has been all wrong from the first! He has declared himself too publicly and too dogmatically, and it is too late for him to change. He is left high and dry by the receding tide, to maunder over his old arguments and objections, while the generation around looks on with pity or a smile. Doomed to see the conclusions of his infallible criticism rejected even by its friends—condemned to live to see the sacrifice of his faith in the New Testament proved to be a huge blunder and mistake—too proud, too crystallized, and too old to change—surely such a man presents to us one of the very saddest of spectacles; and, unhappily, it is one which is not altogether a mere picture of the imagination.

Art. VI.—THE CONGO.

The legend that tells how Alexander of Macedon wept because his career of conquest was cut short for want of a field for its further extension, not only shows him to have been weakly sentimental, but also very inadequately informed in respect to the extent of the world. Other conquerors may have had like thoughts, though not so much since it was written, "Columbus has given a new world to the kingdom of Castile and Leon." From that time the "star of empire" set out anew on its westward course, and it has gone onward till there is no longer an unoccupied West to invite its farther progress. But as that progress followed pretty closely the lines of latitude, it left on either side, and especially within the opposite hemisphere, vast unexplored regions for future occupation. It has thus happened that the earth's great garden, a continent itself, that lies among the seas southward from Europe, has engaged a comparatively small share of the world's interest for three centuries. But the day has at length dawned upon "the Dark Continent," and for the adventurous spirits of the immediate future, traders, naturalists, or missionaries, Africa is becoming "the land of promise."

But, in waking up to the fact that there is an Africa, they who now begin to think and speak of it as an inviting field for study or enterprise must not forget that that fair land has been the arena upon which some of the greatest exploits of history, and also of prehistoric times, have been enacted. Within its area the Pharaohs built the pyramids, and shaped those massive monoliths, the obelisks and sphinxes at which our self-complacent age gazes with the vacant wonder of children. At the dawn of history Egypt, the seat of an advanced civilization, was already passing to its decadence. Rome, in her campaign of a thousand years for the conquest and plunder of the nations, encountered her most formidable antagonists in Africa, whose warriors carried victory to the very gates of the City of the Seven Hills. In mediæval times the Italian republics found their mercantile supremacy challenged by the apparently insignificant States of Barbary, and even when the achievements of the Spanish navigator were sending Spain's hidalgos across

the western ocean, intent on spoliation and the spread of the Catholic faith, Portugal was quietly feeling her way down the African coast, till, passing its southern extremity, her adventurous mariners turned again northward, planting their colonies from Mozambique to the Red Sea.

The Africa of which we now purpose to write is, however, quite another than the fringe of small states that lie between the Midland Sea and the wastes of the Sahara and the littorals of the two oceans. We are to consider the vast region hitherto almost entirely unknown, but toward which the eyes of the world are turning—the habitat of that most distinctive of the races of men, the Negro. Even he has been recognized from the earliest times as a social factor, but all along only as a slave. In that relation Egypt has given him a place on her stony monuments; and from that unknown date in the forgotten past till yesterday, the vast unknown regions of Africa were the harvest-field for the supply of the world's slave-markets. And now at length the descendants of the slaves stolen from Africa to serve the Anglo-Saxon freemen of America, insular and continental, have strangely become loyal and emancipated subjects of the British sovereign, or else enfranchised freemen of our great Republic. Evidently a beneficent Providence, which contemplated the end from the beginning, was present to overrule the white man's iniquitous lust for gain as manifested in the enslavement of the Negro race; and the denouement of that long-continued tragedy in human history is at length beginning to appear.

The coasts of intertropical Africa have for three hundred years been possessed and partially occupied by some of the principal nations of Europe; but all the vast interior, beyond a narrow fringe washed by the sea, has remained a *terra incognita*. The school geographies and atlases used by the older half of those now living displayed the whole interior of Africa as an unknown waste, varied only by the mythical "Mountains of the Moon." But with the advent of the current century the deep silence began to be interrupted. Mungo Park pushed his way by Timbuctoo down the Niger, and paid the forfeit of his life for his temerity; and after him the Landers brothers, pursuing the same course, debouched into the ocean, thus solving one of the geographical enigmas of the age. Afterward came Barth,

and Baker, and Burton, and Speke and Grant, and Cameron, and Schweinfurth, and a multitude more, all of whom made tentative efforts toward solving the mysteries of the wonderful unknown land of the black man. A Gallico-American, Du Chaillu, made excursions inward beyond the settlements along the western coast, and rediscovered the gorilla, the cannibals, and the dwarfs. But greater than all these, during the same years the missionary explorer, Livingstone, pierced the continent through and through, and forever broke the spell that had so long made Central Africa an insoluble mystery. After him, inspired by his example, and intent on finding him in his hiding-place, came Stanley, the last, and, measured by results, the greatest, of African explorers. And now the great world has fairly waked up to the fact that there is an African continent, itself a large portion of the solid land of the world, and that it possesses great possibilities in respect to human wants.

It is well, perhaps, that this wonderful land has remained so little known, and therefore unappropriated by any nation, until now, when, under the influence of a better and more Christian civilization than has hitherto existed, this newly discovered and still unexplored region of such magnificent proportions may be saved from spoliation, and instead become an arena for the largest development of the industrial, the philanthropic, and the Christian enterprises of the age. And now we see the unprecedented spectacle of a newly discovered country of untold resources preserved and consecrated by the great Christian powers to peace and civilization; and of these things, their processes and the consummation of the scheme for their accomplishment, the two noble volumes now lying before us are the record and the assured prophecy.

During the years 1874–77 Mr. Stanley, under the auspices of the proprietor of the "New York Herald" and of the "London Daily Telegraph," made his famous journey across the "Dark Continent," from Zanzibar to the mouth of the Congo, and reached Europe early in the next year. This man seems to have been himself a scarcely less remarkable discovery than the strange land of which he comes to tell us; but despite his unpromising earlier career, the most cautious and skeptical have been compelled to recognize his personal greatness; and now one of the crowned heads of Europe—Leopold II. of

Belgium—becomes the patron of the enterprise of which these books relate the beginnings.

It is not our purpose to retell his story. "Is it not written in the book?" and is not the very air full of it? It is ours simply, in the proper and least pretentious sense, to review his work, to see and report what has been done, and as we may be able, to set in a clear light some of the salient points of the story, to group together and take account of the more important facts that have been determined, and to make a hasty and necessarily incomplete estimate of the demonstrated possibilities of the things certainly ascertained.

The accomplished results, of which these volumes are the record, make an addition of a new and very important chapter to the world's geographical knowledge. A vast region of intertropical Africa, of which heretofore very little was known, and of which only comparatively small parts have been claimed by any foreign power, is now revealed. The remarkable fact is demonstrated that one of the well-known rivers of Western Africa discharges into the Atlantic the drainage of a region equal in area to that of the entire United States east of the Mississippi; that the basin of the Congo extends from the Atlantic Ocean, at about the twelfth degree of east longitude, eastward to the thirtieth degree, three quarters of the distance across the continent, to the watershed that separates the streams that fall severally into the two oceans. This vast basin lies on both sides of the equator, extending southward more than twelve degrees, over seven hundred geographical miles, and northward through eight degrees, or nearly five hundred geographical miles. The area of this vast basin is thus seen to very considerably exceed a million of square miles, or more than twenty times that of New York or Pennsylvania.

The physical characteristics of this vast area are as remarkable as its extent. From west to east, and equally on both sides of the equator, it appears an unbroken stretch of varied but never mountainous surface, well watered and drained by unfailing rivers, all falling into the Congo, a region of marvelous fertility, producing all the forms of tropical vegetation, and being, of course, the range and haunts of wild animals. There are elephants and buffaloes, lions and tigers, hippopotamuses and crocodiles, giraffes and zebras; while to the hand of

industry the earth readily yields the most abundant supplies of whatever is needed for human subsistence.

The vastness of the African continent renders any definite conception of its details exceedingly difficult. The Africa of antiquity and of the Middle Ages was the region now known as North Africa, extending from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, including the Canary Islands, and from the Mediterranean southward to a little beyond the twentieth degree of north latitude. Of this vast area, the desert of Sahara is the great feature, having Egypt and Nubia and Abyssinia to the eastward, and along the northern littoral, the Barbary States of the recent past and the Africa of Roman history. Beyond the Great Desert is the land of the Berbers and other strange peoples, of whom some account was given in a late number of this Review. South of the western part of this region is a fairly well defined section, extending from Timbuctoo to the Gulf of Guinea, coming down nearly to the Equator, divided by the Kong Mountains, with the Valley of the Niger on the east, and on the north-west and west the Senegambia country drained by the Senegal, with the Cape Verde Islands off the western coast, and farther southward the British colony of Sierra Leone, the republic of Liberia, and the kingdoms of Ashantee and Dahomey, and the coast towns of the Bight of Benin. This coast is the part of Africa best known in European commercial circles. Eastward from the valley of the Niger, and south of the Desert, is the great central basin, whose watercourses drain an extensive area, and converge in the vast estuary called Lake Tchad. Along the eastern coast from Cape Guardafui to Mozambique is the comparatively narrow belt, two or three hundred miles wide, whose waters flow through inconsiderable streams into the Indian Ocean. Still farther southward (latitude 10 to 20 deg. S.), and extending from the ocean westward, very far toward the Atlantic coast, is the basin of the Zambezi, second in extent only to that of the Congo, having on its south side the well-known states and outlying regions of South Africa, and on the west the Portuguese kingdom of Benguela, whose waters in small rivers fall into the Atlantic. These great natural divisions constitute the entire area of the African continent, except the interior basin, drained by the Congo and its affluents, lying south of the Lake Tchad region

and north of the basin of the Zambezi, and extending from the Gulf of Guinea on the west to the "divide" of the water-courses, not far from the Indian Ocean and the head-waters of the Nile.

The Congo River debouches into the Atlantic near the southern extremity of the Gulf of Guinea, about the sixth degree of south latitude, where it was formerly known as the *Zaire*, and recently as the "Livingstone" river, having the state of Loango on the right, and that of Congo on the left, of the river banks. The volume of water that is discharged into the ocean has long been known to be very great, since its current is felt and the discoloration of the water may be seen many leagues from the coast, and the depth of the channel as it enters the sea is a hundred fathoms. Estimates of the volume of water regularly discharged, made from approximate calculations from the size and velocity of the current, show results agreeing with the requirements of the area drained. The first section of the river—to Boma, seventy miles—is an arm of the sea; and thence upward to Vivi there is a broad, deep, and free channel with a moderate and steady current. Vivi is at the head of the lower river navigation, being at the bottom of the long series of rapids now called the Livingstone Falls, which continue upward nearly two hundred miles through a semi-mountainous region, with more than fifty cataracts of various heights, with long intervening stretches of navigable water to the broad expanse called Stanley Pool. The distance from Banana Point (the port of entry for sea-going vessels) to Boma is about seventy miles; and from Boma to Vivi, at the foot of the rapids, is forty miles more. From Vivi to Leopoldville, the station erected just above the beginning of the cataracts, is about two hundred miles. The vertical descent of the water between Stanley Pool and the river level at Vivi is not far from one thousand feet, and thence to the sea the fall is from two hundred to three hundred feet more.

Stanley Pool is a vast inland basin of quiet water, twenty miles in extent from the upper entrance of the great river to its contraction preparatory to its long succession of leaps and tumbles downward to the Lower Congo. Its breadth is about ten miles; and the whole area is divided into unequal parts by a low wooded island—Buma. From Leopoldville, at

the lowest part of Stanley Pool, to the foot of the Stanley Falls, following the river, which is not very crooked, the distance is a thousand and sixty-eight English miles, all without any interruption to navigation, and making a vertical descent of only four inches per mile. Accurate measurements show the elevation of the river at the foot of Stanley Falls to be 1,511 feet above sea level. The navigable extent of the many affluents, from both sides below Stanley Falls, carry the whole mileage up to more than five thousand. In the wide and elevated portion above the Stanley Falls, extending south-eastward, is the Lualaba with its great lakes and long affluents, which, however, are navigable only for smaller river crafts, yet largely available for both travel and transportation. On the right of the river, toward the great upland lakes which form the head-waters of the Nile—though the largest and best known of them, the Tanganyika, it is now ascertained sends its waters to the Congo—is a wide expanse of country of which as yet very little is known beyond its great physical characteristics. The outflow of water from Lake Tanganyika, in passing over two hundred miles westward, makes a descent of fully twelve hundred feet, and the south-western shore of that lake rises to an elevation of twenty-five hundred feet above the lake's surface, so making that region the highest land in the Congo basin, a kind of intertropical Switzerland. The whole area of the region now called, by anticipation, the State of Congo, is not less than a million and a half square miles, every part of it abundantly watered and remarkably fertile, everywhere traversed by water-ways, and productive beyond computation of whatever is requisite to human subsistence and to the demands of an advanced civilization.

The climatic conditions of this broad land are no doubt matters of primary interest, and especially since the notion has become prevalent that the climate of intertropical Africa has effectually forbidden the incoming of European and American residents. Because it is intertropical, and also a level country, the Congo land is, of course, a land of perpetual summer. Observations made at Vivi, for the year 1882, show a maximum upward range of ninety-four degrees (Fahrenheit) in February and May, while June, July, and August reached only eighty-six, eighty-four, and eighty-five degrees respectively.

The minimum temperature that year was, in July and August, fifty-six degrees; in June, sixty; in May and September, sixty-seven; in January and December, seventy. Here, as every-where else, there is among the natives much more dread of the cold than of the heat. The rain-fall for the same year equaled about forty-one and a half inches, of which more than half fell in November, December, and January. February, March, April, and May made an aggregate of nineteen inches, while June, July, August, and September, constituting the dry season, were almost absolutely without rain, and yet these months constituted the coolest season of the year. Though cloudy weather usually prevails in all seasons, yet the rains are intermittent and seldom amount to half an inch in twenty-four hours. Moderate winds prevail at nearly all seasons of the year.

Questions that may be asked respecting the salubrity of the climate cannot be answered in a single word. The fact that there is found through all this region a somewhat numerous population (estimated at not less than fifty millions) of stalwart and muscular people, that there are old men of eighty or over still sufficiently active to be recognized as kings or heads of their tribes, and that there are every-where multitudes of children and young people—all these things sufficiently prove that for its own inhabitants the climate is a health-giving one. Respecting Europeans and all white men, the question becomes complicated with a multitude of facts outside of merely local conditions and influences. Changes of climatic conditions naturally call for adaptations of the physical system to meet the new requirements, the making of which may result either favorably or otherwise. In some cases chronic diseases may be effectually cured, or congenital morbific tendencies held in abeyance; in others the constitutional tendencies to some forms of disease may be quickened into fatal activity, or a latent liability to some unhealthy development, that at home might have remained dormant, may be hastened to its fatal termination. The differences of conditions between a residence in Europe or the United States and one in intertropical Africa are so very considerable, that a removal to the latter from the former must be somewhat perilous, even although the latter may be in fact quite as favorable to health and long life. In every case there must be a process of acclimatizing, which

may or may not be attended by sickness, but is especially liable to be; and during that process, of three or six months, great care must be taken to avoid exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and to the night air, or any form of unnecessary physical or mental strain. The terrible force of the rays of the tropical sun is apt not to be properly appreciated and guarded against, and the night air, continuing well into the morning, is only a little less dangerous. High feeding, especially on animal food, must be avoided, and alcoholic drinks, even in the mildest forms, are superlatively evil. A wholesome and even generous diet, made up chiefly of farinaceous food, with vegetables and fruits, is desirable, with regular and sufficiently-abundant sleep. With these things properly cared for, there is no reason to presume that the climate of Congo land is less healthful than our own more widely variable seasons.

In respect to its ethnology, Congo land is the home of the typical Negro. To the very partial observations to which these people have been submitted they appear to be substantially the same throughout; but it is quite possible that a more intimate acquaintance with them and their traditions will detect more or less of tribal differences. There appears also to be a remarkable uniformity in the mental conditions of the whole population, which is a low, but not the lowest, stage of barbarism. They practice the mechanical arts, of a rude kind, and to a small extent, and their agriculture, which is their principal industry, though of the most primitive kind, is extensive and remarkably productive. As they have no winters or other seasons of unproductiveness to provide for, they escape the horrors of starvation that sometimes desolate the homes of more northern savages. The physical appearance of the people indicates the use of an abundance of food, which is also corroborated by the multitudes of children and the populousness of the country. Animal life is indeed decidedly sturdy and relatively wholesome, despite the many and great drawbacks that are inseparable from the conditions of barbarism. Politically, the people are divided into small tribes, each having its chief or "king," who rules without any clearly defined laws, though the "customs" are recognized and somewhat respected. On some occasions several of these "head men" and their retainers form temporary confederations for aggression or defense, but these

are only partial and temporary. A large portion of the population are slaves, for any man may become a slave-holder by purchase or the spoils of war, but the condition of the slaves is not much less favorable than that of the nominally free. Polygamy is practiced without any legal restrictions, and a man's greatness is often measured by the number of his wives, and of course women are universally the property of their husbands.

Their religious ideas are the simplest and grossest. They have no idea of God, a supreme, super-mundane, and spiritual Ruler; neither have they any ethical code. Conscience with them is apparently only an undeveloped potentiality, and instead of the stoic's sense of honor they display only the coarsest forms of egotism, and self-respect is replaced by supercilious vanity. Their superstition is manifested at every point. They recognize the preternatural in every thing, and of course they are universally fetich worshipers. They believe in the future state, which is, according to their conceptions, very much like the present, and like most other savages they seek to provide for that state by offerings of whatever is most valuable at the grave, or to the *manes* of the dead. As the Greeks sacrificed a man's slaves to accompany and serve him in the spirit world, and as the Hindu widow was burned upon the same funeral pile with the body of her dead husband, that the outgoing soul might be duly attended, so the Congo chief is supposed to be accompanied by his retinue of slaves which are slain at his funeral. Mr. Stanley tells of a case where "a long ago superannuated potentate" had died, and the whole region was searched over for the purchase of slaves to be murdered at his funeral; and at length the sickening massacre was witnessed by two European traders, who were powerless to prevent the horrible transaction. It is enough to say respecting the morality of these Congoese, that they are heathens and barbarians, having, in the usual degree, the vices that universally prevail in such a state of society, with a corresponding absence of positive virtues. Though overbearing to inferiors, they are not brave, and therefore not greatly addicted to war-making; but, when out of danger, they are cruel, truculent, and altogether treacherous. They recognize white men as essentially a superior race of beings, to whom they readily give their confidence, and to individuals of whom attachments are sometimes formed

not unlike that of a dog for his master; and through this influence it may doubtless happen that a genuine moral character may be evoked. By that mode of access the Christian teacher may be enabled to reach the latent moral element in the minds of these people, and so lead them to a higher moral and religious status. Something of this kind seems to have occurred between Livingstone and some of his personal associates; but we find only the most remote approaches to any thing of a like nature in the relations of Stanley to his Congoese.

The volumes now before us, as has already been suggested, come to the public somewhat in the form of a report of proceedings of a commission sent out under the auspices of the "Comité d'Etudes du Haut Congo," an association constituted expressly for the prosecution of explorations on that river, of which association King Leopold II. of Belgium was the chief patron, and Mr. Stanley was the managing agent for the work in Africa. This has since given place to "The International Association of the Congo," constituted early in the present year by the Berlin Conference, in which nearly all the principal powers of Europe were represented by their plenipotentiaries, and in which also the representatives of the United States took part, and whose character and designs are thus stated in the "Declaration" made to and by the Belgian government:

> The International Association of the Congo declares by these presents, that, in virtue of treaties concluded with the legitimate sovereigns in the basin of the Congo and its tributaries, it has been ceded the sovereignty of vast territories, with the object of founding a free and independent State; that conventions define the frontiers of the territories of the association as regards those of France and Portugal, and that the frontiers of the Association are shown on the annexed map.... [A map attached to the "declaration."] That it assures to foreigners who settle in its territories the right to buy, sell, or lease ground and buildings situated thereon, to establish houses of business and trade (without duties or imposts), under the sole condition of obeying the laws. It undertakes, in addition, to accord no advantage to the citizens of (any) one nation, without immediately extending it to the citizens of all other nations, and to do all in its power to put down the slave trade.

The "Free State" of Congo, as here described, appears to exist, in respect to its governmental authority, in an "Association" guaranteed by the chief governments of Europe. Its

rights of dominion within its proper territory is professedly derived from its former "legitimate sovereigns," which may do well enough as a legal fiction, and as a device for obtaining the needed sovereignty without violence or the sacrifice of the good-will of the local "sovereigns."

The arrangement is good for all parties—a decided improvement upon the policy of seizure and spoliation that prevailed in this continent after its discovery. Treaties with savage races may mean much or little according to the good faith or otherwise that prevails in their formation and execution; in this case it may be hoped that the united influences of the higher morality of our times, and the mutual jealousies of the "powers," will avail to protect the "Free State of Congo" from spoliation by any one of them, and that private enterprise and Christian philanthropy will here find a free field. The arena is ample, and its possibilities beyond estimate; its proper occupation and improvement will constitute the grandest bequest made by the closing to the incoming century.

In respect to the industrial and commercial capabilities of this vast region it is very easy to err in either direction. No nation or people can purchase foreign wares beyond the value of what they have to sell, and it is too obvious to require proof that barbarians and savages are always poor. But the sources of wealth in all this region are both abundant and easy to be made available. The Congo has long been known as a channel for bringing ivory to the coast; and though much that could be gathered up from the remains of dead animals has been already marketed, still much of the same kind remains to be gathered. But the chief supply must be obtained by hunting and destroying the living animals. It is estimated that there are not less than 200,000 living elephants within the Congo basin, carrying in their heads an average of fifty pounds of ivory, of an aggregate value of $25,000,000. Among other forms of non-agricultural wealth may be named the skins of monkeys, goats, antelopes, buffaloes, lions, and leopards; the gorgeous feathers of tropical birds; the teeth of the hippopotamus; tortoise-shell, bees-wax, frankincense, and myrrh. Of the industries of the forests, those of palm-oil and of India rubber are the principal, and of these the supply is practically unlimited, and they are rendered available by only a little comparatively unskilled labor. There

are also vast sources of wealth in gum, copal, and orchilla weed, which may be picked up by all who will do so, and also in the camwood and redwood powder, which any woman may prepare for market. There are also large opportunities for the production of the metals by native artisans, who now operate mines of iron, copper, and plumbago; nor is there any lack of gold, though not much has been done toward its development.

The agricultural productions of the whole region are already very considerable, with the possibilities of indefinite increase. "Every native village on the Upper Congo," writes Stanley, "has its sugar-cane plots and maize. Bananas and plantains thrive marvelously. In the Kwa valley the natives eat bread of millet flour; but the cassava or manioc furnishes the staple of farinaceous food of the people along the main river."

A black field pea, that grows prolifically with but little cultivation, is much in favor, and of vegetables there are unlimited supplies of sweet potatoes, yams, cucumbers, melons, pumpkins, and tomatoes; and many of the chief varieties of European garden and field plants are found to take kindly to the soil and climate, and to produce abundantly. Rice has been introduced by the Arabs in the eastern portion of the basin, and also wheat; and all the fruits of the torrid zone and many of more temperate regions are found to flourish luxuriantly. In the three great staples of sugar, rice, and cotton the capabilities of this region seem to be practically unlimited; but these can be effectually realized by the industry of the people—and industry is not a characteristic of barbarians, under a tropical sun, with an easily available natural supply for their few and simple wants.

The favorable solution of the African question depends very largely on the further question, whether or not the listless carelessness of the natives can be so far overcome as to enable them to develop the resources of the land about them; nor is this entirely hopeless. Already all along the chief rivers the pursuits of trade are overcoming the natural indolence of the chiefs and of other unofficial traders; and the twin passions, avarice and love of display, are producing their natural results in the form of productive industry. It has been demonstrated that the natives will work for wages, and also that the presence of foreign wares awakens an earnest desire for their possession. If, therefore, these people shall indeed be effectu-

ally restrained from war, and the slave trade and slavery be rooted out, the chiefs will have only the pursuits of trade and industry for their occupation; and with the increase of wealth will come also increased wants, which will in time call for increased productions. And if, further, as is provided for in the regulations of the International Association, all intoxicating liquors shall be effectually excluded, there would seem to be room to hope that the material civilization and elevation of Congo land is not to be despaired of. No doubt, however, the most formidable difficulty in the case will be found in the incompetency of the white men who will be called to aid in the execution of the work. The pages of the work before us show very clearly how grievously the one responsible head of the enterprise found himself handicapped by the incompetence, the indolence, and the perverseness of his appointed assistants. Men go on such expeditions without any adequate conception of their requirements; they are heroes at home, but utterly fail in times of trial. Others are mere adventurers or romancers, who have no relish for steady and taxing labors; or, worse still, some are both selfish and vicious, and will hinder where they are expected to help. If failure shall come to the enterprise, these will be its procurers.

Probably the question of the most lively interest with many of our readers will relate to the possibilities of this vast region as a field for Christian missions. The three great conditions to be taken into account in choosing a field for evangelistic propagandism—sufficient breadth, accessibility, and probable permanence of the people—are found here in all needed fullness. Within this field is found a large share of one of the great ethnic divisions of the human race—less numerous than no other race except only the Chinese and the Hindus—freely offered to the Christian enterprise of the age, and destined beyond any reasonable peradventure soon to become civilized. And in respect to the conditions that promise growth and expansion of the population, instead of the diminution and decay that have so often among barbarous nations resulted from the processes of civilization, here is all that can be wished. There is indeed no reason to apprehend that the cases of the American Indians and the South Sea Islanders, in decadence along with enlightenment, will be repeated among the natives of the Congo land;

and unless all visible indications shall prove fallacious, the Negro is the coming man. These primary conditions therefore are all that could be desired, and the Christian heroism of the age is challenged by them to enter in and possess the land.

It would, however, be a great mistake to assume that an easy conquest is here promised; for though the obstacles to be overcome are largely negative in character, yet are they both real and formidable. The absence of religious convictions and institutions among the people offers very small advantages if there is also a corresponding want of religious susceptibilities. The obstacles to be overcome are chiefly the all-pervading mental and social inertia—the almost absolutely universal indifference in respect to every thing beyond material interests and sensuous pleasures. Heathenism is practically the synonym of depravity, which is both negatively and positively antagonistic to Christian truth and the wholesome restraints of the Gospel. Nor can there be, in even the least compacted tribal or personal relations, an entire absence of social influences; and these will always co-operate with the prevalent tendencies of the common characteristics. The superstition that is always so effective in the heathen mind, while as the expression of the religious intuitions and instincts of the soul it offers a way of access for religious instruction—just as St. Paul used Athenian "extreme religiousness" as a means by which to teach the highest and purest theism—nevertheless at once indisposes the mind to wholesome instruction, and also cherishes its own vanities in opposition to the pure and lofty doctrines and precepts of Christianity. As in the individual soul the successful operations of the Gospel are always effected against opposition, and appear in the form of a victory, so must the Gospel in its approaches to nations and peoples attain to success only by overcoming. The fact that a people are without letters, and have only the faintest ethnic traditions, and are almost entirely destitute of both social and religious institutions, while it may indicate the probability of but little positive and organized opposition to the Gospel, shows however that a great amount of severe and long-continued labor will be required in order to insure success.

The methods of practical operations in Christian teaching must of course be adapted to local conditions and peculiarities.

Religious observances and institutions very largely receive their forms from their environments, as indeed should be the case; and it is great unwisdom to attempt to transplant and reproduce the outgrowths of local conditions into places and among peoples with whom the conditions that first originated them are wanting. Foreign missionaries have very much to learn and unlearn along this line; since, in all cases, the methods of evangelistic action, and the resultant religious and ecclesiastical institutions, must be adapted to the requirements of their circumstances. The "Articles of Religion" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, made up of fragmentary excerpts from the "Thirty-nine Articles" of the Church of England, were from the first a wholly inadequate and ill-expressed formulary of Christian doctrine, because they were originally designed for other and widely different conditions from those of the pioneers of American Methodism. The attempt to make them the standards of faith for Hindus, and Chinese, and Japanese is, therefore, simply the perfection of absurdity. So, too, our "General Rules," because they were originally prepared for and adapted to a very widely different order of things from any thing now found among us, have become, even at home, thoroughly obsolete and without meaning; and certainly only the most insensate literalistic traditionalism would think of setting them up as the ethical code of those to whom the things referred to are wholly unknown. And so in attempting to propagate the Christian faith along the Congo, and to establish religious practices and institutions, it will be well to carefully discriminate between what in our home religion is essential to Christianity and what is only incidental, to be used or laid aside as may seem to be expedient.

It will probably be found that even the divinely appointed institution of "preaching," according to the usual acceptation of that term, will be found not the best suited for Christian instruction among the heathen tribes of Congo land. The work must begin very much lower down than the conditions of mental and social life that are supposed to exist where public address is an available form of teaching. The process by which those heathen barbarians are to be Christianized must provide for their mental elevation as necessary to their acceptance and retention of the saving lessons of the Gospel. It must, there-

fore, begin with the personal influence, made effective principally by examples, of the missionary among the people. He must, therefore, reside sufficiently near to them to be known and felt by them, which means practically that there shall be missionary stations provided with all the conditions of home life, so affording opportunities for informal oral instruction, the creation of a written language, and especially the instruction of the children.

As in the occupation of the country for its industrial development it has been judged necessary to establish stations at proper points, with the required buildings for residences and store-houses, and to plant gardens and provide, as far as practicable, for self-sustentation, so, and even more largely, must missionary work be carried on by the slow but sure processes of occupation and permanent residence. The theory of self-support, though easily rendered absurd and impracticable by its too exclusive application, is no doubt the only theory upon which missions in interior Africa can be successfully prosecuted. Transportation and outfit and temporary sustentation must, of course, be provided in advance; but after the field has been reached and the station provided, mother earth and the strong right arm of the missionary, with such help as he may employ, wielded with cheerful force and sustained by a brave heart, must be the chief dependence. The practicability of this method has been tried by both the Livingstone Congo mission, which has recently been placed under the patronage and guardianship of the American Baptists, and by the English Baptist missions; and, to some extent, similar methods of missionary work are now carried on in various parts of the African continent. Mr. Stanley, though evidently friendly, never assumes the role of the advocate of the missionaries or their work; but occasional glances are now and then given by him, which are all the more valuable because they are purely incidental. We give the annexed as a specimen, and also as an illustration, of what an African missionary station may be:

A few miles beyond we begin the descent into the broad valley of Lukamga, where we are hospitably received by Mr. and Mrs. Ingham, of the Livingstone mission. . . . The mission cottage was as dainty within as any residence need be. A spacious garden behind it presented a vivid promise; a well-kept

court or plaza in front was surrounded by store-rooms, kitchen, and school-rooms. Under the shadowy eaves were to be seen the mission children, with their subdued air, as though they were impressed with the awful mysteries of the alphabet. It rather encouraged me to believe that the Congo climate, even in that low hollow of Lukamga, was endurable, when I here saw a delicate-looking lady bear herself so bravely. . . . My sojourn of twenty-four hours was enjoyed with the most exquisite pleasure. Ten men might have utterly stripped and carried away the veneer of civilization on that mission-house, and left it bare and barbarous (it probably cost only £100); but the art was in the lady's hands, and the rich gift of taste inherited in far away England had diffused attractiveness over the humble home.

Another remark of our author, made in another case, and without any intended reference to the missionary work, is highly suggestive. Estimating the probable number of elephants in the whole country, he drops the remark: "Mr. Ingham, a missionary, lately shot twenty-five elephants, and obtained money for the ivory," which he elsewhere estimates at more than a hundred dollars for each animal. This seems very much like "self-support," achieved without any neglect of real missionary duty.

But all this implies the important consideration that to do successful missionary service in Africa a man must have the elements of character that insure success from the start. He should, of course, have a thoroughly sound physique, with large powers of endurance; but above all else he should have a brave heart and a cool head. A moderate share of enthusiasm may not be without its value, but there should be not a spark of fanaticism. Deep religiousness of character is doubly needful—first, to qualify him to preach Christ in every word and action, unconsciously as well as of set purpose; and, next, to sustain his spirit among the discouragements that are sure to come upon him, and to cause him to feel that it is his highest privilege to labor and suffer for Christ; and only second to this is a buoyancy of animal spirit—the very soul of cheerfulness and hopefulness among adversities. The successful African missionary goes thither to live and to work for the Master rather than to die; and accordingly he is careful not to expose his health to unnecessary perils, and also to be doing something whenever possible—the small things as well as the great—not accounting any service beneath him. The work of the true

missionary must be a "labor of love;" and that this may not fail of its reward it must be sustained by "the patience of hope," never despising "the day of small things."

To attempt a mission in the Congo, there should be a company of half a dozen to a dozen strong young or middle-aged stalwart and common-sense men. There should be neither woman nor child in the first expedition, though at a later stage of the work the presence of the right kind of women is well-nigh a necessity. And above all else, there should be no fine gentlemen. Every missionary to Africa should be a man of faith, who believes in the divinity of his calling, and also in *quinine* as the *magnum donum Dei*, through the instrumentality of which he is to accomplish his mission—just the opposite of the fanatic, who tempts God by exposing himself to uncalled-for perils. That there are such men in the churches we will not doubt; but how they may be found out and brought to the front and initiated into the work is a matter much more difficult to settle.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has two distinct missions in Africa, both under a common superintendency: one in Liberia, which has been very carefully administered for half a century, with only moderate results; the other just now in its incipiency, led by Bishop Taylor, and designed to reach from ocean to ocean, through Angola and the valley of the Zambezi, south of the Congo basin. Of the former of these nothing now needs to be said, since it is not an aggressive body, and especially not a mission to heathen Africa. Of the latter, it is yet too soon to speak of results, but we are free to utter words of decided commendation in respect to the theory upon which it is projected; to wit, that after the missionaries shall be established in their proper stations, and fairly engaged in their work, they are expected to provide, as far as possible, for their own maintenance, which we see no reason to doubt is wholly practicable. It is, however, not to be denied that some grave mistakes have been made, especially in making up the *personnel* of the expedition. The man who led out a mother and four children under six years old, on an expedition that only strong men should enter upon, committed a grave mistake; of which, however, he has duly repented, and made the best possible reparation by returning home, a wiser if also a sadder man. The

three or four zealous and godly persons in the expedition who, misinterpreting the divine promises, expected to be preserved by miracles instead of by the use of the natural methods that God has provided have also emphasized their folly, and perhaps set a limit to that form of fanaticism; and if so, the life that has been sacrificed has not been wholly thrown away. The survivors have learned that God saves by means, and that, having the means of safety at hand, it is neither faith nor piety, but presumption, to tempt God by refusing to use them. It may be hoped that any future expeditions that shall go forth on the same sublime mission will have in them no little children, not many women, and the fewest possible irrational enthusiasts. But should the greater part of Bishop Taylor's heroic band succumb in death, or hasten their flight homeward, we shall still expect that a good work will be done by those who continue in it with those who shall hereafter join them, and that the wilderness of the Zambezi valley shall yet bud and blossom, and bring forth its rich fruitage for the Lord of the harvest.

And shall not our Church have a part in the evangelization of the millions that sit in darkness in all the vast area of the Congo basin? Have we not the men for this work—such men as we have described? and is there not the requisite enthusiasm, at once fervid and discreet, to lead them forth to a work so glorious? May it not be hoped that Stanley's Congo will act as a trumpet-call to the Church for Africa?

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

DEATH OF GENERAL GRANT.

To die is men's common destiny; and to each one, in respect to himself, the event is about equally significant. The Roman poet's reminder that

> "Pallida Mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,
> Regumque turres,"

is only another rendering of the Hebrew Preacher's "All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again:" or the words of the Apostle, "It is appointed unto men to die." But there are circumstances and conditions that attend upon the common experience which greatly emphasize and exaggerate the differences of the common event. To die quietly, among loved and sympathizing friends, is often thought of as the most desirable condition of that always serious but inevitable experience. But among the momentous realities of man's exit from his mundane being what can be, in respect to the deceased, more worthless and impertinent than the funereal pomp with which earth's great ones are returned to the earth? The best funeral record ever made was that concerning Israel's great leader, of whom it is written the Lord buried him, though in an unknown grave; or that of the first Christian martyr, whose record is, that "devout men carried Stephen to his burial and made great lamentation over him." There have been many more gorgeous funerals than either of these, as to their outward trappings, but never any that more completely combined all that could be rationally desired.

So we thought as, not long since, we looked upon that unequaled display of military and civic honors among which the mortal remains of the nation's second redeemer were borne to their last resting-place. It was well that a great nation and the people to whom his sword had given back an undivided country to be the perpetual home of none but freemen, should so honor their deliverer; and equally so that they who there saw lying in the arms of death the outward form of one whom the divine providence had called from the humble home of his childhood and raised him up to command armies, and afterward to guide the affairs of the nation, and at length to receive the homage of kings, should at that supreme moment pause to think upon that wonderful career now ended, and to honor the personal qualities that made such a career possible.

The deeds and the renown of our illustrious dead have now become historical, and as such we shall here consider them, but only in some of their many aspects; for time alone can mold the whole into symmetrical unity, and cast over them the curtain of mellow shadings that come

only with the dimness of distance. Still some things are already sufficiently evident, and from these we may more than conjecture what will be the final verdict in the case, and what the aspects of the colossal statue in which the muse of history shall forever immortalize our great and many-sided soldier, statesman, citizen, and father of his household—this unique and peerless MAN.

Macaulay wrote at the opening of his essay on Addison: "No man is so great a favorite with the public as he who is at once an object of admiration, of respect, and of pity;" and none can fail to see how conspicuously all these conditions united in General Grant's case at the time of his death. Very few characters or personal careers present so many and such conspicuous features and incidents, and those so well calculated to awaken admiring interest. Others may be thought of that equal or excel his in some particulars, but in scarcely any other case have there been combined in one person so many particulars that unite to make up an admirable completeness of character. That a country boy without any special advantages of family or other relations—a lad with apparently nothing to distinguish him from the millions of others of the same age and conditions—should, in forty years, ascend through all the steps of life's ladder, from his boyhood's home to the highest points of military and civic distinctions in his own country, and afterward become the accepted and honored guest of the kings and potentates of the world, is something altogether admirable. That one in whom such possibilities were latent should for forty years have remained not only unknown by others, but equally unsuspected by himself as to what he might become, is not only remarkable, but highly suggestive. Though it is not to be supposed that, as to his character, he was the creature of his opportunities, still appearances indicate that but for the War of the Rebellion occurring just at that point in his life-time, in the transactions of which he became so considerable an actor, as well as in the events that followed, he might have lived and died without the suspicion on the part of any body that he was any thing more than the average of the masses of mankind. In the face of the sneering smile of the skeptical in respect to the possibilities of greatness among the unknown masses of our race, such a case greatly strengthens the notion that we have somewhere read, that "In every country church-yard may be found the graves of songless Miltons and bloodless Cæsars—of Hampdens that never struggled against tyranny and of Cranmers that never suffered for the truth." But while it is quite certain that no possible accidents could supply the qualities that at length became so conspicuous in General Grant's life and character, it is still clearly evident that but for the opportunity that came unsought and unexpected they would have remained only undeveloped and unknown potentialities.

The conditions and instrumentalities through which men achieve greatness are usually but very partially understood either by the actors themselves or by others; and yet, beyond a question, the divinity that shapes their ends is largely of themselves. It is not surprising that the men

who have accomplished great results in the face of formidable difficulties —who have wrought revolutions and shaped the destinies of nations— have themselves often seemed to be superstitiously impressed with the idea that they were the agents or instruments of a higher power; and those who have studied such men's careers have sometimes seemed to feel the presence and potency of some hidden force by which the results reached were finally determined. And while such actions are in process of execution, they who are engaged in them often appear to those who consider their movements most deeply to be moving within charmed circles, and to be accomplishing their assigned mission in sublime solitude. To be the agents of such works, and to bring them to successful issues, is justly esteemed the appropriate and peculiar calling of earth's real heroes, to whom is due the meed of sincere admiration.

In most cases where men have been thus strangely taken up from those among whom they were found and raised to positions of conspicuous greatness, the change effected has resulted, not only relatively but also really, in a transformation of character and of thought. But in General Grant's case we have a conspicuous example of homely simplicity maintained in spite of the influence of honors and high positions; and after all his exaltation he is seen, like Cincinnatus, returning to his farm, and in death, like Joseph, asking to be buried among his own people; and his whole career is in marked contrast with that of Cromwell, aping the style of royalty, or of Napoleon, assuming the imperial purple.

It is not always the case that the characters of the great men of history will bear close examination on all sides. They are admirable only from a single angle of observation, and their greatness is often lamentably one-sided; and, as if aware of this, men have by a kind of tacit consent agreed that the private lives of public characters ought not to be inquired after. So often is the splendid exterior of great names associated with unsavory and offensive private histories, that conventional politeness forbids all inquiry respecting the latter in dealing with public characters. Genius has often been accepted as earning immunity from the exactions of private morality; and success in gaining renown is taken as a full compensation for all ordinary defects in respect to personal virtue. But this self-delusion and patent falsehood is only for a little while. History, in the sternness of its integrity, disregarding this pernicious rule of social ethics, strips off the mask and false trappings, and presents the character in its completeness, whether it be to depict the most splendid of conquerors as the slave and victim of his own bestial lusts, or to exhibit him who was confessed to be the *wisest* and *brightest* as also the *meanest* of mankind. But in the case we are now considering none of these devices of falsehood are needed, and the clearest and most searching light fully demonstrates the possibility and the reality of irreproachable private virtue associated with high public position. Happily this is not a solitary case; and yet it is well that it should be noted and emphasized that examples of an opposite kind, which are not wanting, may be reproved, and their evil influences restrained. It is pleasant and wholesome to contem-

plate a great and distinguished public man elevated in his personal character and his private life above any possible occasion for the special considerations which society calls for in favor of so many men in public positions. As a husband and a father, as well as a citizen and a man confessing the obligations of Christian morality, General Grant stands before the world to demand and receive the admiration of all who value true moral worth.

It often seems to require the tests of adversity, and especially of severe personal sufferings, to bring out a man's most admirable qualities of mind and heart. There are more heroes, but less real heroism, in the conflicts and destruction of the battle-field than among the wasting pains and hopeless sufferings of the hospitals; and many a one who could without blanching confront death in the excitement of battle, would lose heart under the pressure of protracted sufferings with no other hope of relief than inevitable death. And in this terrible ordeal the whole world saw, with intensified admiration, General Grant patiently and without murmuring struggling between life and death through wearisome days and weeks and months, tenderly caring for the feelings of those who sympathized with him, and compelling himself to cheerfulness among the saddest environments, and seeming to hope against all human hopes in order that his heart might not fail him in the supreme hour. This was true moral courage, itself as much better than what is seen in simply physical conflicts as is the fortitude of the martyr of a higher type than the gladiator's reckless disregard of death.

It was said, when death had done its work, that the conqueror of armies had at last himself found his conqueror. The saying, though correct in the sense intended, and also sadly poetical, was only half true. Even in his death General Grant achieved his greatest victory over his enemies, compelling his most malignant detractors and also his doubtful friends to render either a willing or an enforced tribute to his good name. It is sometimes the lot of the best of men to pass long seasons under the shadows of suspicion and distrust, having their best actions and most unselfish motives misconstrued: possibly some may rest in dishonored graves who deserved a better fate: but in this case, though the poisoned tongue of the defamer had endeavored its worst, the very lips of falsehood were shut up in silence. It was a sight to be admired and prized beyond all other expressions of the common sense of loss, that, when General Grant lay stark and cold in his coffin, not only did every honest heart pronounce his name as that of a *great*, and especially an *honest*, man, but the very breath of detraction was, for the time being, shamed into silence. This final verdict, which seldom fails to be rendered correctly, in this case came not tardily; and its coming, rendered as it was with such complete accord and spontaneous heartiness, determines, beyond all else, that his grand career has ended in triumph. His name now passes into history as that of the soldier who warred without malice and conquered only to spare; of the statesman who ruled the distracted nation in the interests of justice tempered with gentleness; of the citizen whose patriotism was

untainted by any shred of selfishness; and of the honest, upright, tender-hearted, and God-fearing man in all his varied relations. Such a character, standing out in the clear light of day before the American people, must, despite their disinclination to hero-worship, command their *admiration.*

In the constellation of our country's great men, though there is no lack of brilliant characters, there are confessedly but three that surpass all others, and only these are stars of the first magnitude—Washington, Lincoln, and Grant; and of these each shines with his own peculiar light, and is known and admired for his distinctively recognized excellences. Washington was grand in the heroic simplicity of his character and for the loftiness and purity of his patriotism; but his virtues were Roman rather than specifically American, which latter species of manhood was but partially developed in his day. He was also a self-contained, a solitary man, and was, by his grandeur, separated from those about him, living in a kind of self-conscious reticence. His most intimate friends approached him only with manifest deference, and his admirers gazed upon him only from a respectful distance. The historical Washington, as his image is shaped by the common conception, and which alone will be tolerated by his countrymen, whether that image is indeed real or only ideal, is that of a man standing apart from all others, grand, solitary, and unapproachable, and incomparable because essentially unique, not less than on account of his transcendent personal excellences. Lincoln's greatness was also peculiar and indescribable; but, unlike Washington, he was apparently so simple and child-like, and so thoroughly an embodiment of homely, every-day characteristics, that the peculiarities of his mind and heart for which he at length became distinguished, were not at once detected and appreciated; perhaps least of all was he himself aware of any thing peculiar or notable in his own mental composition. But back of that plain and unimpressive exterior was another, an inner, self, which by degrees, and as called out by occasions, manifested its presence both to his own consciousness and to the apprehension of those nearest to him—but only of such as could also somewhat sympathize with his deep spirituality. By virtue of that quality of his mind he lived a double life, and in his higher moods saw things in other aspects and felt other influences than could be appreciated by less gifted souls. It was this that enabled him to see in the tendencies of public affairs the coming of results of which others saw no promise, and which impelled him always to adopt the right measures at the appropriate times. Such a character is not usually appreciated at its proper value by those who view it only among the conditions of daily life, just as a prophet is not honored as such by those who know him personally. But, like some grand mountain peak, which to those at its base seems scarcely distinguished from its surrounding foot-hills, but which distance appears to lift up in unrivaled grandeur, so, quite certainly, will Lincoln's greatness become increasingly conspicuous with the lapse of time. But Grant's greatness was the result of no one particular characteristic. Perhaps in no one quality was he greater than many others have been, but

he was individually great because in him were conjoined and blended in simplest harmony the common elements that go to make up an admirable character. He was certainly a great soldier and military strategist, but not greater than many others that have lived in other times. It was certainly great in him that, when crowned with victory, he so completely subordinated personal ambition to his love of country; but so did also Washington and many other conquerors of their country's foes. He was strangely forbearing and kind to his vanquished enemies, but so was also Demetrius; and while he was as formidable in battle as a Napoleon and as prodigal of life as a Cromwell, he was as tender as a father in respect to the welfare of his soldiers; and this, too, has not been an unusual characteristic of great military leaders. But these characteristics, each one of which has rendered some former warrior illustrious, were all largely developed and combined in his character and manifested in his career. As a soldier, he ranks with Napoleon and Wellington; as an unambitious patriot, he has no peer but Washington; and in all the qualities of soldierly honor, care for his subordinates, and clemency toward the vanquished, he is the equal of the most honored names in military history.

But his special praise is, that in the presence of the full blaze of military glory, and through the glamour of civic and political splendor, his private virtues and personal qualities are especially conspicuous. The renown of the hero and the statesman does not obscure the qualities of the man; but instead, those must be laid aside in order that his nobler excellences may properly appear. His highest praise is, that in his utmost exaltation, and while receiving the homage of the whole world. he never for a moment forgot his private and personal relations and their resultant obligations—his duties to his family, the claims of private friendship, and the sacred obligations of morality and religion. Washington is truly illustrious, but we view him from a distance, and estimate his character in its aggregate unity rather than by any inventory of its qualities; Lincoln is honored as a man who combined the simplicity of a child with the wisdom of a sage, the sagacity of a statesman and the lovableness of a great human heart. But Grant was in the aspects of his character simply a man—the patriotic citizen who diligently served his country in the positions to which he was called; the faithful friend and neighbor, husband and father, who recognized and rendered the duties derived from all his relations. The well-rounded completeness of all these common elements of human worth constituted his peculiar and transcendent greatness; and perhaps because of this symmetry of character his relative greatness is not always apparent, just as a colossal statue, if well proportioned, fails to appear monstrous. Every one is sufficiently great who is equal to all the demands made upon him, but only peculiar conditions and special opportunities can test men's highest qualities; and wherever the largest requirements are adequately responded to, there true greatness of character is demonstrated. All these conditions, it may be safely claimed, were united in the case of him whose career we are now considering, whose

fame, while so conspicuously that of both the soldier and the civilian, was pre-eminently that of the *man*.

The aspect in which the public contemplate the memory of General Grant has in it an element that is often wanting in respect to great public characters, and which, beyond all else, is charily and sparingly rendered—that of genuine personal respect. Honor, and indeed devotion, is given more freely than this, and even love is less cautious and self-restrained. The qualities of mind and heart that command respect are not always the most showy, though, unhappily, they are often the most difficult to find in the requisite completeness. There must be honor and truthfulness, unselfishness coupled with self-respect, and conscientiousness associated with high resolves. All these characteristics may indeed be found in humble and undistinguished persons; and even there they command respect, and render those who possess them objects of favor. Men instinctively honor them wherever they are detected; and they of whom such qualities may be predicated are sure of the favorable consideration of all right-thinking men; and all who know how to justly estimate men's good-will and true reverence will value genuine respect as the rarest and the most precious tribute. And because all these high qualities are conceded to have been eminently exemplified and illustrated in the life and character of our hero, we may from that ground claim for him the favoritism of the public, as indicated in Macaulay's aphorism. Nor is it necessary for us to vindicate his rightful claim to all of them. The poisoned tongue of detraction has not dared to call in question either his truthfulness or his honor, nor yet his conscientious devotion to his own convictions of right, coupled with a lofty and self-respecting detestation of all impurity, profanity, and moral coarseness. The meanness of partisan malice, which lives by defiling the purest and best of names, has not dared either to assail the unselfishness of his patriotism or to call in question the elevation and nobility of his purposes. Should some one, by a strange freak of miscalculation, come to lightly estimate Grant's soldierly qualities and to conclude that he was not a statesman, he must still concede and recognize in him the qualities that command respect. And upon these qualities his public renown rests, as upon an immovable foundation; and these less conspicuous but more excellent qualities are necessary to raise even the most admirable characteristics and conditions to their proper eminence. And because the possession of public renown is always a temptation to the harpies of detraction to attempt to defile and destroy it, the defense of true respectability is the only and the sufficient safeguard against such onslaughts. Men who appreciate true excellence like to think well of the public deeds of those whom they have learned to confide in as personally upright and virtuous, for the love of goodness.

It may seem a strange condition of things that one so admired and respected as General Grant certainly had come to be, should also appear as an object of pity; and yet this was his case to an unusual degree. It is not necessary, in this connection, to notice the petty detractions of partisan or personal gossip, since these are the common accompaniments of

exalted public positions; nor yet the rivalries of those who, striving after self-aggrandizement, were willing to discredit the purest and best as a means by which to become possessed of his position; for this, too, must be accepted as a part of the price of public honor. We have more particularly to consider the case of one who, at life's high noon having completed an unparalleled public career, found himself in a condition that both permitted and required him to begin the world anew, but who failed in the attempt, first by the treachery of those whom he trusted, and next by being laid aside by an accident more disastrous than all the fortunes of war; and, last of all, to be brought through protracted and terribly painful sufferings down to death. When General Grant had come home from his wonderful tour round the world, weighted with honors such as have fallen to the lot of few men, he was simply a private citizen without occupation. He was still at the height of his physical and intellectual manhood, apparently with nearly a quarter of a century of active life before him. He now appeared to have at last found the long-coveted opportunities to do something for his family; to engage in social and public enterprises; and to avail himself of the benefits offered by a dignified leisure. That such were his anticipations is well known; and they were honorable to him in view of his relations, his abilities, and his exalted social position: and yet how, at every point, were these reasonable expectations thwarted! How did his property melt away like the hoar-frost! how were the mementoes of his honors given into the hands of strangers, and even a temporary shadow rest upon his good name! And then, just as the darkest of these shadows seemed to be passing away—for neither reproach nor disaster can permanently oppress the good man—the signs of a malignant and incurable disease began to appear; and, through slowly-moving weeks and months the whole world was called to contemplate the illustrious sufferer steadily and surely, in intense and unremitting pain, yet without repining or faint-heartedness, going down to death. The sight of suffering naturally tends to excite pity, and its intensity is somewhat proportioned to not only the pain suffered, but also the greatness of him who suffers; and by all these conditions the tender sympathies and commiseration of the whole people were concentrated about the couch of the dying hero. The nation that had long honored him for his greatness and respected him for his integrity was now deeply moved by a common impulse of pity because of his unequaled sufferings.

THE LABOR PROBLEM IN AMERICA.

A superficial observer, looking back at the relations of labor and capital in this country during the past few years, would be little likely to deduce many elements of encouragement or hope from his forecast of the social and industrial future of the United States. And this may be said, not only because superficial views are apt to be unreliable in themselves, but

because there are certain peculiar economic heresies in America which are almost sure to find their way into careless methods of dealing with the labor problem. One of these has so many appearances in its favor that even foreigners, as a rule, adopt it without hesitation. The broad lines by which the interests of labor and capital seem to be separated; the apparently uncompromising spirit that inspires each in the assertion of principle on the one hand, and of class rights on the other; the pointedness of the language used; the sensitiveness of highly-strung individualities to personal rather than collective grievances; the tendency to attach an exaggerated importance to the interventions of force—all these seem to give a European character to the labor problem in this country, and to involve the working classes of the American continent in a common economic destiny with the toiling millions of the Old World. Yet nothing can be more fallacious than to regard capital and labor as having in the United States the same conditions of mutual relationship and development as the *doctrinaires* lay down for them in the countries of Europe. True enough it is, that in its broader aspects political economy is universal in its application. But to employ it in support of the assumption that the labor problem is the same on both sides of the Atlantic is to perpetrate the worst kind of heresy. Not only does it present itself in a different way to each of the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, but the conceptions upon which its very existence as a social question is based—the conditions that make it possible and rule its changing aspects—are alike distinct and diverse in the Old World and the New.

Take for illustration the sources of social order and government. In the older countries of Europe society draws its stability, at least in the popular conception, from monarchical institutions that exist independently even of the aristocratic elements that cluster around them—from a small number of favored personalities who rule in most cases without the slightest fiction of responsibility to the people, and who, even when exercising the functions of government side by side with a constitutional assembly, claim prerogatives that have had no popular sanction. In this country the forces which maintain social order not only represent the people themselves, but are the actual products of the popular will and consciousness. In Europe the relations of society to the power of the State express a subordination of a peculiarly humiliating kind. They represent that abject tutelage to an absolute authority, and blind submission to an hereditary superiority, which characterized the earliest and most barbarous forms of human government. The real fallacy of Rousseau's "*Contrat Social*" lay not in the great Frenchman's assumption of an impossible or an unreal relation between governor and governed, but in his selection of the monarchical countries of Europe for the assertion of an original compact between royal and democratic elements for purposes of social order. Such a compact, whether express or only tacit—whether effected in the brief space of a personal covenant or during the secular evolution of an historical era—could not possibly take place, or even be conceived, amid social conditions such as those of the Old World. If

there be any material for the theory of a "social contract" it must be sought in the United States. In this country there is no pretense, not even the slightest, of an absolute authority; nor is there any claim, even by force of acquiescence, to functions of government that may be exercised apart from the people or for an indefinite time. America offers to the world the remarkable spectacle of a population which has not only agreed to be governed, but which regularly provides the machinery of its government. One might point to an act of voluntary surrender not less real or valid because it was not made by document in the presence of a notary public; and yet it is a finer and truer thing to say, that the people of the United States, instead of agreeing to be ruled, govern themselves. Here we leave the ground of the "social contract," and approach that of the ideal state.

The significance of this difference in the source of power will be seen all the more clearly when regard is paid to the tendency in old civilizations to rank property on the side of monarchy, and give it the advantage of a special protection. This tendency is seen in the greater severity of penalties for offenses against property as compared with punishments for crimes involving no breach of the rights of possession. It survives in the saying that alleges the existence of one law for the rich and another for the poor. In not a few of the countries of Europe it does actually rob the impecunious classes of much of the protection they ought to enjoy at the hands of the law. Now in the United States this tendency, though formally expressed in inherited legislation, plays no part as a factor in the labor problem. In countries where the power of the ruling class has an existing or an historical foundation in wealth, the favor extended by the law to capital is sometimes carried to the extreme of a conspiracy by legislative forms against the natural rights of whole classes of the people. Of this kind of persecution a striking illustration was afforded in the attempts made to crush incipient trades-unionism in England. Here, fortunately for the labor interest, and not less happily for the personal elements of capital, social conceptions make no distinction between the man who gives work for wages and him who pays wages for work. The so-called independence of American labor is a natural and expressive condemnation of the groveling spirit in which opportunities of toil are so often received by the downtrodden proletariat of European lands. Nor is the nearness of labor to capital in this country confined to the merely social aspects of life. A higher rate of wages—a more intense and healthily chronic dissatisfaction with spheres of toil that only partially engage the worker's powers—a feeling of greater pride and ambition that refuses to be contented with the bottom of the ladder, even should the top offer no superior pecuniary advantage—these are among the causes that in the United States lessen the number of steps which European conditions place between the position of the workman and that of the employer.

Labor in America is further favored by its isolation. In the countries of Europe advantages of locality, should they present themselves, can only in the nature of the case be temporary. The labor markets of con-

tiguous populations cannot long maintain a state other than that of completed equilibrium. Most of them occupy the same level, so far as the rate of remuneration for labor is concerned ; none of them can hope to have their prospects permanently modified for the better by mere changes in the nature of migrations. It is true that very little international movement of this kind takes place, barriers of language and custom forbidding the transfer to a foreign country of labor that would promptly avail itself of suddenly favorable circumstances on its own and familiar soil. None the less quickly and surely, by the operation of causes well known to political economists, is a temporary increase in the remuneration of labor or the profit of capital brought down to the general level of the European markets. From a "leveling down" tendency of this kind America is saved, first, by the superiority of her natural resources, mediately, by her distance from the Old World. That she will hold this favorable position forever need not be contended. It is being continually undermined by economical forces that, if slow in operation, are irresistible in their effects. The equilibrium which the old countries have established among themselves must inevitably be set up in the end between Europe and the American continent. To this result every emigrant-laden ship contributes, bringing an immediate beneficence so far as the effect is contemporary, laying the foundations of economical evil so far as the end is secular and remote. Yet, until these emigration currents cease to flow from the east, American labor must continue to enjoy advantages from which the workman of Europe has been shut out by centuries of competitive exploitation.

Toil on this side of the Atlantic can also claim the added dignity of a complete freedom from the influence of distinctions of class that erect barriers between man and man. In the older civilizations well-defined relations of subordination have not only grown up in the family, but find a greater or less degree of expression in the business and social aspects of life. Now in a new country like ours, where there is, undoubtedly, a connected sequence of inherited traditions based on blood, but where the combinations of the social fabric are new, the family fails to insist upon its relations of subordination with the same harshness as that which characterizes the persistence of those relations in the older societies of Europe. The attitude of capital toward labor is consequently less authoritative and more altruistic. A tacit consciousness of equal rights and privileges robs toil, whether offered or received, of its ancient character as a benefaction. A new country, moreover, favors compromises and adjustments between so-called rival interests. Ideas are not yet crystallized into conceptions; opinions have not hardened into prejudices. Individuality, on the other hand, is less shackled by the influences which in mature countries social masses wield over their single elements; the tendency to gregarious following after agitators paid or unpaid is demonstrably weak. That the combinations of capital in this country are young is an advantage to both of the great interests under discussion. Such combinations in Europe are often the result of long secular accumulations; in too many cases they

enjoy age without possessing wisdom, and waste their formidableness in injudicious irritations of labor. The wages fund of the United States is for the most part represented by young corporations less unbending, and perhaps more cautious, or at any rate not easily lured into illegal positions or unjust attitudes by a mere love for displays of force.

The prospects of the American labor problem, full of encouragement when viewed alone, draw a special hopefulness from their association with the brilliant future which the materials and conditions of our sociological development hold out to the United States. The few ruder characteristics of a young civilization are fast melting away in the dawn of a maturer epoch for the inhabitants of this continent. Here, at any rate, the "brotherhood of man" is no longer a poetic dream. In Europe, even in a country civilized, as is England, the foreigner still occupies a place in popular conceptions little higher than that filled to old Greek imaginations by the "barbarian" who could not be understood. In this country no man shudders at the sound of a strange tongue, nor starts at the apparition of some wanderer from the shores of the Old World. And this continual entry of new anthropological elements—this settlement in our midst of races the most diverse—this absorption of foreign custom, language, and blood—this process, in fact, of the assimilation and reaction that is everywhere tending to the evolution of a certain measure of physiological uniformity out of a pronounced racial heterogeneousness—all these are so many influences continually engaged in breaking down barriers such as those which separate classes in the Old World, as well as in promoting that form of altruism which is not only one of the highest satisfactions of religious feeling, but which must ever present itself as the aim and end of all perfect civilization. And in saying this, it is by no means the ideal future of the theorists that we have in view. The time may or may not come when individuality shall have grown to be its own lawgiver, and when a practical communism will exist as intolerable of poverty on the one hand as of large accumulations of wealth on the other. In our own view it is enough to look forward to a homogeneous population without distinctions of race; to a society not yet old, but crystallized enough to yield, with healthy conceptions, a settled characteristic literature; to a higher view of international duty fitly co-existent with the new altruism at home than any that has been born from progress in the Old World; and finally, to a spirit that shall not destroy, but tolerate, the mutual necessities of capital and labor in a dual existence of perfect harmony and happy compromise.

EDMUND NOBLE.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE seems to be the all-absorbing question among the religious publicists of France and Italy. The Italian statesman Minghetti has published a rather remarkable work on this subject, with a striking introduction by Laveleye, of Belgium, who is fast coming to the front as one of the safest, as well as most advanced, thinkers of the day in this line. Minghetti, as deputy and minister of the kingdom of Italy, is peculiarly competent to write a work of this nature, for he is at once philosopher, jurist, economist, canonist, and statesman. His pages on modern science and the relation between science and religion, as well as the relation between religion and civil society, disclose the true philosopher.

Minghetti does not consider the theological faculties as the homes of ignorance, nor theology as an instrument of oppression, and he boldly declares that to neglect these matters is to lower the level of one's studies. And his friend and eulogizer, Laveleye, goes still further in declaring that any separation of these powers should be only civil, as a moral union between the two must always exist, and the separation itself should be but a measure of public right.

On the basis of these studies, Dartigue, in the "Revue Chretienne," takes up the cudgel for France in an important article treating of the solution in its two phases of liberal and radical. He declares that the French are proceeding rapidly in this matter, drawn by an irresistible current, which is increasing day by day, and which will soon acquire a volume that will overcome all resistance. With him the proposed separation is in the *logique* of ideas, and as ideas govern the world, this *logique* will, sooner or later, mold the morals and control the laws. It is to-day discussed everywhere—in the press, on the forum, and at the political gatherings. Every real democratic progress, as well as every liberal reform, shakes the edifice of the Concordat, and this, by dint of repetition, will finally lead to its fall. The point made by Dartigue in his discussion is the difference between the liberal solution and the radical one; the latter would destroy all religion, while the former would follow in the footsteps of the United States, Ireland, and, to a certain extent, of Belgium. The French Protestants are strengthened in their convictions by the course of Gladstone in this matter, and the present extensive discussion of the same question in Scotland.

In the French Chambers, which reflect the popular voice, scarcely any serious discussion takes place that does not at least touch on this matter; and while there is at present a majority against separation, this same majority is at the same time so disposed to push the Concordat to the wall as to make its friends inclined to wish its repeal. If the Radicals succeed in this effort the moment will have arrived for energetic action on the part of the Liberals.

THE FESTIVE WEEK is the title given to an account of all the religious anniversaries recently held in Berlin. The activity of the German Christians is certainly beyond all question, and it almost takes one's breath away to undertake to follow all their movements.

The young men's associations, though so recent in origin, have grown marvelously. There are now over a hundred of these, with nearly ninety thousand members. It is proposed to add to these the new feature of a fund for aid in sickness or death, and the reports from the various bodies is very encouraging.

The work of publishing and circulating Christian publications for the masses is a phenomenal success; 71,500 sheets are now issued weekly, more than double that of last year. This enterprise was recently begun amid jeers and doubts, now it is greatly prized and praised, and the money for the work seems to come by faith—no deficiencies are reported. The city mission work of Berlin is also growing greatly. Dr. Stöcker, the court-preacher, gives a great deal of time and energy to the work, and is now enlisting the theological students as teachers in the mission schools. The city mission publication office issues weekly 73,000 sermons, which are distributed largely among those who else would neither see nor hear a sermon in their lives. This mission now reports the erection of an asylum for discharged criminals, where they can be aided in their efforts to lead a new life.

The Protestant Mission for the Heathen held its anniversary before a crowded house. During the year it has done a large work in Africa and China, having baptized in the latter country 1,686, and in China 67. At an overflow meeting in the evening the leading pastors of the capital were present, and the main question discussed was that of missionary activity in the new colonies of Germany.

In a so-called pastoral conference, very largely attended, the consistorial councilor led off in the discussion of the burning question of the duel in the German universities. His address was full of historical material, and culminated in the watch-word, "Abolition of the Duel!" He advised his fellow-clergy to decline co-operation in the funeral of any one falling in a duel, as they now mostly do in that of a suicide.

A movement was made to form a pastors' league for the more effectual working of the various interests in which the Church should be engaged. Some of these were: social reform in legislation for the interests of workingmen; repose for the workingman on the Sabbath; measures against the growing propensity to drink; a higher tax on the manufacture of liquor, and a fine for public drunkenness.

Then came a conference in the interest of prison discipline, with an address on youthful criminals, and a serious admonition for our times. The greatest danger in this case was declared to be the education for crime that they receive within prison walls from contact with old offenders; therefore an earnest appeal was made for separate prisons for the young, and reformatory asylums for them when released. The week closed with the anniversary of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews.

THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE are now emerging from a long obscurity, greatly to the gratification of Oriental scholars. Within the last few decades the various lands of the Orient, especially China and Japan, have rapidly come within the range of our knowledge. But all those portions lying under the iron heel of the Turk have remained closed. The western sections of Asia Minor have been the scene of various ethnological expeditions that have afforded subjects of great interest, but the more eastern regions have not received much attention, and this has been very specially the case with Armenia. This nation has, during four centuries, preserved its intellectual, if not its political, independence, a fact which is worthy of our regard and esteem.

In their little Alpine land the Armenians have been able to preserve a portion of the treasures of classical antiquity, while in Europe the migrations of the masses have, in many instances, destroyed all the inheritance of the past. In spite of Mongolians and Tartars, Greeks and Arabs, Kurds, Turks, and Russians, the Armenians have remained true to the faith and language of their fathers. Those who have so proud a past to show do not easily efface their traditions in the days of darkness; and in their case the Turkish sway seems to have made them only the more loyal to the past. Ruled by a nation so far below them in culture, the Armenians have been the more zealous within themselves; and thus, far from their native land, the monks of the Armenian cloister at Venice have protected and printed the precious relics of the Armenian writers of ancient times, while in their own mountain home a new intellectual life has sprung up that is now producing numerous literary works and sending forth some valuable periodicals.

A recent Bavarian guest among them has given to the Academy of Sciences of Munich a very interesting account of their present activity. They are now studying the principal works of foreign authors in nearly all lines of literature, and are translating the masterpieces of Goethe and Schiller, of Shakespeare and La Fontaine, into their own tongue. Their journalistic activity is quite marvelous, consisting of monthly, weekly, and daily issues, treating of the progress of all modern literature.

They are also founding schools on the model of the German Gymnasia, which are controlled by teachers who have received their training in Germany. A Normal School in Tiflis prepares teachers for the lower schools, and the fact that this work is well done is seen in the announcement that in Russian Armenia no less than eight hundred male and female teachers are employed. Many young Armenians, in their thirst for knowledge, are making great sacrifices to qualify themselves in foreign schools—mostly, those of France and Germany—for posts of honor and usefulness in their own country; and thus the day seems to be rapidly approaching when this downtrodden and much-belied nationality will lift its head as an intellectual light in the midst of the surrounding darkness of Mohammedan rule, and it may be hoped that the leaven which has been so long hidden in the meal will rise to assert its virtue in favor of Christian civilization. May the time be hastened!

ALCOHOLISM IN DENMARK is just now the ruling question of discussion in that little kingdom. The Order of Good Templars has been established there, and the conflict is being carried on in genuine American style. During the five years of its existence the order has increased to ninety lodges, with about 3,500 members, though some of these are children's lodges. The attention of the public is gained by numerous placards every-where, even, a reporter says, in the railway depots; and the lodges have frequent festive meetings, with music and song. The speeches on these occasions are at times patriotic, and at times assume a religious form, and very often the cause of the order is presented as the cause of God, which shows how thoroughly alike are the Danish and American ideas on this subject.

This religious tendency of the work has caused in some quarters no little opposition, so that a branch is likely to be formed on the basis of "intelligence and science," to all of which there is no special objection if this banner will bring in more converts to the cause. The pledge of this branch will be total abstinence for one year, and not for life, as with the Templars; but even here the principle of total abstinence is regarded as the main pillar of success in spiritual and material warfare. This new order looks especially toward exerting an influence on legislation. And besides these, there are reported also in Denmark a great variety of total abstinence societies of other shades, so that the sum total of active temperance people runs up to about 25,000, which is a large number in so small a country for a cause so new and foreign to European instincts.

In Copenhagen the temperance people are establishing coffee and eating houses, in which the only alcoholic drink is beer, and this is sold only in connection with food. Five of such houses are now in operation, and they are largely patronized by the working classes, so that the capital stock has earned during the year three per cent. dividend. And the Danes say that this is a proof that these advance the cause of temperance, as only ten per cent. of the guests call for beer.

IN FRANCE colonization is the question that ranks all others, and the continual repetition of the matter in all its phases proves how deep a root it has taken on the public mind. In the Chambers nearly every debate slips into it, and the coming elections will very probably hinge on it.

One very decided advantage to be gained by this tendency will be a more extended and accurate knowledge of geography on the part of the nation at large, which is, be it said, not very well posted in this science. The cause of this unceasing furor is doubtless the mortification of the country at the great defeats in the Franco-German war, and the soothing balm which these doubtful victories afford to the pride of the nation.

The raid begun some time ago with Tahiti, which had been for a season only a French protectorate, and as such was ruled, it seems, in the interest of Catholicism, notwithstanding the leaning of the natives toward Protestantism. But the Tahitians are now French citizens, and, as such, are at liberty to exercise their own free choice in the matters of religion.

When this affair was settled the "*grands nation*" turned its attention to the northern coast of Africa, and by the final annexation of Tunis now controls the whole northern coast of Africa, from the Gulf of Gabes to the confines of Morocco. This they claim as an admirable victory of the army, the navy, and the diplomats; but a good many people regard the whole movement as a simple piece of chicanery. It is, of course, a gratifying affair to make the Mediterranean a French lake, and have, within twenty-four hours of Marseilles, a magnificent French colony on the opposite shore peopled by active Frenchmen, whose energy will produce wealth and power. But France has possessed now for fifty years a large portion of this coast, and has done but little with it. Now the Church, under the active Archbishop Lavirgerie, will try its hand at the task.

In Rome the movement among the soldiers of the army toward the so-called "Military Congregation" still increases. The now famous Luigi Capellini, who was himself a soldier for eight years, has been for thirteen years busy among the soldiers of the national army stationed in Rome. At the same time he visits every summer various camps in central and southern Italy, in order in these to scatter the good seed. During this period more than a thousand soldiers have left the Catholic Church, and been accepted as members of this Protestant Military Congregation.

In this way, at the close of their three years' service, they return to their homes, taking their Bibles with them to their friends and comrades in various parts of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. Capellini has been so successful in his work of elevating the common soldier that the king of Italy, over a year ago, conferred on him the Order of the Crown of Italy. This induced him to make an effort to have a more substantial locality for his work in the vicinity of most of the barracks, where he could have a hall for his religious meetings, a place for a reading-room, etc.

A goodly sum has been collected for this purpose, and his efforts now seem about to be crowned with success. He has found for sale a group of buildings that are well situated for mission purposes and other needed additions, but he requires a considerable increase in his funds before he can secure them, as the work has grown on his hands. In order to procure what he wants a company of influential Protestant gentlemen, mainly Scotchmen and Germans, have formed themselves into a committee to collect funds in aid of the military mission. They are about to present their plans in circles where they have influence, both in Italy and elsewhere, and there is little doubt of their success. The Protestant world may well aid this enterprise, as it forms the most direct and effective means of sending to all parts of the peninsula veritable missionaries in the persons of the returning soldiers of this Congregation.

The Index Expurgatorius has received the compliment of a thorough examination in a large work of two volumes, of which the latter is just before the public. It is from the pen of Professor Reusch, of the University of Bonn, and is quite a curiosity from what it reveals of the literary

acumen of the former dignitaries of the Church. The forbidden books are arranged chronologically and geographically, and the catalogue is brought down to the year 1884. It throws a new and sharper light on some of the internecine conflicts of the Church, especially those of the Jansenists, Gallicans, and Quietists.

So far as Protestant literature is concerned, it proves that, in general, the Index seemed to strike by mere chance, depending largely on the views of the prefect or the secretary of the period. Many Protestant theologians, well known as controversialists, are not mentioned in the Index, while the works of some other subordinate ones are quoted and condemned. In addition to this there are found a large number of works that in their day were of no account, and are now wholly forgotten. Most of the works of the earlier periods are in the Latin, and among the dogmatists quite a number of prominent Lutherans are not mentioned; why some are included while others are excluded no one can now imagine. Of the historians, Ranke's "History of the Popes" and Gregorius on the "History of the City of Rome" receive the honor of expurgation.

In regard to the authority of the Index in the Romish Church, the author declares that in earlier times the view of the Curia in regard to many of these works was not always considered binding, especially in France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, and even a part of Italy. But since the days of the infallibility dogma the Index has acquired increased importance, and has been considered binding. Any controversy now in the strictly churchly circles is no longer considered admissible. It is now considered the right thing to speak of the Index with great respect. The Index is now mainly useful as a manual in the control of the clergy on the part of the Curia; for other purposes it is more curious than useful.

THE POLICY OF THE POPE toward the State power has been for some time in doubt on account of his trouble with the "Journal de Rome" and its editors, both of whom have been silenced by his order for interference in and criticism of his official correspondence. The *quidnuncs* have insisted that all this means a change of policy on the part of the Pontiff. But the latest utterances of the great vicar dispel all these hopes. The Pope's own special organ, the "*Osservatore Romano*," denies any probability of a change of opinion toward the present order of things in Italy, and declares it folly to think that such a change can take place toward a government that began its career with despoliation of the papal power.

This official organ is now again very careful to assert that the Pope still maintains the fixed determination to claim his undiminished rights. And to settle the matter, it is now asserted that the Cardinal Secretary of State has sent dispatches to all the nuncios at foreign courts which absolutely deny the reports of the Paris journals, and designate them as the effort of the ultra clericals to exert a pressure on the Pope. According to this dispatch, while Leo XIII. will tolerate no opposition of certain fanatics against his highest authority, he can in no way tolerate any violence toward the inalienable rights of the Church and the Papacy.

A DECREE of the French Minister of Worship to the consistories of the Reformed Church of France is at present causing considerable consternation in that body. The minister has observed that a certain number of persons, without the official character demanded, have been supplying churches, obtaining their authority simply from the unofficial synods. This practice, he declares, is in conflict with the ordinance that no candidate can exercise spiritual functions in the Protestant worship without first having acquired the degree of Bachelor of Theology in the regular schools. The clergy are, therefore, directed to take no part in these "irregular consecrations," and not to accept them in their churches. The significance of this decree lies in the fact that the right of decision as to religious qualifications is withdrawn from the authorities of the Church and given exclusively to the civil authorities. It seems that the unofficial synod—that is, the orthodox ministers of the Reformed Church — resolved, four years ago, to grant ordination to candidates not having university diplomas, if, in other respects, they were clearly fitted for the divine office. The motive to this action was the need of preachers in many parishes, and the need of those who have faith in the Church, rather than those leaning toward secular culture as a sufficient qualification. A goodly number of godly men have been thus appointed, with no interference on the part of the State, which now suddenly springs this trap. This action clearly indicates the influence of the liberal clergy with the State officials, and a disposition to interfere with the action and liberty of the Church.

THE OLD CATHOLICS seem to hold their own and keep in good spirits, if we are to judge from their recent synod in Bonn, at which were present twenty-five clerical and forty-three lay members. Among these we notice the names of some prominent men, who have for some time been quiet, but who now seem to be renewing their activity. Bishop Reinkens is still vigorous, and addressed several public meetings. The private assemblies were for strictly official work.

The National Catholic Church of Switzerland also held its synod in Berne, with a good attendance of laity and clergy. According to the annual report of Bishop Herzog, there are forty-three congregations now organized in Switzerland, of which the largest are those in Zurich and Basle. There are now enrolled sixty clergy in this new enterprise, and there is a school in Berne with a faculty and ten students. The present condition of this Church is represented as very gratifying, but there is pressing need of financial aid for the training school.

It is quite gratifying to notice the practical activity of the Germans in the matter of missions in the newly-acquired German colonies in Africa. In the immediate vicinity of the Togo country the Bremen missionaries have a seminary, with twenty-seven pupils preparing for the work. The entire New Testament, a portion of the Old, a hymn book, the Catechism, and sundry school books are already translated into the language of the

people. German missionaries are invited to come into the Koba territory. Certain prominent Christians of Berlin have united to establish a mission in the rear of Zanzibar with a German pastorate. In Agra-Pequena there have been Germans from the Rhenish mission for forty-five years, who have establishad eight stations by great efforts. In the German colonies of Australia efforts are being made to start the missionary work in the islands of New Britain. They are also looking toward work in Emperor William's Land, and in New Guinea. The Cameroons are already pretty well provided for by the Baptists, so that the Germans will not interfere there. But every-where the demand is greater than the supply.

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY is still on the increase throughout Germany, greatly to the satisfaction of the Church. And the motives that impel to this flood-tide are evidently serious—that is, the young men are not simply resorting to theology as a profession, as in former times, but seem rather to be impelled by the Spirit of Jesus Christ. This can be seen when certain questions, such as that concerning dueling, are brought up for discussion, which they are more than ever inclined to treat from a Christian rather than a worldly stand-point. The German Universities have done their share toward unsettling the minds of young men in the matter of theological study by their excessive attention to the scientific questions of the day, and there is now a reaction from that course. Indeed there is likely to be too great a movement in this direction. Many of the students are turning with disgust from this plethora into the more practical work of preparing themselves for theological work alone, so that their teachers are urging the older men of the clergy to go before them with the good example of the *just medium* in all things.

French theologians are preparing the way for the intelligent observance of the second centennial of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by the publication of several very excellent treatises on the history of French Protestantism. Of these the most noted is that of Claude, revised and enlarged by Rev. Frank Puaux, editor of the "*Revue.*" This is the best defense extant of the Protestants against the cruel edict of Louis XIV. When in all Europe the agents of that monarch audaciously denied the persecutions of which the Reformers were the victims, Jean Claude undertook the duty of telling the story in his famous work, "The Complaints of the Cruelly Oppressed Protestants." Into this defense Claude threw a fiery eloquence that has lost nothing by time. And now the notes of Puaux, accompanying the text, throw light on any obscurity that might appear in the present. Another work, entitled "The Synods of the Desert," details all the acts of these famous synods held in secret from the death of Louis XIV. down to the days of the Revolution, here collected and published for the first time. This is by Edmond Hugues, of the French Academy.

Assuming that we like "to see ourselves as others see us," as a matter of curiosity, we give our readers a short extract from a German religious

periodical of the old school in regard to the style of preaching the Gospel in this country:

American preachers have a marvelous skill in preaching about all conceivable things except the Gospel pure and simple. This, to them, is too old-fashioned, and does not make a sensation. To prove the truth of this assertion one need only take up a Saturday's paper, in which are usually advertised all the subjects of the sermons of the following Sunday. As a proof of this we give a few themes treated of in a certain city of Ohio on a recent Sabbath. The Baptists announced a discourse on "Street Labor;" a Presbyterian treated of "White Houses in Heaven;" a Methodist gave the "Approaching Cholera;" and a Congregationalist, "Live Dogs and Dead Lions." Another Methodist advertised, "How We Climbed Pike's Peak." But only one single one in fourteen gave a really Gospel theme, namely, "Man Crowned in Christ, his Redeemer;" and this, doubtless, attracted the fewest hearers.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE SUCCESS OF EVANGELISTIC EFFORTS AMONG THE FRENCH CANADIANS.—The Presbyterian Church of Canada, through the Rev. C. Chiniquy, the well-known converted priest, seems to be doing a large work among the French Catholics of the Dominion. This work, which is still spreading, has been almost entirely developed in the past ten or eleven years. In 1874 there was only one French Protestant congregation in the city of Montreal, with 17 communicants; now there are eight congregations with about 400 families, almost all of whom have come out of the Church of Rome. A comparison of the figures of the report of 1885 with those of the report for 1875 of the Board of French Evangelization of the Canada Presbyterian Church shows how fruitful a field the French Catholics form for Protestant laborers:

	1875.	1885.
Number of Fields worked	8	33
Number of Preaching Stations	12	75
Number of Church Buildings	3	27
Number of Ordained Missionaries	3	20
Number of Unordained Missionaries and Teachers	14	42
Number of Families connected with the Churches, about	200	1,091
Number of Communicants connected with the Churches, about	220	1,138
Number of Pupils attending Mission Schools, about	190	707
Receipts, about	$6,459	$28,735

The number of converts the past year is almost as large as the whole French membership of 1875. Meantime many of the converts have also removed to the United States, and some have joined other Churches in the Dominion. Of the 245 new communicants received the past year 197 were French-speaking, and 48 English-speaking. In some places the services are conducted in both languages. One very encouraging feature of the work is in the attendance at Protestant schools. Says the report:

It is certainly surprising to see so many Roman Catholic families ready to send their children to Protestant schools, and especially to mission schools, where their children are constantly under the influence of religious teachings opposed to

their creed. Does not this fact show how effective has been the work of the missionaries among the people of this province, and to what extent prejudices have been removed?

Many of those who have not enough faith, courage, or light to abandon Romanism are, however, convinced that their children have nothing to lose by being placed under our religious teaching. The progress of the work has been such that, in this Province of Quebec, where the population is almost entirely Roman Catholic, we can fill up our schools with Roman Catholic children, when in other provinces, the great majority of whose inhabitants are Protestants, we could hardly find a Roman Catholic in Protestant schools or churches.

There are 21 of these mission schools, with 26 teachers and 707 scholars, of whom 223 are the children of Catholic parents, and four fifths of the remainder children of recent converts from Romanism. The report takes note of the fact, that while in the Province of Quebec the time was when the Bible was almost an unknown book among the French, to-day it is a source of great influence in every parish.

PROGRESS IN THE NEW HEBRIDES.—This group of islands used to be reckoned among the most savage and hopeless of missionary fields; but Presbyterian missionaries of Canada and Scotland have, in the course of a generation, firmly established a Christian civilization among these cannibal tribes, and every year brings notes of progress. Some of the islands have been entirely Christianized; others are in a transition state, and in some heathenism still flourishes. One of the devoted pioneers who died in the field brought about the conversion of one of the islands, and upon his monument is this inscription: "When he came here there were no Christians; when he left there were no heathen." Eleven of the islands are occupied by thirteen missionaries, representing the Scottish Free Church, the Australasian, and the Canadian Presbyterian Churches. The oldest missionary, the Rev. John G. Paton, was appointed in 1858. The central part of the group is now the most fruitful. Efate and Nguna are giving rich returns for the labor expended in the past. Tongoa is the latest island entered. A church of 12 members has been formed on it. In Efate about 70 renounced heathenism last year. Only six miles from Efate lies an island which has not yet been evangelized. Some teachers went to it with the intention of remaining over-night. They were warned, however, to leave, and told that if they stayed they would be cut to pieces, and were shown the tomahawks. In Aneityum 32 new members were received into Church fellowship. The birth rate in this island is far exceeded by the death rate. Last year there were only 47 births to 90 deaths. Civilization seems to be fatal to the savages of the South Seas as well as to the aborigines of Australia.

THE WESLEYAN MISSION IN ASHANTI RE-ESTABLISHED.—As long ago as 1839, when Ashanti was one of the most powerful nations on the West African coast, the Wesleyans undertook to establish a mission in Kumasi, but little or nothing was accomplished. Wars and difficulties of various kinds occurred to interrupt the work, and it has not been practicable to resume it until recently. Sir Garnet Wolseley destroyed the old despotism

when he sacked Kumasi in 1874, but another oppressive system rose in its place which a gradual revolution has now broken down. Province after province has revolted and set up a separate government, until the old empire, compact and powerful as it was, has become an aggregation of petty states, rejoicing in their liberty and independence. It is thought that the old order can never be restored. Under these circumstances the Wesleyan Society has deemed it wise to re-enter Ashanti, and a line of stations has been formed reaching to Kumasi in answer to earnest requests from the people of various towns. The first station is Amuaful, where the people have erected a bamboo chapel. The next is at Bekwai, a few miles distant. It was formerly one of the most important towns and provinces south of Kumasi. Says the Rev. W. Terry Coppin, of the West Coast District, who visited it recently on his way to Kumasi:

Though destroyed in the 1874 expedition it has been almost entirely rebuilt, and still wears that air of stateliness which others have remarked. The king, an amiable, pleasant, dignified, handsome fellow, has not long been upon the stool. When chosen, a little more than twelve months ago, he had to publicly and solemnly swear not only to abolish human sacrifices, but to maintain the mission. To one unacquainted with the recent changes in Ashanti this remarkable action of the people seems scarcely credible. The stability of his throne depends upon his fidelity to his oath. He gave us a state welcome, and all our interviews with him were of a most agreeable and satisfactory character. The substance of his public and official speech was this: "I like the mission. I do not mean to play with it. Having received it into my town, it is my intention to support it. Children shall be sent to the school, and people shall have liberty of worship." The mission compound the people have built for the Rev. Robert Jones, the native minister, greatly pleased me. It is more commodious than their own, and in a good situation. Of course it is built in the pure Ashanti style, namely, an open yard with surrounding apartments. These occupy three sides, and the school-chapel the fourth side of the inclosure. Doors and windows are luxuries; so the privacy of the apartments, which are perfectly open to the yard, is secured by dropping a mat screen or cloth curtain.

On leaving Bekwai I noticed several skulls, bleached white by the sun, lying on a small bank of wild vegetation. Why they were placed there I could not learn from my people, and did not care to ask the towns-people. In about an hour we reached Dengyiasi. The king having had good notice of the time of our projected visit, had called in the chiefs and their people from the villages and plantations, in order to welcome us and hear our palaver; hence there was a much greater display here than anywhere else; almost every man was in his best cloth and carrying a musket. The king sat under an immense umbrella made partly of scarlet flannel, and his chiefs sat on each side of him. Their followers ranged themselves round them, and made up a scene that was picturesque and somewhat imposing. It was a Kumasi grand reception on a small sale. Amid a deafening din of drums and gongs, horns and handbells, we went to pay our respects in the customary manner. Waving our hands to the principal personages and shaking hands with the king, we completed the round and retired to the shade of a neighboring tree. In a little while the whole assembly was in motion. As we had saluted them so they defiled before us and gave their greetings. Later on, having rested and refreshed ourselves, we had another public interview. King Dome's reply was as favorable as Karikari's at Bekwai. Before separating he said: "You have chosen us, we have chosen you, so you must not hurry away, but stay over Sunday with us." This we agreed to do. The service on Sunday afternoon, under the magnificent twin tree which stands in the main street, was deeply interesting. The king and many of his people were present. What gratified me more than any thing was the school. Between thirty and forty little Ashantis were being catechized by Mr. Hayfron. As I looked at their chubby ebony cheeks, and black,

sparkling eyes, and heard them say the Lord's Prayer and sing about Jesus in their native tongue, I thought and felt how blessed it was to know that though proud and cruel chiefs thought them to be but "mere leaves of trees, droppings of the forest," yet even these, the least of His little ones, were unspeakably precious in his sight. The school-chapel stands at the top of the spacious street, and is the most conspicuous object in the town. Plain and simple enough to a European or civilized African, it is a triumph of art to those who freely, gladly built it. Just behind it a double mission compound is being erected for the agent. Already, in addition to building the chapel and mission premises, these people, once so terrible, have contributed £8 2s. toward the agent's salary. "Verily," as a brother remarked at the missionary meeting last February, "God is beginning to reign in Ashanti." Dengyiasi lies south-west of Kumasi. Having to go to Dadiasi, which lies south-east, I resolved to proceed, first to Kumasi, and from thence to Dadiasi. Anxious as I was, if possible, to resume work in Kumasi, in order to make it a base of operation for more northerly movements, yet I had little hope of accomplishing any thing in that blood-stained capital. From what I had learned their civil and political state was such that their minds were filled but with one thought, namely, how to get back their former power and riches. This proved indeed to be the case, for when our messenger who went to announce our proposed visit returned he brought a message to this effect: "The head chief is pleased to hear the white man is coming. He hopes he will stay six months, put a king on their throne, and bring the country to peace." I arrived in Kumasi on the Tuesday, and left on the Saturday. At the two interviews with the council I could not get them to talk about any thing else than their political misfortunes. If I had played the part of king-maker, and made the vain promise of using my influence to get back the revolted people, whom they enumerated one by one, they might then, as they said, have considered and taken the mission. To build, however, on such a foundation as that, even if practicable, is to build on sand. Much as they hate the conquerors of their country in their hearts, and despise the Gospel, of which they are not ignorant, yet they would use both if they could gain their political ends thereby. It was only to give them national prestige that they ever received the mission, and as soon as they saw that it began to affect their people the edict went forth that no Ashanti must become a Christian. Insufferably proud, insolent, obstinate, and untruthful, the few remaining chiefs of Kumasi will yet have to be more greatly humbled before they are willing to let the people immediately under them enjoy the blessings that are now descending upon their fellow-countrymen in other towns and provinces of Ashanti. Twelve months ago Mr. Hayfron wrote to me that half the city was already in ruins, and that, at the present rate of decline, in two or three years little more would be left than the vestiges of a few habitations to mark the site where Kumasi once stood. Since then matters have gone from bad to worse. Its young king has died, as they believe, by the power of the fetich; most of its remaining nobles have been killed in battle or by epidemics; and its very villages have refused to serve it.

At Dadiasi the people are to build a chapel and pay $80 a year toward an agent's salary. As he left this town Mr. Coppin saw its Golgotha, an attachment which few Ashanti towns are free from. Here the people rose against the royal family and put an end to them in order to do away with human sacrifice.

Bishop William Taylor's Mission.—In our September number we stated that the Bishop's plan was to establish some six or eight stations with his present force. Dr. Summers had made a trip to the interior about 300 miles from the coast, and had selected sites which he deemed suitable for industrial and school stations. The Bishop and party were waiting at Loanda the return of the governor from the south before setting out for the interior. A letter from the Rev. Levin Johnson, dated

St. Paul de Loanda, July 15, two months later than the letters we spoke of in our last, has been received by the editor of the "North-western Christian Advocate," which gives the following interesting facts:

About seven weeks ago Bishop Taylor, with a force of five men, started for the interior to explore suitable places for mission stations. A letter has been received from him giving favorable reports. He wants the party to start for the interior as soon as practicable. All those assigned for the interior will leave within ten days. The Bishop stated in his letter that after a prayerful night he decided to divide the company as follows:

Loanda, C. L. Radcliff and Eli Chatclain. Nhangepepe, A. E. Withey, wife, and four children; W. H. Mead, wife, and six children; W. P. Dodson, and C G. Rudolph. This station lies about 270 miles from the coast. Pungo Andongo, Joseph Wilks, wife, and daughter, eighty miles from Nhangepepe. Malange, S. J. Mead, wife, and niece; C. W. Gordon, and Levin Johnson. This place is situated about 400 miles from the coast, and is a principal caravan station in this part of the interior. Natives from the extreme interior come to this place with their rubber, ivory, etc. Kiok nation, probably at Casangue, C. L. Davenport and wife and M. C. M'Lean. This station is about 100 miles inland from Malange.

The past four months have indeed been a season of severe trials and patient waiting. To most of us the acclimatizing process has tended to draw us nearer the Lord—in fact, it has been a purifying furnace. Your correspondent seems to have had his share, and almost despaired of ever getting acclimatized. For about four months we had a severe siege, beginning on the vessel at Sierra Leone, and continuing for a month on the water and three months in Loanda. We thought we should have to return to America, but during the past few weeks our health has greatly improved, and we have concluded to try the interior, which they report is healthier than on the coast. At present the company seem to have a good degree of health. It seems wonderful to us that the children and the rest have been so remarkably preserved from death. Perils by sea and perils by the African fever, and yet alive and cheerful and hopeful. Truly our heavenly Father has protected us.

The party will take the steamer from Loanda up the Quanza River to Dondo, the head of navigation, a distance of over 200 miles from this place. From Dondo to the stations they will travel caravan style.

A letter from Bishop Taylor dated Nhangepepe, June 19, has been received, in which he says that Nhangepepe will be one of the most important stations. He had surveyed two thousand acres of good land for a farm. It would require, he thought, but little effort to grow food enough for the mission families. He says he wants a "dozen or two of suitable persons" to arrive in Loanda about next May, for mission work.

THE MAORIS OF NEW ZEALAND. — Fully three fourths of the New Zealand aborigines are professing Christians, of whom the great majority are connected with the Church of England. Reports to the Church Missionary Society speak, as in former years, of the decrease of the Maori population and of the scattering of their communities. Their usual avocation, digging for kauri gum, requires them to spread themselves over large districts, and usually a kaaniga whose nominal population is a hundred cannot muster more than forty or fifty during eight months in the year. The parishes of the native ministers are, therefore, large and difficult to manage, especially when it is remembered that they have to eke out their small salaries by the raising of crops. Archdeacon Clarke

says intemperance has almost disappeared from among the Maoris, but the white men are introducing horse-races, and thus tempting them both to drink and to gamble. They are also peculiarly liable to be misled by impostors. If one proclaims himself a prophet with gift of miracles or healing, he can easily draw away the unstable. Mormon missionaries have led away some of them. The Hauhau superstition caused a very large defection some years ago, but it has almost died out.

POLYGAMY AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.—The question of how to deal with polygamy has been a very serious one in heathen countries, where law and custom permit a husband to have more than one wife. Missionaries have almost universally required a polygamist, on being received into Church, to put away all his wives but one. In many cases this entails hardship and suffering on innocent persons. That which in heathenism most often leads to a second marriage is the failure of the first to have issue. The second wife, therefore, is often the one who has children, and she and her offspring have to be put away. The Madura mission of the American Board has recently adopted a resolution to the effect that converts who have in heathenism contracted polygamous marriages in accordance with caste laws, may, in exceptional cases, be admitted as communicants without putting away either wife. [!!!] Archdeacon Johnson, of the Niger mission of the Church Missionary Society, writes that one of the great trials of that mission is the polygamy question. Writing of Onitsha, on the upper Niger, he says:

> We have had to mourn over some whose names were taken off the books on account of polygamy. By a remarkable coincidence, while we were full of the subject, and were dwelling upon it in the Bible-class room and from the pulpit, copies were received of the society's Minutes on Polygamy, drawn up by the committee in 1857. We felt our hands indirectly strengthened by them in dealing with an evil which, unless stamped out immediately by the use of strong measures, would have the tendency to affect the converts to an alarming extent. Three persons were excommunicated for being polygamists, two of them after the most moving appeals had been made to the congregation, pointing out the act to be in direct violation of the law of the Christian Church. One of these cases was peculiarly aggravating. The offender was not only a full communicant, but also a leader, district visitor, member of the Parochial Committee, and one of the appointed evangelists for Obotsi. So completely was he under the control of Satan that he would listen to no remonstrances from any one, but persevered in the step which he had taken until he had fully carried it out. His name was accordingly struck off the rolls, and he was stripped of all his offices in the Church. But, if he had any happiness at all, it was of a very short duration; for in less than a month after marriage (they were married after the native style) the second wife, for some cause or other, left him and returned to her home in the interior. He made ineffectual efforts to bring her back; at length, wearied out by her determined refusal to return to him, he made up his mind to give her up. Then it was that he felt inclined to come back to the Church and resume his former position in it. He made quite sure that he would be received with open arms, but he was soon undeceived, for I declined to re-admit or re-instate him until he had gone through the usual native form of divorce and expressed publicly his unfeigned sorrow for the offense he had given to the Church. I have determined to make it difficult for him, and those like him, to return to full membership, in order that the rest may value their privileges and be afraid to offend. The idea was current that offenders might be put out of Church for only three months;

hence there was something like a thrill of horror ran through the members when I declared the probability of some being kept out for a year or more, according to the nature of their offense and the value of the sincerity of their repentance.

The archdeacon also speaks of another case which he confesses was a "poser" to him. It was at Obotsi. One man was objected to as a candidate by the brethren because he had more than one wife.

He was one of the elderly ones, and appeared to hold a good social position. His explanation of his position is as follows: "My first wife is old and in feeble health, and as I am frequently absent on my farms, I was obliged to take a younger one, who would both attend to the sick one in my absence and prepare my food against my return from the field. Shall I put the first one away when she is old and sickly? And if I send away the younger one, who is to attend to the sick wife and look after my house? No, I regard the younger now as my real wife. I would allow the other to remain because she is old and in bad health, and requires attention." This case was a poser to me. My advice was sought, and for a time I hardly knew what to advise. At length I concluded, much against my wish, not to admit the man as a candidate for fear of establishing a precedent which might be afterward taken advantage of to an inconvenient extent. Just before baptism I brought the matter before the bishop, who distinctly advised that the man should not yet be baptized. We were all sorry for him, but felt, at the same time, that the law did not admit of a compromise.

THE OMU OF ONITSHA.—Archdeacon Johnson writes of an event at Onitsha, on the upper Niger, interesting in itself and of importance to the mission which the Church Missionary Society is maintaining in that place. One of the leading women has assumed the title of omu, or queen, of Onitsha. This title is not given to the wife of the king, nor to any of the royal family, but is hereditary, limited to a particular family, from which, however, it may be sold and transferred to another family, if the heiress elects so to do. The omu is a powerful leader, the fountain of all honor to the women, and in absolute control of the trade in which the women are engaged. No law can be passed by the king and his council affecting the rights and liberties of her sex without her approval. But the ceremony of installation is so costly that few are prepared to meet the customary expenditures. The present omu has, it seems, been preparing to assume the office for years. She was known to the missionaries as a leader in the various heathen observances, and they imagined that her powerful influence was being used adversely to the mission; but on ascending the throne she, to their surprise, declared her will and pleasure to be that hereafter every woman attend church, and that traffic cease on Sunday.

She showed that she was in earnest, for the very first Sunday after her coronation she came to church in state, followed by a large number of women, many of whom were noted idolatresses who had never entered the house of God before. Since then a more regular attendant we have not had than the omu. I have been credibly informed that so soon as other ceremonies shall have been gone through by her, and the appointment to subordinate offices completed, it is in her contemplation to enter into an understanding with the neighboring tribes to enforce her decrees about Sunday trading. A penalty will be attached to an infraction of the law, namely, the confiscation of every article exposed for sale by any woman of Onitsha on the Lord's day.

The mission is prosperous. Near the close of the year 88 persons were baptized, and since 1881 about 250 have received that sacrament.

A New Mission in Neglected Islands.—On the west coast of British Burmah and in the Sea of Bengal lie the groups known as the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The latter are the most southerly, and are separated from the former by the Ten Degree Channel. These groups are known to most people, if at all, as penal settlements. The Andamans are the abode of a very degraded race, to whom no one has ever attempted to preach the Gospel, while the few attempts made to establish Christianity in the Nicobars have failed. Now the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has undertaken to establish missions in both groups. The Andamanese, who are not a numerous people, are said to be dying out. They are Negritos, and have no form of worship though they have religious beliefs. They believe in a Great Being, the author of all good, and in three chief evil beings, with many inferior ones. Their paradise, whither disembodied spirits go, is under the earth. It is a land of rest. Their hell, where the wicked go, is a place where bitter cold is the punishment inflicted for remedial purposes. The inhabitants of the Nicobars are of the Malay race. Several attempts have been made to evangelize them, but only the ruins of Catholic and Moravian missions remain. The climate is of a deadly character, and the people have been noted for their savagery and piracy.

The Work of Missionaries on the Congo.—The Rev. George Grenfell, of the English Baptist mission on the Congo, has made an important expedition up the Congo and on some of its great tributaries, an account of which and of his discoveries will form an interesting feature of the geographical section of the British Association at its annual meeting in Aberdeen. He proceeded as far on the Congo as Stanley Falls, and ascended the Mobangi and Lubilash Rivers to a considerable distance. The Mobangi, which enters the Congo at a point near the equator, will probably prove to be the longest and most important of the tributaries of the great river. Mr. Grenfell ascended it to a point 400 or 450 miles from its mouth, and found it at that distance over 600 yards wide, with a mean depth of 25 feet. The current runs at the rate of from 80 to 100 feet a minute, which indicates an immense volume of water. Mr. Grenfell believes that it is the lower part of the Welle, whose course and outlet have hitherto been an African mystery. The Mobangi, Mr. Grenfell writes, is far more populous than any equal length of the Congo, and, to his mind, the country is more promising. True, the people are wild, but then his visit was that of the first white man they had seen. In ascending the river (and his wife and fifteen months old baby were on board) Mr. Grenfell met with not a few difficulties from the hostility of the natives, and had it not been for his energetic action on one occasion he and his party would probably have come to grief. His way down the river was, however, most encouraging; plenty of food, and not a sign of hostility. He hopes to make the trip again, and has no doubt that he will be able to report peaceable and friendly receptions every-where. He may also be able to penetrate farther toward the valley of the Shari, the great tributary of

Lake Chad. Unfortunately, Mr. Grenfell states, the confluence of the Mobangi with the Congo is just within French territory, though it is not so represented either on the map in Mr. Stanley's last book or on the latest map of the Royal Geographical Society. The commercial importance of Mr. Grenfell's discovery cannot be exaggerated. Whether the Mobangi is the Welle or not, it must form an important connecting link between the basin of the Congo and the basins of the Niger, the Shari, and the Nile. Mr. Stanley has always maintained that the region lying between the Congo and the Nile is probably the richest and most promising in Africa, and his belief seems likely to be amply confirmed. Besides the Mobangi, Mr. Grenfell has explored 800 miles of river-courses debouching into the Congo. The first half of Mr. Grenfell's account of his trip is printed in the August number of the "Missionary Herald," of London. At Bangala he began to see evidences of cannibalism, which he had hitherto refused to believe of the Congo peoples. But the natives in some places appeared to regard the killing and eating of human beings as a perfectly innocent and natural custom, and resented the interference of members of the expedition. Mr. Grenfell mentions nine places as suitable for stations, of which three are already occupied by the American Baptist Missionary Union.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

PROFESSOR LADD, of Yale Theological Seminary, has a noteworthy paper in the "Andover Review" for July, entitled "The Question Restated." He deals with the inspiration of the Scriptures, and maintains that "the real question about the Bible can no longer be stated or discussed as a so-called theory of inspiration. . . . The question of the inspiration of the writers of the Bible must be merged in the larger question, 'What is the Bible?'" His drift may be gathered from the following excerpts: "The Christian Church, acting in the different divisions of its ancient domain, without a fully self-conscious purpose, and yet with commendable tact and insight, distinguished in the course of its development what books it would receive into the circle of its sacred Scriptures. But this process began with assuming certain writings to be sacred which the Jewish Church had considered such. . . . It is quite impossible, then, to speak of inspiration as belonging to the Bible, that is, to a collection of several score of widely differing writings, without attributing such inspiration to the mind of the Church that collected the writings. . . . In other words, a number of diverse compositions can in no sense be ascribed to one source, unless some discrimination as to *what* composition shall enter the number be exercised by that source." This matter of inspiration thus, the writer holds, depends on the question, "What is the Bible?" This paper, very radical in some of its conclusions, is the herald of another which is soon to come.

In the same number the Rev. Edwin M. Bliss describes Kurdistan and the Kurds. The social organization of the Kurds is seen to be singularly like that of the Highland clans of Scotland. The permanence of Eastern habit and nature is seen in the declaration that the northern Kurds do not vary much from those that Xenophon described: "Brutal, ferocious, savage to the last degree," is the sentence in which Mr. Bliss portrays them. This paper is an excellent example of what missionaries can do by studies of the people. To know a people is one of the best preparations for successful missionary work. Rev. W. Forbes Cooley, in "Side Lights from Mormonism," writes wisely of the difficulties of the Mormon problem. He particularly emphasizes the little-known fact that the Mormons are not afraid of the open Bible; that they challenge contradiction and disproof from the word. All who have heard the abler Mormon preachers will bear testimony to the ability and skill with which they handle the Scriptures. And this is really one of the chief obstacles in reaching them. Much is made, also, of the contrast in the minds of foreign converts between the lines of the functionaries of the established Churches and the laborious Mormon missionaries. The writer also holds, that missions among the Mormons fail because the Mormon missionaries are really better fitted for their work than are the Christian preachers sent among them for theirs. This paper is full of matter for thought, and is startling in the force of some of its statements. The statement of "Progressive Orthodoxy" is editorially continued; and the "Atonement" is considered in this July number. With the greater part of this statement every well-trained minister of our Church will find himself familiar. In its setting forth of the extent and nature of the atonement the writer is thoroughly Arminian. He only goes beyond us in intimating, without stating, the necessity of a second probation of those who have not had opportunity for knowing God in Christ. But there is another way out of this difficulty than that of a second probation. God can save men through his Spirit, bringing to them his grace for faith and righteousness according to the light they have. Those who follow it may be accepted; those who reject it may be rejected. It only requires the admission that God will adjust his punishment to all the circumstances of each case.

The August number is not, in its contributed articles, the equal of the July. One turns from these to the editorial paper on Eschatology, in which the most interesting part is devoted to the question of the fate of those who have never heard the Gospel. The writer holds, that the condemnation of the heathen world would be a terrible impeachment of the justice of God. The writer concludes, that "God reveals himself in Christ to all men. Those who have the Gospel while in the body are in the decisive period. . . . For those who do not know God in Christ during the earthly life it seems to us probable that the knowledge they need will be given after death." Thus the "Andover" favors decidedly the doctrine of a second probation. We commend this statement of the new eschatology to the study of our ministers. It is enough now to say, that we have no need to get rid of our teachings as to the heathen by such a

supposition. The writer admits the danger of this view in a prudential sense, but shows how much more dangerous, in his opinion, it is to hold that the heathen are all lost.

The contributed articles in the September Andover are all of much interest. Rev. Samuel W. Dike continues his study of "The Religious Problem of a Country Town." This series of papers from a Vermont town show that a man of brains is strong anywhere. The editorial feature is the statement of the work of the Holy Spirit, which does not appear to be as well thought out as the papers which have preceded it.

In the July "Presbyterian Review" we note that the "Return of Jesus the Christ" has a prominent place. We have long held that there is more than one view which has scriptural support, and that no one of the accepted doctrines answers all the scriptural demands. But the Rev. A. W. Pitzer, D.D., has a definite theory which excludes the hope of converting the world, which expects good and evil to continue to the last, and which makes it the chief hope of the Christian minister to preach the Gospel as a witness without hope of converting the world, looking to Christ's return to make all things right. Dr. Briggs's "Criticism of the Revisers of the Old Testament" appears to proceed as if they were at work on a new translation.

Dr. Spaeth, in giving in the July number of the "Lutheran Church Review" a dissertation on Phebe the Deaconess, concludes his paper with an account of the institution of deaconesses as it exists in the German Church, taking the ground that its revival is a necessity in competition with the Roman Church, an opinion which is gaining ground outside the Lutheran communion. As a theological curiosity we commend the "Thesis on the Subject of Baptism and Regeneration" by D. H. Geissinger, M.D., to the careful study of our readers. It shows the severity of the bonds which are forged by the sacramentarian theology. We quote: "In the infant and the adult, the faith that renders the sacrament salutary is, as to its nature and essence, precisely the same. . . . In the infant, faith is wrought by the Holy Ghost through the sacrament itself." And much more like this: "The child, borne to Christ in the arms of believing parents or sponsors, is unable to resist the operations of the Holy Spirit which are brought into activity within it through the sacrament!" Then God's love, manifested through the Spirit, lies dormant in a child's heart until sponsors bring it to baptism!

The effort to create an American Roman Catholic literature meets with good success if the "Catholic World" be any proof. The August number leads off with a paper by Bishop Chatard on "Herbert Spencer's Enigma." The Roman bishop is a fair and strong critic of Mr. Spencer's "Doctrine of the Unknowable." In "Falsehood as a Moral Agent" a Catholic lady claims that much of the criticism of her Church is so poorly based as to be practically falsehood. Her effort, however, is to be fair,

and she writes well of the faults of her own Church in attempting to modify science and change history.

In the September number a very interesting summary of the "Teaching of Thomas Aquinas on Temperance" is given. From this it appears that he taught that "the use of wine is not in itself unlawful, nevertheless it may become unlawful under other circumstances, either from its being hurtful to the drinker, or from excess in quantity, or because it is taken in spite of a vow to the contrary, or because it is a scandal." The mediæval saint surely finds reasons enough why no one should use wine in our day. An anonymous writer in "A Protestant Hero," attempts to show that the death of Coligny was due to a mob roused to frenzy by his cruelties.

"The American Catholic Quarterly Review" for July is very able, but in its historical articles manifests the true Roman temper in defending every thing done by "Holy Mother Church." In the opening paper on "The Synthetic Philosophy of Herbert Spencer," by Rev. S. J. Ming, will be found much very acute criticism. J. G. Shea, LL.D., returns to the well-worn theme, "The Vagaries of Protestant Religious Belief." Dr. Braun, one of the foremost American theologians of the Roman Church expounds the "Catholic Doctrine of Baptism" in such a way as to increase the Protestant disgust for the adjuncts of salt, oil, and spittle which are found in the Roman ordinance. There is also in this number a very strong paper by Thomas Power O'Connor on the "Recent Crisis in England." An anonymous critic finds little good in the "Revised Translation of the Bible."

"The Baptist Quarterly Review" has passed under new management, assumes a new and beautiful dress, and manifests increased vigor. It is edited by R. S. MacArthur and Henry C. Vedder. The sketch of the development of "New England Theology," by Prof. Heman Lincoln, D.D., is of the highest order. It admits the indebtedness of the Baptists to Jonathan Edwards, through Andrew Fuller. Henry C. Vedder in this July number sets forth the reforms demanded in theological education. These reforms must begin, according to the writer, by re-enforcing the ministry with better men. His criticisms of the present theological seminary education are very caustic. Dr. Conant finds in his review of the Revision somewhat to praise and somewhat more to condemn.

The growing consensus between extreme Unitarianism and Judaism is manifested in the appearance in the August number of the "Unitarian Review" of an article by Claude G. Montefiore, entitled "A Justification of Judaism." The writer disputes the commonly accepted opinion that Judaism ceased to have close connection with the general history or thought more than eighteen centuries ago. He admits that Judaism has natural difficulties to contend with in the way of extending its teachings. He holds that just as Christianity has developed to meet modern condi-

tions, so Judaism has developed in the directions where its inadequacy is most generally set forth. He has hope that Judaism may in the future serve as a creed of reconcilement and mediation. His reasons for believing this are substantially that Judaism teaches a mean between Trinitarianism and Deism. It protests against the insufficiency of an ethic which ignores God. It is unfriendly toward dogmas which are with difficulty harmonized with reason. One of the first requisites with dogma is simplicity. Simplicity does not necessarily imply fewness in number; what it does imply is rationality and plasticity. The majority of the Jews would not regard the integrity of the Pentateuch or the advent of the Messiah as essential. To the modern Jew, God is not only the source of nature, but he is in nature. The continuity and the divinity of the world are maintained; the laws of nature, no longer accidental, flow necessarily from the single and infinite divine source, as the eternal laws of God. The paper is an exceedingly able one, and well worth attentive reading as showing the drift of modern philosophical Judaism. There is also in the same number an exceedingly well written paper, by Rev. W.R. Alger, on "Dead Tradition and Living Insight." It contains much spiritual truth, especially when it says, "that many attractive externally religious acts are often merely dramatic symbols of religion changed into mechanical substitutes for religion;" but the paper also shows the traces of that characteristic New England bigotry which will not get near enough to its religious neighbor to understand what he believes.

The September number contains the second part of Mr. Montefiore's "Justification of Judaism." It maintains the high level of the previous article. There is also a very strong refutation of Agnosticism by the Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D., under the title "The Infinite Knowable."

Our old friend "The New Englander," whose sub-title is now "The Yale Review," has a table of contents in its September number redolent of the musty days of the antique Review. Most of the articles would be as interesting at one time as another, with the exception of an attempt by Fisk P. Brewer to show that prohibition is not desirable. It is hopelessly weak, and seems written laboriously in the interest of the liquor traffic. It ignores the right of society to protect itself against the element of destruction. The article on "Protestant Vaticanism" is vigorously written, and smacks strongly of the new theology. It is evidently from the pen of one of those new theologians who believes in the liberty of dissent, but not of assent.

The "Nineteenth Century" for August contains an intelligent paper on "Aristocracy in America." It asserts that "the main source of American aristocracy is in the Senate, and there it get its chief support. The tree of aristocracy has its roots in the Senate, and the great trunk of it and the branches of it grow and flourish from unlimited taxation. The judicial branch of the American government was made exclusively aristocratic beyond any taint of popular control. The toryism of the American

Supreme Court would comfort the soul of Lord Eldon. The American legislature is well protected by the constitution against the people. The real conflict between the antagonistic forces of the American government has hardly yet begun. It will burst into a storm when the President and the Senate, banded together in defense of prerogative, shall resist a resolute House of Representatives fresh from the people and bearing from the people a message of reform. In that contest the stopping of the supplies will be the conquering weapon, and prerogative must yield, as it had to yield in England."

In comparing the English and American Reviews one is struck by the greater fullness and painstaking of the reviewers and essayists. While our Magazines are decidedly superior to the English popular Magazines, their Reviews are decidedly superior to ours in the solidity and painstaking quality of the papers. There is a broader literary scope also in the English Reviews. For instance, the July number of the Quarterly gives a leading place to Lord Lytton's "Glenaveril," a poem which has attracted but little attention here beyond the conviction that it is not equal to "Lucille," and the general expression of the critics that it just misses the true poetic quality. But the Quarterly gives it a long notice, and makes it "a great, beautiful, and singularly original poem." The English Reviews, also, are less given to the study of the taking and the timely, though they are never without strong presentations of current questions. Thus following each other in this able Review are articles on Fenelon, the Channel Islands, Lord Macaulay, and Elijah Impey; Pitt's Foreign Policy; English Society and its Historians; the Electress Sophia; the First Christian Council; the Game Laws of England; and the Gladstone Ministry. This is a fair example of the scope of one of the great Reviews in a single number.

We greatly value the "Monthly Interpreter," edited by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., and issued in this country by Scribner and Welford. We know of no greater aid to scholarly and intelligent ministers than this sterling publication. Looking back over recent issues we find the paper in the April number on the "Site of Paradise" by Canon Rawlinson. He does not seem to have heard of the New Theory which places the garden at the North Pole, but finds it in Mesopotamia. Another noticeable article is, that by the Rev. J. Barmby on the "Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews." His view of the authorship is substantially that "no man knoweth," but that it is essentially Pauline. In the July number the most noteworthy paper is by the Rev. Henry N. Bernard on "The Power of Satan—Some Thoughts on a Difficult Problem." "A Study of the Elder Brother of Prodigal," is the most attractive in the August issue.

In turning from the Reviews to Magazines one feels as if going from a musty house to a sunny and stirring out-door life. The Reviews smell of the cloister; but the Magazines are full of the life of to-day, going back to the past only to make the openness and joy of the present more vivid.

Age gives the precedence to Harper's, which keeps its well-earned place in spite of its more youthful competitors. In the number for August there are some excellent portraits of the prominent Socialists in the German Parliament. That pretty town, Southampton, L. I., has new dignity given it in being described by A. A. Hayes as "A New England Colony in New York." To those who have not traveled in England the paper on "The Characteristics of English and American Railways" will be rich in interest. Many curious facts are given in the well-illustrated paper on "The Decorative Sentiment in Birds." In both the September and October issues the first place is given to an account of Labrador by C. H. Farnham, who has explored that *terra incognita*, and has hair-breadth escapes to recount as well as topography to describe. It is not a pleasant thing to find "A Glass of Beer" so prominently described as in the article by G. Pomeroy Keese. While the paper is well written and superbly illustrated there is little hint of any sympathy with the growing conviction that while the making of beer may be a great American industry it is a great American curse. William Hamilton Gibson returns to his early love in this number with exquisite engravings of Back-Yard Weeds and Flowers in the Middle States and New England. And he writes of them as charmingly as he draws. Connecticut is given an honorable place in being awarded "The Model State Capitol." But even in this beautiful building the sham was present, as those will remember who recall the sinking pillars of the dome and the extraordinary expedient by which the crumbling of the columns was remedied. Mexican politics receive intelligent treatment at the hands of T. S. Van Dyke.

We are not disposed to underrate the services of William Lloyd Garrison to the antislavery cause, but we would that those who were ready to extinguish the Church for a supposed lack of sympathy with that cause were better informed. Colonel Higginson's sketch of the life and work of Garrison in the August Century is brilliantly written, and the account of his early life by his sons is full of interest. The portrait is the best we have ever seen, showing the kindly as well as the stern side of Mr. Garrison's nature. The war papers continue to command popular interest, and those by General Grant will be read with reverence as well as interest.

Dr. Holmes's new story in the Atlantic discusses some curious phases of mental movement and social peculiarity. The Atlantic is the strongest magazine we have in purely literary interest. It needs to be this in order to keep pace with its illustrated competitors. It seems odd that any one should gravely discuss the question, "Should a College Educate?" But Mr. E. R. Sill holds a conservative position as to the changes proposed in order to make college education more practical. He thinks that the experiment of substituting modern languages for the classics is not *educating* as many as the older method. Horace Scudder has a pleasing paper in both the September and October numbers on "Childhood in English Literature and Art." An acute reviewer holds that the chief

value of M'Master's second volume is as a reporter of our history rather than as an interpreter. Charles Dudley Warner's "Horseback" articles are excellent in style and of great interest in matter.

It is a great credit to our people that a technical magazine like the "Magazine of American History" should command the support it has gained. Mrs. Lamb is full of editorial tact, and is not following the Century in her war articles, but working on an independent line. These papers are fresh and strong, and in many cases supplement and improve all that has preceded them.

Italy puts on a new intellectual life with the unity and security of the institutions. We have examined several numbers of "La Nuova Scienza," a philosophic and scientific magazine, edited by Professor Enrico Caporali. Its aim is to bring before the Italian mind the best results of the German, English, and French philosophical inquiry of the last fifty years. It would appear to be strongly anticlerical, and shows traces of the inevitably skeptical movement which follows the Roman Church in those countries where its influence has been the longest felt in the paralysis of the intellect and the conscience.

The September number of the "Overland Monthly" gives large space to the memory and work of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson. There is no doubt that in several directions she was the strongest woman America has produced. Her personality was very charming to many, having in that respect the marks of genius. The account of her last days by Mrs. Apponyi is the best we have seen concerning the passing of this talented woman from human sight. Her victory over death was complete. The Overland deserves encouragement as a fine growth in poor soil.

In Art matters the summer has not yet shown its fruitfulness. Yet "Cassell's Magazine of Art" has drawn on the treasure houses of the world to maintain its interest and enrich its readers. The August number engraves and describes several of the older London churches upon which the wanderer comes so unexpectedly in traversing London. The papers on the "River Dart" continue, and are delightfully illustrated. There is in this number a strong engraving of Waterhouse's famous picture of St. Eulalia. Those who admire Andrew Lang's dainty genius will enjoy the portrait of him after Richmond. It is in this case that the face of the man and his work agree. The frontispiece of the September is after Alma Tadema's meaningless picture, "Who Is It?" which has the fatal fault of not telling its own story. Kaulbach's picture of "Unvalued Liberty," as here engraved, is charming. "The Old London Doorways" show that we had better return to the old paths. The picture by Audley Mackworth, "It is the Lord," is very strong, as is that of the "Secret," by Blair Leighton. The leading place in the October number is given to Arnold Bocklin and his work. The picture of "A Sea Idyl" is powerful but repulsive, and is not in the least idyllic. Those who have seen

Granada will be delighted with the engravings in the article describing that city. Raphael Sorbi's "Chloris" gives great pleasure. The Current Art Series presents the "Juliet" of Von Haanen, which succeeds in making death if not attractive at least not repulsive. Those who enjoy the weird power of Whistler will do well to study the portrait of the violinist Paolo Sarasate. There is art in the suppression of the figure for the sake of bringing out the man and the violinist.

"The Art Journal" (J. S. Virtue & Co., London) shows great editorial tact in its selections of the engravings and etchings which form the frontispiece of this charming publication. "The Reverie," by Marcus Stone, is delightful. London Club life has never been better described than in the series of articles which is now being published in this Journal. "An Old Coach Road," will explain to those who have not seen England why the old land is so delightful to Americans. The September number engraves on steel "The Evening Hour" of R. W. Leader. The first place is given to the work of our countryman John La Farge. But by far the best of the etchings which have reached the public through this Journal is that in the October number. It is by Dulduc after Jimenez y Aranda. It shows "A Public Letter Writer at Seville," who has stepped out into the sunlight to mend his quill pen. It is delightful in all respects. Both these periodicals are so good that we welcome their coming to an office which is supposed to be most interested in the graver topics.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Prophecies of Isaiah: A New Translation, with Commentary and Appendices. By Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., Late Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, etc. Two volumes, bound in one. Third Edition. 8vo, pp. 310, 317. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, $4.

Cheyne's Isaiah is at once among the very best of its kind and also an illustration of the incompleteness, as to results, of the critical and exegetical examination and interpretation of the books of the Old Testament, of which perhaps this prophecy (or "prophecies") is not only among the most valuable portions, but also the best understood. And yet even this can as yet be treated only tentatively, and often explained simply hypothetically. The first edition was issued in 1880, and the second, very considerably changed, in 1882; and two years later came the present edition, still further modified. And now the author gives notice that he by no means supposes that this is to be the end of the matter.

The author's position is that of a liberal and rational (not *rationalistic*) student seeking to find out and set forth the real import of the remarkable book in hand, the canonical Isaiah. He comes to his work as a learner,

bringing with him his original preconceptions, which he finds no sufficient reason to lay aside, in respect to its genuineness and inspiration, and its true prophetic character. But by the use of the better methods of Bible study now in use, he has been brought to feel that as a whole the older, the "traditional," interpretation of this book cannot meet the requirements of the case, though some of the older writers among them, especially Vitringa, made valuable contributions to its proper elucidation. Hengstenberg may be said to have inaugurated the better method, and Alexander, by a very liberal use and appreciation of his matter, produced a much better commentary on Isaiah than any of the earlier ones, at least in our language. But as Hengstenberg discussed only its Christology, a thorough elucidation of the book remained a desideratum, which still waits to be supplied. Something in that direction is attempted in this work, but rather as contributions toward more complete and satisfactory inquiries than as any thing final. In the preface to the first edition the author wrote: "It appears to the author that a more thorough exegesis must (in England and America) precede the fruitful investigation of critical problems. . . . If it is a fact that exegetical phenomena are conflicting, let it be fairly represented as such; the final critical solution will have to take account of all the data of the problem." In the preface to this latest edition, he writes hopefully, though still recognising great needs of something better: "The prospects of Old Testament study in England are more hopeful now than when I first began to write. Free and reverent investigation is at least sincerely tolerated, though within my own range of observation it has not received much countenance from the authorities. We have still to live in hope." But the day dawns.

The author fully and cordially accepts Isaiah as a divinely inspired teacher, who, while treating chiefly of the affairs of his own times, also prophesied of Christ's coming and kingdom, and he concludes that the book is deserving of the high place assigned it among the books of the Old Testament. The question, whether or not the last twenty-seven chapters (xl–lxvi) were written by the same hand with those that precede them, he holds to be not yet satisfactorily determined; perhaps he leans more than most modern critics to the traditional opinion that the whole book has a common authorship. The commentary is a good one for students, and all who are able to hold their convictions in suspense; but the outcome thus far is not final.

A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET. 12mo, pp. 232. New York: Thomas Whittaker, Bible House.

The author of this work, which is one of a series of five volumes, of which two—one on Romans and one on First and Second Corinthians—have before appeared, and two more—one on the epistles of the "Imprisonment," and one on the Pastoral Epistles and First and Second Thessalonians—are to follow—are said to be the work of a Wesleyan minister who is also actively engaged in his regular ministerial duties. These volumes have been recognized by competent biblical scholars as presenting a valuable

mass of learned critical and exegetical discussions, at once clear, forcible, and eminently evangelical. Though every thing at all savoring of pedantry and all display of learning, whenever not really necessary, seems to have been studiously avoided, the Commentary is evidently the fruit of a broad and deep scholarship, of which, however, the results rather than the processes are given. Very little minute textual criticism appears, for which omission some compensation is offered in a strictly literal Greek-English version of the text. In addition to the detailed exposition of the text there are appended at the end of the volume eight elaborate dissertations, discussing the relations of Paul's teachings to that of the other apostolic writers, the date of the epistle, its presentation of the doctrine of justification by faith and its use, and the doctrinal import of the phrase "The Cross of Christ;" and finally, a summary of the contents of the epistle—the whole that is taught in and by it.

The relations of Paul to the other apostles and to the Church at Jerusalem, and of his doctrine and the form of his evangelism, have of late received a large share of attention, and to that discussion this Commentary is a valuable contribution, which, by its well-considered and ably presented conclusions, will go very far to counterwork the influence of such writings as the volume of the Hibbert Lectures noticed by us in a former number. No doubt there were incidental differences in the presentation of the great truths of Christianity by the several apostles, which were partly the results of the mental peculiarities of each; but beyond all that there are pretty clear evidences of different and somewhat inharmonious schools of thought —indications of which may be seen by comparing the Epistle to the Galatians with that of James. But there are nowhere found such discrepancies as amount to any real opposition. The evangelical doctrines of Paul are happily complemented by the ethical teachings of James, while Peter and John blend both sides in a beautiful harmony. There is also pretty clear evidence of the existence of an extreme Judaizing party at Jerusalem, who, while claiming to be Christian, were essentially Jewish of the narrowest Pharisaic type, and these were intensely scandalized by Paul's characteristic doctrine of justification by faith. But there is no proof that any of the apostles was of that class, and these opposers being only Jews, they perished as a party with the destruction of Jerusalem. This whole subject is very satisfactorily presented in this volume. We are glad that this exceedingly valuable Commentary has found an American publisher, who, we trust, will be duly compensated for his enterprise and good taste in bringing out the work in a style so attractive.

Christian Thought. Lectures and Papers on Philosophy, Christian Evidences, Biblical Elucidations. Second Series. Edited by CHARLES F. DEEMS, LL.D., President of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy. New York: Phillips & Sons.

The bound volume of the periodical issued under the auspices of the Society of which Dr. Deems is the president. Many of the papers were read at the meetings of the Society. Most of them are able.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Isaac W. Wiley, late Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A Monograph. Edited by RICHARD S. RUST, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 233. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Our Episcopal necrology grows apace, as in somewhat rapid succession our Bishops are taken away by death; and it is only the right thing that after his decease the memoirs of each should be duly collected and perpetuated. These biographies will be among the most available materials out of which the history of our period of the Church will at some time be constructed. For a little more than twelve years Bishop Wiley filled the episcopal office, both ably and satisfactorily, and then he was cut off in what it seemed should have been the meridian of his manhood. He also brought to his last high office a previous history of unusual interest, in achieving which he became fitted for his last and greatest work—which earlier history it is well to have properly recorded.

The plan of this memoir—a "Monograph"—yet made up of many parts, is the bringing together twelve distinct and independent essays, by as many different writers, each relating to some portion of the history of their common subject, or some special phase of his character. Dr. Butts treats of his "Early Life and Ministry;" Dr. E. Wentworth, of his "Mission Life" (in China); Dr. W. V. Kelley as "The Educator;" Bishop Walden tells of him as an "Editor and Author," and Bishop Merrill as "The Bishop;" Professor Townsend gives recollections of his "Residence in New England," and Dr. Rust of his relations with the "Freedmen's Aid Society;" Dr. M. W. Taylor contemplates him as a "Philanthropist," and Professor S. W. Williams as to his "Literary Character;" Dr. Buckley writes of him as "The Orator," and Dr. Joyce as "The Man." After these we have a chapter devoted to "Closing Scenes" (his death and burial in China), and another giving accounts of memorial services held in several places; and next a selection of editorial sketches and estimates of his character, made on the occasion of his decease. Last of all, we have a report of the remarkable prayer offered by him at the close of the last General Conference, now the more memorable because it was the last time that his voice was to be heard in the great convocation of the Church. Altogether, the book is a work of real value, and in preparing it Dr. Rust has earned the thanks not only of the friends of the deceased Bishop, but equally so of the whole Church.

Centenary Cameos, 1784–1884. By O. P. FITZGERALD, D.D, Editor of Nashville Christian Advocate. 8vo, pp. 350. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Brief sketches and characterizations of more than forty Methodist celebrities—men and women—from John Wesley to Margaret Lavinia Kelley, eulogistic and moderately laudatory, with thirty-one portraits. The first half are European, nearly all of them of the eighteenth century. About half of the other half belong to American Methodism before the Southern

"separation," and the balance to the "Church South," except only Dr. T. H. Stockton, of the Protestant Methodist Church. Those of the first and second sections are old stagers in Methodist biography; and among the last are some names that suggest to this writer thoughts of other days. Hope Hull is a familiar name, not chiefly because we have seen it in the original Methodist roll of honor, but especially since two of his sons were official members in the Church at Athens, our first pastorate, forty-four years ago. William Capers at that time resided at Oxford, Ga.,—he was Missionary Secretary—and showed much kindness to his younger brother. And Samuel Anthony was a combination of the two Johns, the Baptizer and him who leaned on the Master's breast at the Supper. He was a rare man, and the sketch is equally just and appreciative. The book, naturally a duodecimo, is metamorphosed into an octavo by setting the reading matter in marginal lines, and then giving broad margins beyond. The plan is not a bad one.

A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago. A Narrative of Travel and Exploration from 1878 to 1883. By HENRY E. FORBES, F.R.G.S., etc. With numerous Illustrations from the Author's Sketches, and Descriptions by Mr. John B. Gibbs. 8vo, pp. 536. New York: Harper & Brothers.

It is still emphatically true that "there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed," both by the scientist and the missionary, even should the sword of the conqueror be stayed in deference to the better civilization of the age. The Eastern Archipelago was explored, not very long ago, by Mr. A. R. Wallace, and the results of his examinations were happily set forth in his "Malay Archipelago" (Harper & Brothers, 1870), so that Mr. Forbes's field was not an entirely new one, though large parts of it were quite unknown to the learned world. As a naturalist he seems to have directed his attention chiefly to biological subjects, plants and animals, and more especially to those of the dry land; and here he had an unharvested field in which to operate, and which he did not fail to occupy. He also makes valuable contributions to the geographical knowledge of these islands, with their geology and climatology. As a book of travels simply, it is a highly entertaining sketch of strange scenes and unknown peoples.

The Two Hundredth Birthday of Bishop George Berkeley. A Discourse given at Yale College on the 12th of March, 1885. By NOAH PORTER. 8vo, pp. 84. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

It was becoming that Yale College should celebrate the Bicentennial of Bishop Berkeley, and President Porter certainly did his work in a becoming manner; and now the publishers have brought out the address, with notes in a style worthy of the subject and the matter. Dr. Porter evidently felt a very lively and kindly interest in his renowned subject, both as a man and a philosopher, though it has been the fashion with some who were quite incapable of appreciating Berkeley's philosophy to speak slightingly of both the man and his works; but those who better understand the case are aware that he has been a principal factor in shaping the

forms and conceptions of the thought of the age. And besides his fame as an idealist, he was also a Christian philanthropist of the most generous kind, and a poet—not much of a versifier, but richly endowed with the imagination and the fancy that constitute the real basis of poetry; and his love for our western world should endear his memory to the American people. This book is valuable as a memorial of a genius, and a tribute to the good name of an altogether worthy man.

POLITICS, LAW, AND GENERAL MORALS.

Principles of Political Economy. By SIMON NEWCOMB, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the Johns-Hopkins University, etc. 8vo, pp. 543. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The manifest drift of the public mind toward questions of finance, especially in their relations to different classes of persons, cannot fail to give new interest to the study of Political Economy, a study which, however valuable to all who really master it, has often proved alike unsatisfactory and misleading. Professor Newcomb's treatment of the subject is exceptionally clear and able; and any who will carefully consider his facts and manifest deductions, though his theories may not be accepted, will be the better enabled to form right conclusions. In matters of public and social economy, just as in respect to hygiene, and even public and private morals, men's actions are often better than their theories, and their notions are often rooted in thorough convictions for which no formal reason can be given. A careful reading of this volume will show good and sufficient reasons for many things in men's "common sense" belief, and also correct some gross and palpable errors.

LITERATURE AND FICTION.

Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. New Edition. With an Introductory Account of the Work by the Author. One volume, 12mo, pp. 500. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

This certainly is not a new publication, and yet it is not a resurrection, for the work has not been dead; nor a reprint, for it has never been out of print. Still, as here presented, it is something new. The substance of the story is unchanged, which is well—for any possible change would be for the worse.

The copious introductory matter is new, and yet even that contains but little that was not before generally understood. The account of the origin and genesis of the book, as here given, is a record which, with those to whom it will not be new, will bear repeating, but to the younger half of those now living—having grown up since the work was written—or after they have passed away from the impression of its first appearance, it will prove a peculiarly interesting chapter of both literary and general

history. Perhaps no other book, in any age or country—certainly none in modern times—has so entered into the life of the age, or made so large and so conspicuous a contribution to its current literature. Nor has any other book been translated into so many different languages, nor been so generally and widely read; and though by one class it is remembered as the companion of their youth, and by another it is recognized as a relic of the past, whose purposes have become accomplished facts, by the former it will be read as a pleasant reminder of other days, and by the latter as the agency that aided to bring about some of the most remarkable events of the near past, which also belong to the present.

The insertion in the Introduction of Mrs. Stowe's correspondence with many distinguished men and women in Europe, during the first years after the publication of "Uncle Tom," and the account of the ovation which she received when a few years later she went abroad in person, is certainly a pardonable expression of gratified vanity. The hero of such victories as she had won has the right to

"Shoulder his [her] crutch and show how fields were won."

The references to some things experienced by some of the antislavery pioneers, though certainly when suffered they were not joyous, are not altogether unpleasant reminiscences to those at a safe distance; but very different are the feelings awakened by the remembrance of the truculent insolence of the minions of the slave-power on the one hand, and on the other, the contemptible moral cowardice of politicians and churchmen, and still worse of merchants and traders, throughout the free States, who seemed to be more than willing to lie down and be trodden upon. It is well, perhaps, that such meanness of spirit should not be remembered beyond the age that witnessed it, since wherever known it must be a blot upon human nature.

It is often a matter of lively interest to find out and identify the living originals of the persons and incidents that figure in works of fiction, and in this Introduction there are given several instances of this kind. Some of these have been heretofore correctly understood, while others have been less correctly or only very partially interpreted. "Uncle Tom," we are assured, was largely a creation, or rather the character was constructed from materials gathered from a variety of sources, to which, however, "Father Henson" made only slight contributions. The ideal of the old hero might, however, be found more fully realized in actual examples among the southern slaves than some others that are drawn out in the story. A personal acquaintance with slaves and slavery, in its own habitat, and when in its most complete ascendency, though clearly attesting the low moral status of the slaves, disclosed, also, two admirable classes among them. One of these consisted of men usually past middle life, devotedly religious, honest, and incorruptible in morals—to that class Uncle Tom belonged; the other, less numerous, consisted of young women—often personal servants or trusted housekeepers, in many cases somewhat educated, and often cultured by constant contact with good

society. Such persons were often considered rich prizes for sporting characters and the scions of the "best families;" and the few that escaped unscathed—"so as by fire"—were heroines of virtuous purity. No one of the female characters of the story quite answers to this ideal, but its realization seems to have been approximated by the "Edmunds girls," whose case is referred to by Mrs. Stowe in her "Introduction," and whose rescue, in 1851, from the slave-trader's pen at Alexandria, through which it was intended that they should pass to lives of infamy in the far South, this writer helped to effectuate. But this could be brought about only by "a great ransom;" for the rescuers were told by the astute dealers in bodies and souls that such accomplished "property" would command fabulous prices in New Orleans.

No doubt Mrs. Stowe's world-renowned fiction was an effective agency in bringing about the overthrow of slavery—not, indeed, that either she or any of her collaborators ever even suggested any practical method for the accomplishment of the desired work; but they aroused the conscience of the nation, and helped to create a public opinion which impelled the heart of the people to demand the removal of the curse, and which added the needed moral element to render it effective when it had been legally proclaimed. So thoroughly was slavery wrought into the national organism that its removal seemed impossible; but that it might be destroyed its protectors were made mad, and so the very means resorted to for its perpetuation were those by which its destruction was accomplished.

The re-reading of "Uncle Tom" may be not without its practical utility in these times. There are still gigantic political, social, and moral curses among us, some of them quite as fearful and corrupting in their influences as was slavery—protected by the laws, winked at by society, and passed over with only faint rebukes by the Church—and for the abatement and removal of these a race of heroes and martyrs may still be needed. This new editionof "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is therefore not untimely, and it may be hoped that it will be widely read, and that it may stimulate some to heroic endeavors against the great evils that still corrupt and oppress society.

Elijah the Reformer: A Ballad-Epic; and Other Sacred and Religious Poems. By GEORGE LANSING TAYLOR, D.D. Square 12mo, pp. 281. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Here we have, first of all, a decidedly goodly volume—a piece of workmanship highly creditable to all who had part in its production—publishers, editor, compositors, proof-readers, and binders. The work is thoroughly well done, and the book is pleasant to look upon and easy to read. But to do it justice as a literary and artistic production is not an easy task. Its principal piece is well described by its title, "A Ballad-Epic," for it combines very successfully the characteristics of the two forms of composition. It is no doubt specifically a *ballad*, having all the features and essential properties of that species of poetry. And yet it is so much more of a thing than ballads usually are that it seems to deserve a higher

name, and by reason of its enlarged features it approximates the character of an epic. The story is simply that of the Tishbite prophet, himself a mystery, even more undetermined than Melchizedek or the man of Uz, and yet among the fiercest, most heroic names in all literature, ancient or modern, sacred or profane; but, as usual, the crowning excellence of the story is in the telling. The frame-work of the ballad is taken from the Old Testament, but the epic elements, in which the poetical characteristics especially appear, are the writer's own conceptions, and as he, the subject, stands forth in their setting he is seen as a veritable hero. This simple and most realistic presentation of a grand career naturally assumes the character of a drama.

Dr. Taylor is a poet only because he cannot help it, and what he writes is out of the fullness of his heart, and of the spontaneity of his imagination. And yet his productions are much more than momentary effusions, and as here seen they are manifestly growths, and the accretions of well-considered thoughts. The poetical imagery and the forms of the versification are evidently the outcome of a large amount of severe critical consideration exercised during many successive years; and in these it will be found that the hand of a master has been at work. The minor poems, which together constitute much the greater part of the volume, quite as fully and advantageously illustrate these qualities as does the principal one. Most of them are also based upon Scripture scenes and incidents, and in them are found some of the finest gems; and without any offensive sameness of manner, there is still a remarkable uniformity of sentiment and purpose running through the whole. Every-where is seen the same reverent spirit and abiding trust in God and the right, of hopefulness and of hearty detestation of shams and hypocrisies. Written while the conflict against legalized oppression was still in power, or while rebellion was raising its bloody hand in defense of oppression, many of these poems have all the qualities of battle-cries or pæans of victory. To the poet's conception Elijah was specifically a *Reformer*, and a prince and pattern of those who have dared and suffered for the cause of righteousness. A fine enunciation of this is given in some of the closing lines of the Epilogue of the "Ballad-Epic," of which we subjoin a quaternion:

> "All heaven-born hero-souls are God's torch-bearers for mankind;
> But brightest they who most have caught his own all-kindling mind.
> From Calvary's height Redemption's light shall shine o'er earth abroad,
> But no true soul, from pole to pole, e'er cried in vain to God."

Of the multitude of poetical productions elicited by the death of General Grant we give the first place, without hesitation, to Dr. G. L. Taylor's "Elegy on Grant—Patriot, Conqueror, Hero," which Funk & Wagnalls have brought out in a style worthy of the production and its subject, in a demi-octavo of thirty pages, beautifully printed on fine paper. The poem is of a high order of excellence, at once spirited and tender, graphic and dramatic—about the best thing that its author has ever written.

City Ballads. By WILL CARLETON, Author of "Farm Ballads," etc. Illustrated. 4to, pp. 180. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Will Carleton is certainly a genius, of which fact he was probably at first not aware. But he knows it now; and though evidently careful to maintain his original character and manners—in which endeavor he does not entirely fail—he nevertheless betrays his self-consciousness, and he is no longer the wild bird of the prairies that once sang so sadly and naturally in "Betsy and I," and "Over the Hills to the Poor-House." In this changed state of mind, of which change, probably, he is less cognizant than his readers, he comes to deal with a new and widely different class of subjects in his "City Ballads." While still retaining much of his original individuality, he shows very considerable modifications of both thought and manner. He has wisely laid aside most of his provincialisms, and corrected his orthography and syntax, but retains a good share of the quaint naturalness of his earlier productions. In the city he is brought into conflict with new aspects of men and manners, and with phases of society not much spoken of in his former writings; and though he does not succeed in solving all the social problems of the city, he still writes like a sensible man.

Poems: Together with "Brother Jacob," and "The Lifted Veil." By GEORGE ELIOT. Harper's Library Edition. 12mo, pp. 380. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Writers who are real geniuses are not always the best judges in respect to their own strong points, and of this George Eliot's estimate of her own poetry is an example. Had she been only a poet she would have taken a not especially conspicuous place in the great company of second and third class rhymers, of whom publishers fight shy, and in respect to whom readers use their liberty to turn the leaves and then consign the volume to the high shelves of the book-case. The present volume, with its diverse materials, seems to have been made up of the remnants, in order to complete the edition of the author's works; and as completeness is especially desirable in making up a library, this final volume will be acceptable without regard to its contents.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Epworth Hymnal: Containing Standard Hymns of the Church; Songs for the Sunday-school; Songs for Social Services; Songs for the Home Circle; Songs for Special Occasions. 8vo, pp. 232. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

How to provide for the minor song services and the less formal exercises of social worship and the Sunday-school and other special occasions has long been found a perplexity and a puzzle. A great many attempts have been made to solve the difficulty, by providing manuals of hymns and music, until publications of that kind have become like the frogs in

Egypt, very many and very discordant. But the want was felt to be a pressing one, and so the late General Conference provided for the compilation of a collection of hymns and tunes which, it was hoped, like the serpent made from Aaron's rod which swallowed up the whole hissing group made from the rods of the magicians, would effectually banish and supersede all others. The outcome of that initial action is now before us in the "Epworth Hymnal"—a fancy name which Editor Vincent thinks is happily chosen—a goodly volume, not too large, with 819 pieces—words and music—well put up, and generally presenting an inviting appearance. In considering the matter of the book, it is necessarily compared with others that have been offered to fill the place for which this is intended; and here it may be said that it very easily outdoes even the best of them. The first hundred pieces—words and music—are in fact a collection of real hymns, well adapted for worship, on an average a little lighter than the first hundred in the "Hymnal," but chiefly grave and sensible pieces. After these come a lighter and more jingling selection, but still not much deformed or desecrated by the kind of material that is often found in the popular quasi-religious song-books. The authors drawn upon for this class of hymns constitute a wide range, with a decided inclination to modern mediocrity—among whom the blind poetess Fanny Crosby seems to have been the favorite. It was probably to that class the editor referred when he wrote, "The severest criticism might point out slight defects in them, which, although sufficient to exclude them from the classic lists, do not justify their omission in a book 'for the people.'" It may be hoped therefore that "the people" will appreciate them, notwithstanding the left-handed compliment with which they are offered. We are free to say that the book is better than any other of its class that we have seen, and therefore we hope that it may, as soon as may be, supersede all others in our Sunday-schools and prayer-meetings.

The Writings and Speeches of Samuel J. Tilden. Edited by JOHN BIGELOW. In Two Volumes. 8vo, pp. 606, 601. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Works of this class, though they are not likely to be widely read, still have their value, not only as historical records, but also for purposes of education, for among those who read such books are the fashioners of the affairs of the nation. Mr. Tilden's career was protracted and moderately eventful, even before the transactions that have given his name a prominent and a permanent place in the political history of the country. He was at once an able lawyer, a statesman of fair abilities, a successful man of business, and an astute (some would say unscrupulous) political partisan; and at the culmination of his career he was suddenly and strangely (his friends say unrighteously) balked of the long-sought prize just as it seemed to be in his grasp.

Mr. Tilden contributed largely to the political discussions of his times, and, though his reputation was for the most part that of a partisan rather than of a statesman, still he was not destitute of decided convictions, and perhaps he more frequently dictated the policy of his party than

simply adopted the opinions that were brought to him. It will not be denied that he was not in harmony with the thought that dominated in the nation during the double decade 1860–80, and that the wonderful political revolution accomplished in those years was effected, not by his help, but in spite of his earnest disfavor; and it is quite evident that his "politics" are quite as thoroughly superseded in the nation—no matter what the party in power—as is he himself retired from all public action. And the events actually accomplished in the progress of that revolution make it impossible that it ever shall be reversed. The doctrines of State sovereignty and of class distinctions before the law were buried in the same grave with African slavery, with men of Mr. Tilden's class for chief mourners.

As it was said respecting the succession to the throne of England at the demise of Henry VIII., that no human wisdom could determine who was the legal sovereign, so, after the Presidential election of November, 1876, it was impossible to say who had been chosen. It would have been very easy to count Mr. Tilden in by construing only a few of the disputed cases in his favor, but the same rule that would reject any one of them must reject them all, and so leave Mr. Hayes the legally elected President. But while there was room for doubt as to the technical legality of the cases at issue, there could be none as to what was the popular will, and what would have been the issue had there been a "free ballot and a fair count." No doubt the people's choice prevailed, though the processes by which the result was reached were strangely irregular. The unedifying attempts that were made to overcome the very narrow majority of the Republican candidate were, to the last degree, discreditable to those who were concerned in them; but the fact that no chosen elector could be corrupted speaks well for the integrity of those trusted public servants.

We are glad that these volumes have been compiled and printed—they constitute a part of the documentary history of the country—and that the editorial work has fallen into such able hands; for though they are wholly one-sided and intensely partisan, yet they belong to the nation's annals and should be preserved.

Initial Life; or, the Lost Principle Restored. By Rev. L. ROSSER, D.D., of the Virginia Conference (M. E. Church, South). 12mo, pp. 288. Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Rev. Leo. Rosser is a character—a figure not to be separated from the goodly company of Virginia Methodists of the latter half of the first Methodist century. Half a century ago he and this writer sat upon the same benches, and together conjugated Latin verbs and extracted Greek roots. Since then we have not often met, but he has succeeded in keeping himself in sight, somewhat as a writer, but more especially as an evangelistical pulpit orator, for which he early displayed manifest adaptations. And now there comes to hand a volume bearing his name, containing a restatement and discussion of some of the deepest moral and religious problems. Accepting as true the scriptural and rational doctrine of "total depravity" as an inheritance from the first Adam, he finds this

complemented and balanced by the favor of the Second Adam, who is to all men more than provisionally a Redeemer, being truly and already in fact a "quickening Spirit." Through Christ all men are made alive, and in this "initial life" they are to perform their probation. This point is certainly happily taken, for although not new, yet its consideration helps to a better understanding of certain related truths of the highest value. In this are seen the subjective provisions in every man for the exercise of faith and hope, the grounds of moral obligation, and the power of free will, on which rests moral responsibility. These thoughts are well stated, though the methods of argumentation are not always beyond criticism as over-drawn, and, perhaps, sometimes resting much more in the forms of rhetoric than the substance of logic. The book presents a well-thought-out line of argumentation, showing that the writer's "natural force" is not abated by the lapse of time, and the conclusions reached are at once practically valuable and highly consolatory.

Eight Studies on the Lord's Day. 12mo, pp. 292. New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

The Sabbath: Its Permanence, Promise, and Defense. By W. W. EVERTS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 278. New York: E. B. Treat.

If our American Sabbath is—as some boast and some desponding ones fear—to be swept away by the overflowings of liberalism and lager-beer, it is also quite evident that the victory is not to be won without a conflict; and the two volumes above named will, each in its way, contribute to the maintenance and defense of the "old paths." The former was first printed a few years ago for private circulation, and is now given to the public on the recommendation of those by whom it has been read. The second is by a well-known and justly-esteemed writer, who proposes to build a fence about the sacred institution, bringing his materials from God's word and the experience of the ages. The lover of God's Holy Day will find in the volumes a treasury of thought with which to strengthen and fortify his own sacred regard for the Sabbath, and a store-house from which to draw arguments for the overthrow of its foes.

Mental Science. A Text-Book for Schools and Colleges. By EDWARD JOHN HAMILTON, D.D., Professor of Intellectual Philosophy in Hamilton College. 12mo, pp. 416. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A college text-book is not designed to set forth original truths or thinkings, but to summarize facts and principles already clearly ascertained. Its special excellence is, therefore, much less in its matter than in its methods. The science of mental philosophy is very largely affected as to its forms by the conceptions of its teachers, and nearly every one has his own methods and system. Dr. Hamilton gives us the results of his professional studies and labors, which, inspired and enforced by his own personality, would, no doubt, become eminently available as a text-book; without his presence, though profoundly learned, it would be likely to prove unsatisfactory.

The Old and the New Man; or, Sin and Salvation. By Rev. ANSON WEST, D.D., of the North Alabama Conference. 12mo, pp. 335. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

In his preface the author of this volume assumes that its subject and matter are indicated by its title, which, though true as to themes discussed and the opinions advanced, is not correct as to its details and its determinations respecting the subjects in hand. It is designed to restate in clear and unmistakable language the great fundamental doctrines set forth in the old Methodist standards and formerly preached from the Methodist pulpit, and only there. And in the statement and exposition of these doctrines the author is led to discuss the errors of Calvinism on the one hand, and on the other Pelagianism in its uncounted varieties, verging out into Arianism, Universalism, and Socinianism. Though not an elaborate theological treatise, it is a valuable and available hand-book of the first truths in religion.

The Boy's Book of Battle Lyrics. A Collection of Verses Illustrating some Notable Events in the History of the United States of America, from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Sectional War. By THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH, M.D., LL.D. With historical notes and numerous engravings of persons, scenes, and places. 8vo, pp. 168. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The battle-ballad is not an elevated style of poetry, and yet it has so much of fascination for some minds that books of this kind will not be likely to want readers. Those that make up this volume are poetically better than the average of their class, and with the accompanying historical sketch they constitute an illustrated gallery of battle scenes and incidents among the best of their kind.

The Franklin Square Song Collection, No. 3. Containing Two Hundred Favorite Songs and Hymns. 8vo, pp. 176. New York: Harper & Brothers.

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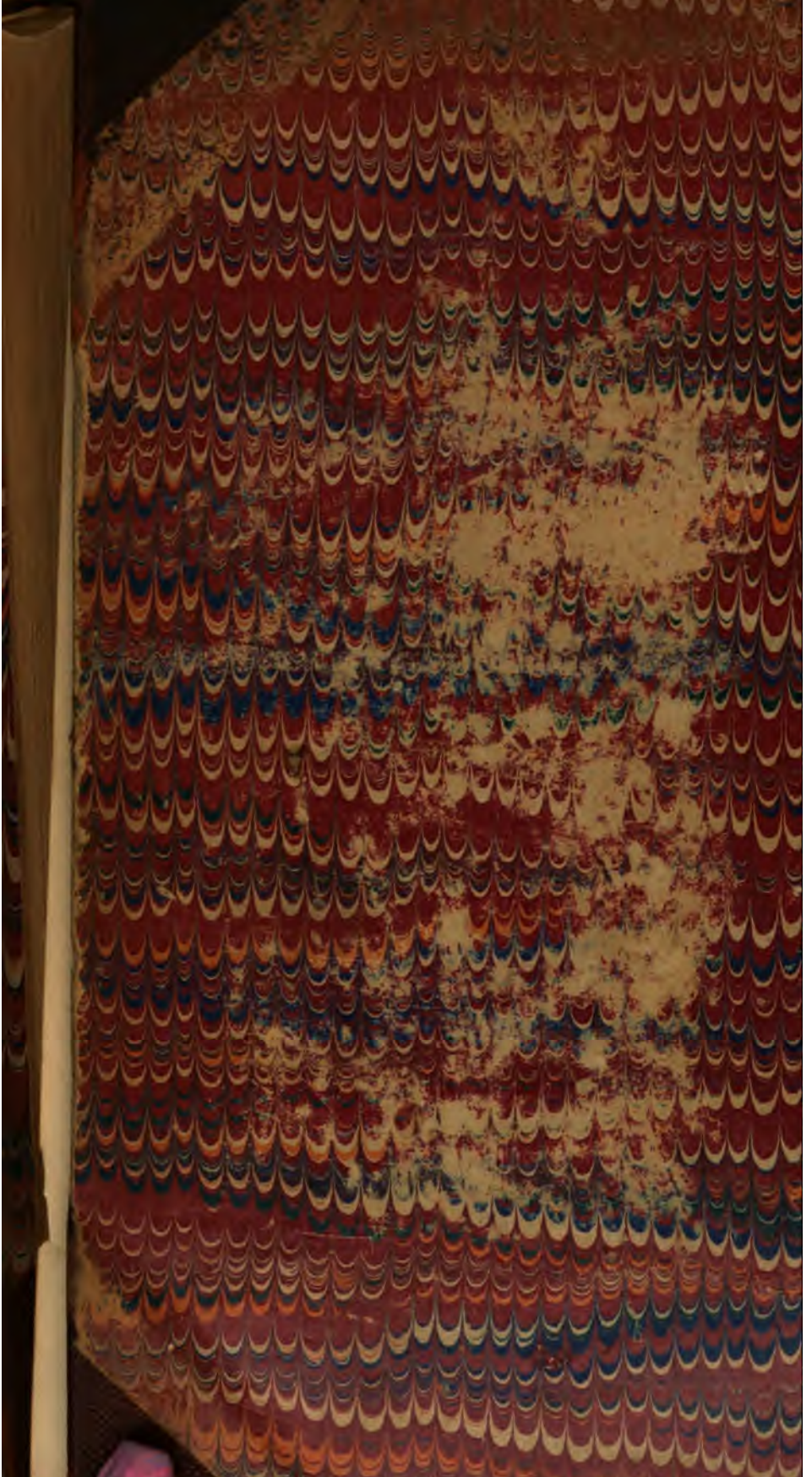
INDEX.

Abbott: Study in Human Nature, 227.
Advent, The Second, and the Millennium, 771.
Æsthetics, Hegel's, 646.
Africa, Bishop for, W. Taylor, 643.
Africa, Central, Missionary Succession, 304.
Africa, Ethnography of Northern and Central, 83.
  Bible an authentic record, 83; post-diluvian genealogies, 83; four races, 84; descendants of Mizraim, 85; Berbers, 86; Kabyles, 87; Abyssinians, 89; Hamitic and Semitic blood, 90; Egyptian Soodan, 90; variations, 93; typical Negro, 93; Northern and Central Africa, 98; Copts, 101; Nubians, 101; Moors, 103; Negroes, 104; Gordon, 105; Soodanese, 106; redemption of the "Dark Continent," 107.
Africa, Missionary Bishop for, 423.
After-School Series, The, 806.
America, The Labor Problem in, 924.
Anabaptists, The, 291.
Anodyne, The Great Physician's, 353.
  John xiv, 1-10, 353; quiets nervous excitement, 354; heaven near us, 355; heaven in order, 356; kingdom prepared, 359; basal faith, 360; doubts, 361.
Anthropomorphism, 510.
  St. Spiridion, 510; theistic knowledge, 513; omnipresence, 514; omniscience, 515; image of God, 517; Jahveh, 520; divine attributes, 524; strange gods, 525; Christianity, 526; idols, 531; symbols, 534.
Anthropomorphism, Prof. Winchell on, 764.
Apostasy, Danger of, 727.
  Exposition of texts, 728; doctrine of perseverance, 729; design of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 730; who are in danger, 731; Prof. Stuart, 734; Julius Müller's views, 742.
Apostles, Teaching of the Twelve, 474.
Apprenticeship, My Missionary, 168.
Article, The Greek, in the New Testament, 215.
  Use unsettled, 215; demonstrative pronoun, 215; definite article has a meaning, 216; Winer's Grammar, 219; linguistic anomaly, 224; Alford and Peile, 226; influence of Hebrew on New Testament diction, 230; Green, 232.
Assyriology, 647.
Atonement, Doctrine of the, 329.
  Title of book, 329; divided into two parts, 330; "Remonstrants," 331; Methodism a great boon, 332; Dr. Hodge, 334; preliminary inquiry, 336; original sin, 337; atonement central truth, 340; effects of atonement, 341; evangelical Arminianism, 343; extent of atonement, 344; universality of, 346; effects on the condition of infants, 348; Augustine and Lutherans, 349; Dr. Krauth, 351; saves from sin, 352.
Atonement, Last Testimony to, 571.
  First allusion, 571; first testimony, 573; the blood, 574; strength and comfort, 577; transition, 580; different views, 583; most comprehensive, 586; life, 589; final testimony, 590.
Badley: The Mela at Tulsipur, 481.
Bannister, Rev. Henry, D.D., 649.
  Ancestry, 649; conversion, 649; graduates at Wesleyan University, 650; studies theology at Auburn, 651; Cazenovia Seminary, 651; associates at Wesleyan, 652; goes to Garrett Biblical Institute, 653; Dempster, 653; Evanston, 653; his work, 654; his religious life, 655.
Baptism, Infant, Methodist View of, 435.
Baptists and Liberty of Conscience, 327.
Barnes: Hand-Book of Bible Biography, 220.
Beatification for American Servants of God asked for, 449.
Beecher: Comforting Thoughts, 227.
Belgium, Ultramontanes in, 448.
Belief, Rationale of, 289.
  Roots of beliefs, 289; spontaneous, 289; reflective, 290.
Berean Beginner's Book, 166.
—— Question Book, 166.
—— Senior Class Book, 166.
Bible, Right and Wrong Use of the, 116.
Biography, Hand-book of Bible, 220.
Body, Christ's Education of his, 693.
  The fact of discipline, 692; with his disciples, 698; a typical case, 696; Jesus as a mechanic, 699; Messianic body, 702; memorable day, 704; extent of physical culture, 711.
Book, First Italian Reading, 227.
Boots and Saddles, 646.
Bose: Hindu Philosophy Popularly Explained, 161.
Boughton: Sketches and Rambles in Holland, 165.
Brace: Gesta Christi, 430.
Brainard, David, 222.
Brown, Jimmy, Adventures of, 646.
Buttz: Article, The Greek, in N. T., 215.
Capel: Faith of Catholics, 317.
Carlyle, Thomas, 160.
Catholics, The Faith of, 317.
Centennial Conference of Episcopal Methodism, 297.
Centennial, Lessons from the, 285.
  Conference, 285; bigness, 286; increase of Methodism in two respects, 287; financial increase, 288.
Centuries, Conflict of, 329.
Century, The Religious Revolution of the Eighteenth, 846.
  Great names, 846; English ministry, 848; not chaotic, 849; forces at work, 851; English philosophy, 852; social status of England, 854; politics, 855; the theater, 856; the clergy, 859; Wesleyanism, 864; post-Wesleyan period of English history, 867; beginning of the century, 868; lessons, 868.

Character, Private, and Public Life, 121.
Children, Sunday Evenings with, 335.
China, South-western, and Prospective Trade Routes, 551, 743.
Louis de Carné, 551; at Bassak, 555; map, 556; Garnier and Dupuis, 560; Yunnan, 563; intercourse with China, 565; Burmah, 567; roads in Yunnan, 743; minerals, 747; classes of population, 749; Pêsé, 751; Mr. Colquhoun, 753; his explorations, 757.
Christ, Resurrection of our Lord Jesus, 337.
Church, History of the Christian, 478.
Clouds, Rifted, 319.
Commentary, The Lesson, 166.
Christianity, Workday, 477.
Congo and its Free State, 808.
Congo, The, 897.
Africa considered, 898; physical character of, 900; vastness of, 901; Congo river, the, 902; climate, 903; ethnology, 905; religious ideas, 906; Free State, 907; missionary field, 910; industrial development, 913; Methodist missions, 915.
Conversion, Philosophy of, 113.
Cook: Boston Monday Lectures, Occident, 167.
Crime, Increase of, 609.
Crook: Bishop Thomson, 169.
Crook: Doctrine of the Atonement, 329.
Cudworth, Ralph, Philosophy of, 337.
Cyclopædia, New, of Prose Illustrations, 477.
Cyclopædia of Biblical and Theological Literature, 467.
Cyclopædia of Poetry, First and Second Series, 477.
Davies: Life of Hester Ann Rogers, 479.
Denmark, The Church in, 444.
De Puy: Methodist Year-Book, 328.
Development, O. T. Prophecy of Consummation, etc., 638.
Dickinson: Easter Greetings, 482.
Dictionary of the English Language, 165.
Dods, et al.: Hand-Book for Bible Classes, 488.
Dorchester: The Liquor Problem in all Ages, 161.
Drury and Weaver: Life of Rev. Philip William Otterbein, 474.
Drake: Indian History for Young Folks, 165.
Ecclesiology, 469.
Eddy: American Universalism, 321.
Edersheim: Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, 148.
Education, Christian, 56.
Object of the paper, 56; difference between Christianity and secularism, 56; conception of human life, 57; colleges, 61; halls surrounding colleges, 62; instructors in Christian colleges, 65; Christian science, 67.
Edwards, et al.: David Brainard, 332.
Edwards: Methodist Church Polity, 397.
Egypt and Babylon, 321.
Encyclopedia, Religious, 316.
Essays, Biographical, 167.
Evolution, About, 283.
Prof. Kellogg, 283; manner of treating, 284; ecclesiastical proceedings, 285.
Evolution and Christianity, 480.
Evolution, Errors of, 807.
Ewald: Revelation, its Nature and Record, 470.
Faith, Reality of, 153.
Farness: Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, 337.
Fathers, Doctrine of the, 250.
Question of Episcopacy, 250; Stevens, 251; Watson, 252; Coke, 252; Christmas Conference, 253; Asbury's ordination, 255; second Conference, 257; title of Bishop used, 261; Wesley objects to the change, 262; ordination an induction to office, 266; Dickins and Emory, 268; consecration, 270; Whatcoat elected Bishop, 271; E. Cooper, 273; Asbury's death, 273.
Fiske: American Political Ideas, 481.
Fitzgerald: Dr. Summers, 476.
Foreign, Religious and Literary, 125, 291, 441, 613, 775, 929.
Foster: Cyclopedias, 478.
France, The Catholic Church of, 445.
Froude: Thomas Carlyle, 160.
Gate, From the Golden, to the Golden Horn, 807.
Genius, Struggles and Romances of a, 656.
Berlioz, 656; beginning of trials, 658; second trial, 659; his life-long enemy, 661; a third trial, 663; dearest victory, 669; a concert, 671; a second concert, 673; never knew how to surrender, 673; librarian, 674; his Romeo et Juliette, 676; at Hamburg, 677; his death, 682.
Government, Democratic, 645.
Geography, Manual of Biblical, 160.
Georges, The Four, History of, 322.
Germany, Old Catholicism in, 445.
Gesta Christi, 482.
Gildersleeve: Pindar, 481.
Gorham: God's Method with Man, 487.
Gospel, The, in all Lands, 480.
Grace, Possibilities of, 151.
Gracey: Outline Missionary Series—India, 326.
Grant, Death of General, 917.
Hamilton: The People's Church Pulpit, 167.
Hand-Books for Bible Classes, 488.
Harrison: Life of Robert Paine, 159.
Hastings: Obscure Characters and Lights of Scripture, 319.
Hatfield: Poets of the Church, 325.
Hebrews, Exposition of Epistle to, 639.
Hell, Letters from, 644.
Herodotus, Sixth and Seventh Books of, 482.
Heroes and Heroines, Our Missionary, 168.
History, Indian, for Young Folks, 165.
——, Universal, 168.
History, The Student's Ecclesiastical, 806.
Hitchcock: Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, 477.
Holland, Sketches and Rambles in, 165.
Hopkins: Teachings and Counsels, 166.
Hoppin: Pastoral Theology, 318.
Hughes: The Beloved Physician, 159.
Hurlbut: Lesson Commentary, 166.
——, Manual of Biblical Geography, 160.
Hyde: Migration of Language, 361.
Hymn Studies, 322.
Hymns, Reading of the, 106.
Ideas, American Political, 487.
Imbroglio, Franco-Chinese, 190.
Annan, 191; Mesny's book, 192; French diplomacy, 193; Tonkin open, 196; drifting to war, 200; France sending re-enforcements to Annan, 202; China protested, 203; indemnity demanded by France, 201; France in the East, 209; China no match for France, 213; Christian religion, 214.
Inskip, Rev. John, Christian Life of, A Study, 406.
Birth, 406; converted, 407; another crisis in experience, 408; religious history, 410; the average Christian life, 413; progress, 414; indwelling sin, 415; Christian holiness, 417; external conditions of his experience, 419; influence on the Church, 421; "Higher Life," 423.
Inskip, Rev. John S., Life of, 805.
Institutions, Bible Study in our Literary, 605.
Intelligence, Domestic Religious, 131, 297, 449.

Intelligence, Missionary, 135, 304, 453, 622, 775, 967.
Introduction, Hebrew, 168.
Jesus Christ, God, God and Man, 153.
——, the Messiah, Life and Time of, 148.
Judaism, Orthodox and Reformed, 450.
Kelsey: T. Lucretii Cari de Rerum Natura, Libri Sex, 337.
Kingdom, The Theocratic, of our Lord Jesus Christ, 315.
Knox, John, 481.
Knox: Voyage of the Vivian to the North Pole, 168.
Koreans, Promising Work among the, 457.
Lacordaire: Jesus Christ, God, God and Man, 153.
Language, Migration of, 361.
Mother tongue, 362; Ulfilas or Wolfson, 364; work of Ulfilas, 365; great men and events of the fourth century, 367; Gothic of Ulfilas, 367; the word Asia, 370; Odin, 371; Teutonic race, 372; Runic, 374.
Larcom, Lucy, Poetical Works of, 324.
Lessons, Hebrew, 158.
Lexicon, Biblical, 296.
Life, Apostolic, 166.
——, Death, and Eternity, 320.
——, Fifty Years of London, 167.
——, Spiritual, 153.
Lipscomb: Christ's Education of his Body, 692.
Literature, Popular Manual of English, 484.
Literature, The Critical and the Ethical in, 821
Criticism called for, 822; authors and publishers, 823; our national literature, 824; what critics have done, 826; true criticism, 829; fundamental principles, 831; must conform to the ethical principles of Christianity, 841; the French novel, 842; newspaper press, 845; historical fact, 846.
Lucretii, T., Cari de Rerum Natura, Libri Sex, 337.
Luther as Bible Translator, 375.
Helpers, 375; Melanchthon, 376; did not translate the Vulgate, 378; value of Luther's Bible, 382; simplicity and naturalness, 387; defects, 389; circulation, 392; national significance, 393; effect on the German language, 396.
M'Carthy: Four Georges, History of, 322.
M'Chesney: Christian Education, 56.
M'Clintock and Strong: Cyclopædia, 467.
M'Kenzie: Cambridge Sermons, 328.
M'Tyeire: History of Methodism, 154.
Magazines, 144, 310, 461, 629, 790, 945.
Man, God's Methods with, 487.
Manning: Not of Man, but of God, 328.
Matthew, Hand-Book of, 471.
Mela, The, at Tulsipur, 476.
Men of Letters, English—*Coleridge*, 326.
——, of invention and industry, 326.
Merriam: Herodotus, Sixth and Seventh Books of, 492.
Messiah, Prophecy and History in Relation to the, 636.
Methodism, History of, 154.
——, Centennial History of American, 157.
Methodist Episcopal Church, Constitutional Law of, 30.
Aim of the article, 30; constitution, 31; written constitution, 32; Dr. Merrill, 33; lex non scripta, 34; interpretation, 35; Dr. Curry, 36; Dr. Hamline, 37; two views, 40; elective presiding eldership, 46.
Methodist Year Book, for 1885, 323.
Mexico, the Republic of, 489.
Description of country, 489; commerce, 490; mines, 492; railroads, 494; cotton factories, 495; Aztecs, 498; temples, 499; colonial history, 501; republic, 502; education, 503; Christianity, 504; prospects, 507.
Meyer: Hand-Book of Matthew, 471.
Miller: Conflict of Centuries, 329.
Ministers, Hints to Self-Educated, 326.
Ministry, Education for the, 597.
Mission, Germans and the Cameroons, 455.
Missions, Roman Catholic and Protestant, 457.
Mitchell: Hebrew Lessons, 158.
——, Hebrew Introduction, 168.
Mohammedanism, Notable Convert from, 453.
Montcalm and Wolfe, 475.
Mormonism, New Light on, 646.
Morris: Ecclesiology, 469.
Müller: Biographical Essays, 167.
Nature, Studies in, 496.
New Testament, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the, 150.
Nutter: Hymn Studies, 322.
Oats or Wild Oats, 646.
Occident, Boston Monday Lectures, 167.
Old Testament, Companion to the Revised, 801.
Otheman: China, 551, 778.
Otterbein, Philip William, 809.
Revival spirit, 810; American colonies an inviting field for Methodism, 811; Asbury and Otterbein, 812; Otterbein born, 812; came to America and began his ministry, 813; returned to Germany, 1770, for one year, 815; preached in Baltimore, 816; a church polity, 817; new organization, 818; his last Conference, 818; was superintendent, 819; his death, 820; Church of the United Brethren, 821.
Otterbein, Rev. Philip William, Life of, 474.
Outline Missionary Series—*India*, 326.
Outlook, European, 441.
Paine, Robert, Life of, 159.
Pantheon, The Hindu, 682.
Source of Hindu faith, 683; what the Pantheon was, 685; Vishnu, 688; India surfeited with gods, 691.
Paradise Found, 483.
Parker: Apostolic Life, 166.
Parkman: Montcalm and Wolfe, 475.
Pattern in the Mount, The, 647.
Paul, Influence of the Apostle, in the Development of Christianity, 797.
Peck: Sermons and Talks to Fellow Pilgrims, 488.
Pedobaptism, Presbyterian, 481.
People, Harper's Young, 167.
Perfection, Christian, 802.
Peters: Theocratic Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, 315.
Philosophical Theologizing, 110.
Philosophy, Hindu. Popularly Explained, 161.
Physician, The Beloved, 150.
Poets of the Church, 325.
Polity, Methodist Church, 397.
Purpose of the paper, 397; Methodist readers, 398; features and facts, 399; mistakes, 400; modifications, 401; unity, 402; little account of individualism, 403; looks to results, 403; work done is before the world, 404; grateful and hopeful, 405.
Portion, The Children's, 644.
Poor of Great Cities, 301.
Porter: Elements of Moral Science, 320.
Porter: Hints to Self-Educated Ministers, 326.
Power, Elias, of Ease-in-Zion, 647.
Praise Songs of Israel, 493.
Prayer, Lectures on the Lord's, 803.
Prentiss, Elizabeth, Life and Letters of, 325.
Prison, Christ Preaching to the Spirits in, 69.
Passage difficult, 69; latter part, 70; nineteenth verse, 71; work among the

spirits, 72; Augustine's theory, 75; subject matter of preaching, 76; later exegetes, 78; Dean Alford, 79; how explain obscure passages, 81; a confession, 82.
Problem, The Liquor, in all Ages, 161.
Prohibition Movement, 277.
Mistakes of assumed leaders, 278; two facts to be considered, 278; prohibition States, 279; prohibition party, 297.
Prophets, The Minor, 487.
Psychology, Outlines of, 327.
Pullman: Constitutional Law of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 30.
Pulpit, The People's Church, 167.
Rabiger: Encyclopedia of Theology, 468.
Railroads and Civilization, 871.
Objections to railroads, 871; effects, 873; destroy sectionalism, 876; moral changes, 877; development of the system, 877; safety of travel, 881; desecration of the Sabbath, 884.
Rawlinson: Egypt and Babylon, 321.
Recollections, Some Literary, 166.
Reformation, Women of the, 643.
Religion, Reality of, 327.
Report, Fifteenth Anniversary of Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, M. E. Church, 1884, 480.
Reuss: History of Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, 150.
Revelation, its Nature and Record, 470.
Review, London Quarterly: The Atonement, 571.
Reviews (and Magazines), 144, 310, 461, 629, 790, 945.
Revivals, 274.
Duty of the Church in regard to revivals, 275; revival methods, 276.
Rhetoric Made Easy, 167.
Ridgaway: Bishop Simpson, 9.
Roberts: Ante-Nicene Fathers, 483.
Rogers, Hester Ann, Life of, 481.
Russia and the Vatican, 446.
Sabbath for Man, 319.
Sabbath, The Abiding, 801.
Salvation Army, Recent Doings of, 451.
Sanctification, The Doctrine of Entire, 808.
Sands Street, Old, Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., 642.
Schaff: History of the Christian Church, 478.
Schaff: Religious Encyclopedia, 316.
Schools (Public), Power of Officers and Teachers in, 488.
Science, Elements of Moral, 320.
Scripture, Obscure Characters and Lights of, 319.
Sermons, Cambridge, 323.
——and Talks to Fellow-Pilgrims, 488.
Sermons; M. Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 640.
Sermons; C. H. Spurgeon, 645.
Simpson, Bishop, 9.
Birth and death, 9; parentage, 9; proficiency in studies, 10; residences, 11; office of Bishop, 13; as a leader, 17; power as a preacher, 19; piety and honesty, 22; specimen of his eloquence, 24; at the Wesleyan Conference, 25; achievements, 26; physical advantage, 27; need be no decline in the power of the pulpit, 28.
Sin, The outcome of, 535.
Awful question, 535; second probation, 537; annihilation, 540; restoration, 545; punishment, 548.
Situation, The Political, 118.
Smiles: Men of Invention and Industry, 326.
Smith, Sydney, 234.
Everett's opinion, 234; Reid's new biography, 234; parentage, 235; birth, 235; no call to the ministry, 236; curacy, 237; helped to originate the Edinburgh Review, 238; went to London, 240; rector of Foston, 243; Canon of St. Paul's, 245; Macaulay's view of him, 246; Smith's wit, 248; Reid's sketch, 250.
Smyth: Reality of Faith, 153.
Spence: Thirty Thousand Thoughts, 485.
Statesmen, Lives of Greek, 646.
Stormonth: Dictionary of the English Language, 165.
Story, Nature's Serial, 163.
Study in Human Nature, 327.
Summers, Dr., 476.
Sunday-School Hymns and Music, 498.
Sutherland: The Outcome of Sin, 535.
Tabernacle, The Brooklyn, 326.
Tahiti, Results of French Rule in, 457.
Talmage: Brooklyn Tabernacle, 326.
Taylor: John Knox, 481.
Taylor, Henry, Autobiography of, 1800-1875, 641.
Teachers and Teaching, 158.
Teachings and Counsels, 166.
Tefft: Evolution and Christianity, 480.
Testament, Revised Old, 758.
Theology, Encyclopedia of, 468.
Theology, Pastoral, 318.
Thoburn: My Missionary Apprenticeship, 168.
Thomson, Bishop, 169.
Small and delicate in size, 169; view of Judge Nott, *et al.*, 171; stationed in Detroit, 172; power as a speaker, 172; birth, 173; immigrated and settled in Ohio, 173; various work, 174; elected Bishop, 174; purity of character, 177; beginning in the ministry, 178; merry heart, 183; magnetic, 184; decease and burial, 189.
Thomson, Bishop Edward, Life of, 805.
Thoughts, Comforting, 327.
Thoughts, Thirty Thousand, 485.
Topics, Christian, 108.
Unbelief, Recent Checks to Modern, 713, 885.
Scientific, 713; science and theology on formation of the earth, 714; spontaneous generation, 718; check to unbelief, 725; genuine book of the New Testament, 885; previously unknown MSS., 886; Tatian, 889; age of historical criticism, 895.
United States, Descriptive Atlas of the, 644.
Unity, Christian, 602.
Universalism in America, 321.
University, De Pauw, The Forty-fifth Year-Book of, 164.
Universities *versus* Colleges, 594.
Unsolved Social Problem, An, 280.
Vivian, Voyage of the, to the North Pole, 168.
Whedon, D. D., Brief Notice of, 648.
Wonders and Curiosities of the Railway, 321.
Work, Our Foreign Missionary, 140.
Year-Book, Baptist, 451.